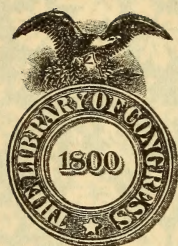


JK 2352

1900b

Copy 1



Class _____

Book _____



526329

Aug. 23, 37

JK2 332
1900-6

"The Enemies of Sound Currency are Rallying their Scattered Forces."—William McKinley.

Sound Money—Sound Business

THE MEASURE OF VALUE MUST POSSESS THE GREATEST VALUE.

Gold the Best Money Material — Dangers from the Unlimited Coinage of Silver—How Wage-Earners Would Suffer.

By THOMAS HITCHCOCK,
("Matthew Marshall.")

Money is anything which serves by common consent, and with or without the help of law, as a measure of the values of commodities and a means for making exchanges of them easy.

We measure the length of cloth by the yard, and the weight of sugar, flour, butter, etc., by the pound, saying that a piece of cloth is so many yards long, and that a particular quantity of sugar, butter or flour weighs so many pounds. In like manner, since these commodities have different values, we express the value of each of them by saying that cloth is worth so many dollars and cents per yard, and sugar, flour and butter so many cents, or hundredth parts of a dollar, per pound. Dollars and cents are the common measure of value, as the yard and its fractions are of length, and pounds and ounces are of weight.

Money a Measure of Value.

Since dollars and cents thus measure the values of commodities, they make the ex-

change of them easy. Without their help, the man who wanted, with his wheat, his corn or his cotton, to buy sugar, flour, butter or any other commodity, would have to do a great deal of ciphering to find out just how much wheat or corn or cotton it would take to pay for what he wanted.

Suppose a bushel of wheat to be worth as much as ten pounds of sugar and its owner wanted only seven pounds: he would have to measure out seven-tenths of a bushel of wheat to pay for the sugar. Perhaps, too, the man who had the sugar would not want wheat at all, but would take corn only. Then, the man with the wheat would have to seek for somebody who had corn and would take wheat in exchange for it, at, say, two bushels and a half of corn for one of wheat. When he found him, he would have to do more ciphering to see how much corn he must give for his seven pounds of sugar; and the same process would have to be repeated with every purchase he made. All this trouble is avoided by selling the wheat for money and buying with money the sugar.

It is easy to split up a dollar, and everybody is willing to take dollars for what he has to sell, because with them he can buy whatever he wants in turn, and as much or as little as he chooses.

A Measure of Value.

To be a measure of value, money must itself possess value, just as a measure of length must itself have length to measure length, and a measure of weight must have weight to measure weight. If a yardstick had no length, we could not use it to measure cloth with, and if a pound had no weight, we could not weigh anything with it. In the same way, if a dollar had no value, a million dollars would be worth no more than one, and no one would accept a million of them in payment for his com-

cause if a man could not get rid of them when he wanted to, he would not take them. This was the trouble with cattle, iron, brass, tobacco, skins and wampum; and it is now the trouble with silver.

Tea circulates in Asia and salt in Africa because everybody can use these commodities, and therefore everybody accepts them. Their defect is that they are liable to damage by keeping. Tea loses its flavor in time, and salt is injured by dampness. They are, besides, bulky and take up a great deal of room.

Gold, now, besides possessing value, is acceptable all over the civilized world. It loses nothing by keeping, it is of small bulk in proportion to its value, it can be cut up into small pieces and then melted together again without loss of weight, and it can be buried in the ground for centuries and come out as good as ever. Silver has some of these qualities, but it is bulkier than gold in proportion to its value, it tarnishes more quickly, and latterly it has been produced so abundantly that its value, as we know, has fallen more than one-half from what it was formerly. Hence it has been discarded as a measure of value by all European nations and by the United States. As has been said, we discarded it really in 1834 and by act of Congress in 1873. Since 1873 gold has been in this country, as it is in Europe, the only recognized standard by which the values of other things are reckoned.

Unlimited Coinage of Silver.

The Democratic party does not deny that, since 1873, the gold dollar has been the only measure of value in use in this country, and that since 1879 all contracts for the payment of dollars have been virtually made for the payment of gold dollars. Even during the suspension of coin payments, from 1862 to 1879, the country repeatedly

promised to redeem the greenbacks in gold, and everybody who took and gave greenbacks did so with the knowledge that they would, as soon as possible, as they were in 1879, be made as good as gold.

It is true also that, as has been already said, the Government began in 1878 to coin silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1, and to make them a legal tender the same as gold dollars, but it coined them slowly and under a pledge to keep their value equal to that of the gold dollar. Thus far the pledge has been redeemed, because the amount of silver dollars is comparatively small, and they are received, like gold dollars, in payment of dues to the Government, which in one single year more than equal them in amount. While there are altogether only 500,000,000 of them in existence, the Government collected from the people last year \$600,000,000.

Silver would Flow to our Mints.

The Democratic party proposes now to throw the coinage of silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1 open to everybody, and let everybody who chooses bring to our mint what is now 47 cents worth of silver and get back for it a silver dollar. There is in the world already enough silver to make 4,000,000,000 of our dollars. The Bank of France alone has enough for 250,000,000; Germany enough for 100,000,000, and the silver mines of various countries are already producing 115,000,000 ounces a year which would add over 200,000,000 dollars to the mass, to say nothing of the increase of their output which would follow their offer to coin the metal without limit into dollars as available for the payment of debts as gold dollars are.

That the effect of the coinage of this immense amount of silver dollars would be to reduce their value to that of the metal in them, that is to say, to 47 per cent. of the value of the present dollar, is evident.

Whenever silver bullion was made coinable into dollars at the pleasure of any holder, it would be as valuable uncoined as coined. Silver bars would pass from hand to hand at their coining value, as gold bars do now. For the same reason, coined dollars would be worth only as much as the silver in them was worth, since they could be made out of bars to any amount at pleasure.

The silver dollars being thus of less value than the gold dollars, it would take more of them to buy the same amount of any commodity than it would of gold dollars. For, as has been before shown, money is a measure of value only because it possesses value, and the value it possesses is the measure by which other values are measured.

Wage-Earners would Suffer.

For people who neither owed money nor had money owing to them, the change from the gold dollar to the silver dollar as the measure of value would be neither a benefit nor an injury. They would get more dollars for what they sold, but give more for what they bought. It would be like calling 18 inches a yard and 8 ounces a pound. A piece of cloth would be no longer if it was called 20 yards than if it was called 10 yards, and a pail of butter would hold no more butter when the pound was 8 ounces than when it was 16 ounces. The real sufferers would be creditors and earners of wages and salaries.

The man who had lent out \$1,000 in gold, or taken notes to that amount for property sold by him, would get back \$1,000 in money which would enable him to buy no more than he could have bought with \$470 when he lent the \$1,000 or sold the property on credit for \$1,000. In the same way the mechanic, the laborer, the clerk and every man, woman and child receiving pay for services would find his or her compensation, though apparently the same, really cut down

Money may be Made of Various Materials.

Gold and silver are the materials out of which are made the money commonly used in civilized countries; but they were not always such, nor are they such everywhere now. In certain countries of Europe, in ancient times, cattle constituted the chief part of people's wealth, and values were measured by them. It was so many head of cattle for so much clothing, arms or whatever else, other than cattle, people desired to buy or to sell.

In Sparta, iron was the measure; in Rome, brass at first, and then silver and gold. In this country, while we were British colonies, we used tobacco, Indian wampum—which consisted of beads made from the rarer kinds of shells and were valued as ornaments as we now value diamonds and pearls—and furs.

In Mexico, when the Spaniards first discovered it, the beans out of which cocoa and chocolate are made, were used for money, and in the same country pieces of soap still serve for small change.

In some parts of Asia, tea, pressed into small bricks, and in Africa, cakes of salt are more or less the money in circulation.

The money of China is silver, not coined, but taken by weight; and that of India, Mexico, and several South American Republics is silver coin. In all civilized countries, however, gold has become exclusively the measure of value, although silver in restricted amounts is still in circulation.

Gold the Best Money Material.

It has been shown that whatever is used as a measure of value must itself possess value, because, if it did not possess value, nobody would give in exchange for it anything valuable. More than this, the things used for money must not only have a value, but they must be generally acceptable. They must pass readily from hand to hand; be-

modities any more willingly than he would one.

The Ratio 16 to 1.

The dollar which, with its fractions called cents, is the measure of value in this country, consisted at first both of $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver and of 24.75 grains of pure gold. This made the silver in the silver dollar weigh fifteen times as much as the gold in the gold dollar; and hence it is said that the ratio of the two metals was 15 to 1. Afterwards, in 1834, we reduced the weight of gold in the gold dollar to 23.2 grains of pure gold, or 25.8 grains of gold nine-tenths fine, leaving the silver dollar at $371\frac{1}{4}$ grains of pure silver or $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver nine-tenths fine. This changed the mint ratio of the two metals to about 16 to 1, at which it has ever since remained.

The reason for the change was that at 15 to 1 gold was undervalued in comparison with its value in Europe, so that it was all exported and left us only silver dollars for use as money, but the ratio of 16 to 1 was too much in favor of gold, and undervalued silver. Hence, silver became worth in Europe more than we allowed for it, and was in turn exported, leaving us only gold coin.

From 1834 down to 1873, the silver dollar was worth \$1.06 in gold, and consequently ceased to circulate as money; so that in 1873 we repealed the law authorizing its coinage, supposing it would never again be wanted.

In 1878, however, silver had so fallen in value that the 16 to 1 ratio overvalued it, and then we recommenced coining it on Government account and have continued it, until now we have coined 500,000,000 silver dollars, of which 66,000,000 are in actual use and the rest are in the Treasury, being represented by certificates payable in silver dollars on demand.

by the rise in the prices of everything that they had to buy—food, fuel, clothing, especially—to less than one-half of what they had been. In order to live as well as they did before they would have to insist on higher wages, and though they would get them in the end, they would have to fight for them and go through all the misery and turmoil of strikes.

Would Reduce Savings Bank Deposits.

The immensity of the values which the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar would destroy can hardly be computed. The Government bonds alone which would be payable in silver amount to \$700,000,000; the bonds of railroad companies to \$3,000,000,000; the bonds secured by mortgages on real estate to \$4,000,000,000; the notes held by banks to \$5,000,000,000—besides book debts, and things of that kind to an unknown extent. Above all, the \$2,500,000,000 of deposits in savings banks due to 5,000,000 depositors would be reduced more than one-half, sweeping away the savings of years. What privations, suffering and general misery would follow, any one can judge for himself.

The unlimited coinage of the silver dollars would, therefore, benefit no one but those who happened to owe money when it began, and even these, as soon as their debts were paid, would be in the same condition as the rest of the community. Creditors and wage-earners would, on the other hand, be robbed of millions and never get them back. While the change, too, from gold to silver was going on business would be in confusion, there would be no end of quarrels between debtors and creditors, and we might even have a financial panic, worse than any which the country has heretofore experienced.

THOMAS HITCHCOCK,

“Matthew Marshall.”



**"The Credit of the Country has been
advanced to the Highest Place
among All Nations."—William
McKinley.**

Increased Credit

...OF...

American Municipalities

**How Sound Money has Lightened the
Burdens of Taxpayers in
American Cities.**

By ERNEST H. EVERSZ, of Chicago.

One of the most marked features of the security market after the Presidential campaign of 1896 was the large and increasing credit which the investing public extended to American municipalities.

While the free silver campaign was in progress, municipal corporations, such as cities, counties, school districts and the like, found it practically impossible to borrow money, although their credit had previously been of the highest order. Most municipalities made no attempt at selling bonds during the three months before the election, preferring to await a more favorable time; some, however, advertised their loans, but refused to accede to the high rates of interest demanded, while others received no bids at all. The City of Boston, for instance, advertised to sell \$1,000,000 rapid transit 4 per cent. bonds October 29, 1896, but rejected all bids as the premium offered was comparatively small. Binghamton N. Y., Minneapolis Minn., Champaign Ill., and many other municipalities, did not receive a single offer for their bonds, although the advertisements were published extensively.

RESULT OF LACK OF CONFIDENCE.

This condition of affairs was the direct result of the wide-spread lack of confidence which silver agitation had engendered.

Mr. Bryan and his followers had assailed the legal and existing standard of value and proposed to enact legislation which would

In December, 1897, the city of Chicago sold \$100,000 3½s, obtaining practically the same premium which six months previously it had received for a like amount, bearing 4 per cent., both issues running twenty years.

In 1896, the city of Milwaukee sold \$160,000 school bonds at such a premium as to have it equivalent to borrowing the money at four per cent. In May, 1897, a similar loan was placed at a net rate of about 3½ per cent.

Dayton, Ohio, sold its school bonds on a 4.83 per cent. basis in 1896, and on a 3.80 basis in 1897.

Examples could be multiplied, but these are sufficient to indicate the fact that, under the present improved conditions, municipalities are able to borrow money at a rate averaging more than one-half of one per cent. less than in 1896.

MUNICIPAL DEBT REFUNDED.

The amount of municipal bonds publicly advertised for sale during the past four years is approximately \$450,000,000, and as this amount is probably three fourths of all the municipal bonds actually sold, the grand sum total of municipal loans for that period should be about \$600,000,000.

When one considers further the vast amount of municipal debt which has been refunded at 3, 3½ and 4 per cent. during that time, it is easily seen that sound money has saved the taxpayers of the U. S. millions of dollars in bond interest alone.

The smaller municipalities have been most benefited by the increased credit which has been extended. Cities and towns in the Central West can now borrow money at rates practically as low as do similar municipalities in the East, while Western and Southern municipal bonds are issued and placed at much lower rates of interest than formerly.

ALL INVESTORS HAVE BENEFITED.

Institutions, savings banks, insurance companies, and investors generally have also received a profit from the improved credit of American municipalities. The premiums on their bonds have advanced so that they could sell their holdings in the market at a considerable advance. The following is a list of some typical government and municipal bonds and the percentage of interest they netted on August 21, 1896, and at the present time:

BONDS.	1896	1900
U. S. Government, 4's (1907).....	3.25	1.95
Boston, Mass., 4's.....	3.50	3.00
Kansas City, Mo., 4½'s.....	3.70	3.18
Cleveland, Ohio, 5's.....	3.80	3.10
Milwaukee, Wis., 5's.....	3.75	3.00
Grand Rapids, Mich., 5's.....	3.75	3.12
Chicago, Ill., 4's.....	3.87	3.10
Omaha, Neb., 5's.....	4.25	3.50
Dayton, Ohio, 5's.....	4.25	3.20
Colorado Springs, Colo., 5's.....	4.38	3.63
Ludington, Mich., 5's.....	4.50	3.63
Seattle, Wash., 5's.....	4.80	4.00
Muscatine, Iowa, 6's.....	4.75	3.63

In the above it will be observed that the city of Dayton, Ohio, has better credit in 1900,

as indicated by the rate at which its bonds are quoted, than the Government of the United States had in 1896.

BRYANISM VS. SOUND MONEY.

To sum up—Bryanism in 1896, with its assault on the national standard of value—

- 1st. Drove gold out of general use and caused a monetary stringency.
- 2d. Caused general business stagnation, few caring to loan while in doubt as to the kind of money which would be paid back.
- 3d. Produced business stagnation, which in turn affected the value of property and impaired the revenues of municipalities.

The sound money victory was followed by just the opposite results—

- 1st. Gold was again brought into circulation and money became abundant.
- 2d. A revival of business followed and capital began to seek investment.
- 3d. Higher property values were inevitable and the revenues of municipalities increased.

Other factors have entered since 1896 which have tended to increase the good effects which followed the sound money victory. The large

undermined, if not utterly destroyed. A city whose resources have been diminished by hard times, and whose income has been partially cut off, is relatively in no better shape to borrow money than an individual in a similar fix.

WHEN THEY CAN BORROW.

The election of Wm. McKinley, however, and the triumph of sound money brought the return of confidence which had been predicted.

The credit of American municipalities was speedily re-established.

The wealth of the country once more began to flow through the arteries of trade, and the nation entered upon a period of unprecedented industrial activity.

Improved business conditions brought a natural enhancement in the value of property, and larger revenues from taxation with which to meet municipal obligations. The fear of a debased currency having been removed, the market for municipal securities revived and broadened as never before.

It then became easy for municipalities to borrow money. During the past four years municipal loans have been placed freely at rates very much lower than prevailed in 1896, or before.

For instance, the city of New York, in July, 1896, received a small premium for several issues of long time bonds, bearing $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., while six months later the city received par for bonds bearing only 3 per cent.

permit the liquidation of debts by the payment of 50 cent dollars. It was natural therefore that the only money which could not be unfavorably affected by such legislation—viz., gold coin—should have been largely taken from circulation and locked up.

The lack of confidence manifested itself in still another way, for so long as there was any prospect that loans, made at a time when the gold standard of value was practically in effect, might later be paid off in the depreciated currency of a silver standard, the shrewd man preferred not to loan at all, whether to individuals, to cities or to the government.

Municipal credit was therefore affected not only because there was less money free to loan to cities, counties and school districts—most of the gold having been taken from circulation—but also because men were unwilling to loan, not knowing whether they would receive the full value loaned when the loan was paid.

WHEN CITIES CANNOT BORROW.

The effect of the general distrust was particularly manifest in the condition of the municipalities themselves.

The perpetuity of cities depends upon business conditions.

When business is at a standstill and commerce is paralyzed, values shrink; the revenues derived from the taxation of property and the basis of a sound municipal loan is

yields of gold from Cape Nome and the Klondike and the increased bank note circulation made possible by the new financial bill have necessarily enlarged the volume of money in circulation and resulted in a corresponding extension of credit.

There was no turn in the affairs of the nation, however, until the people reaffirmed their belief and intention of paying honest debts in honest money.

So long as there was even a possibility that the commercial honor of America was to be surrendered by debasing the currency, distress, discredit and business stagnation was inevitable.



"The Credit of the Country has been advanced to the highest place among all Nations."—William McKinley.

WHAT BRYAN COULD DO

If Elected President He Might
Put the Treasury On a
Silver Basis Without Authority
of Law.

AN ENDLESS CHAIN OF SILVER.

Would Be Compelled to Resort to
More Bond Issues, But Could
Not Sell Them at the Rate
of Interest Allowed
by Law.

A MENACE TO LABOR AND
INDUSTRY.

Could a President and Secretary of the Treasury, by their own administration methods, without legislation from Congress, destroy the gold standard and put the country on the silver basis?

What results may be anticipated as a consequence of such efforts?

The two questions may be best treated in a single answer. Suppose Mr. Bryan's election and the new administration, cherishing the purposes in question, should be inaugurated to-morrow.

It would find in the Treasury belonging to the Government the sum of 376 millions. Of this large total, 222 millions are in gold coin and bullion; 16 millions in silver dollars or silver certificates; 95 millions to its credit in bank subject to check; 26 millions in its own legal tender notes (greenbacks); $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions in national bank notes (in process of redemption); $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions in subsidiary silver.

With the purpose under consideration seriously in mind, it is probable that the first step in the program would be to declare that all interest on the public debt (not specifically payable in gold), and all public payments of every kind due from the Government to its creditors, were justly payable in silver and that the Government would exercise its own option as to whether it would pay in silver or in gold.

Would be a Shock to Business.

That such a declaration would be a severe shock is plain enough. There would be a general inability to understand the full

Government would pay silver; the Government would receive silver in payment. Including internal revenue taxes, the Government's annual receipts are (exclusive of postal revenues) about 568 millions. The total amount of silver is, say, 500 millions. So easily within one year it could all, if necessary, be paid into the Government Treasury. Of course (in the case supposed) it would go out again for interest and expenses as fast as it came in, to again run into its best channel for use, viz.: dues to the Government.

Contracts Would be Made in Gold.

How, now, about the commercial and financial world? Would it, because the Government had adopted the course in question, follow its example and adopt silver as the money of account and settlement? Probably not. Fully aware of the economic value of maintaining the world's standard money—gold—the financial and commercial community would struggle to maintain that standard in all the large affairs of business life. All contracts would be made by specific terms payable in gold. Silver, as has been said, would be shunted into the Treasury. If necessary, banks would keep two accounts with their customers—one in "gold," the other in "Government funds." Would this effort succeed? It is a question hard to answer, but the example of the Pacific Coast States may be cited, where, comparatively financially feeble, the gold standard was successfully maintained in all their commercial affairs from 1862 to 1879.

Treasury Gold Reserve Would be Exhausted.

A movement to maintain the gold standard in commercial affairs would be strong-handed in the beginning. The cash reserves in all the commercial centers now consist of gold and legal tender notes. Silver forms no part of the reserves worthy of mention. The present holdings of actual gold could be largely increased by the presentation of legal tender notes to the Treasury for redemption. Is it answered that if so they would be redeemed in silver? That answer cannot stand.

It is clear that with only 16 millions of silver on hand the presentation of 150 millions in notes for redemption would quickly exhaust that fund, when the treasury would be obliged to part with its gold, or entirely repudiate its obligations. That it would part with its gold in the redemption of greenbacks is of all things the most probable. The word probable is used, for in this field we can only reach probabilities; but probabilities built upon the action of human nature, moved by the sentiments of self-interest or self-preservation, are much stronger than speculative fancies.

It is affirmed, then, that it is probable the reserve gold fund of the Treasury would be exhausted in the redemption of greenbacks. At a very early period the Secretary of the Treasury would be brought to face a condition where the gold reserve set apart for the redemption of the legal tender

notes would be below the sum of \$100,000,000.

Bond Issues Would be Necessary.

The mandate of law requires the Secretary of the Treasury, when the coin and bullion in said fund (the 150 million reserve) shall fall below 100 millions to restore the same to the maximum sum of 150 millions in gold coin, and if necessary he is required (not authorized) to sell coupon or registered bonds of the United States, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding three per cent., such bonds * * * * to be payable, principal and interest, in gold coin of the present standard value.

What, under such circumstances, would the Secretary do? Would he refuse to perform the duty imposed upon him by the law, and thus render himself liable to impeachment? Probably not.

IT IS THE MORE PROBABLE THAT IF HE HAD FOLLOWED THE POLICY OF ENFORCED SILVER PAYMENTS HERE SKETCHED HE WOULD HAVE SO IMPAIRED THE GOVERNMENT'S CREDIT THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO DISPOSE OF THE BONDS AT THE RATE OF INTEREST ALLOWED BY THE LAW.

Deficiency of Revenue Would be Created.

It is further to be considered that in the course of affairs business derangement would have been widespread and serious. Public revenues would have fallen. Instead of a surplus a deficiency would have been created. In that event, and unable to borrow without new legislation, the Treasury would become unable to redeem its outstand-

ing duties to pay could secure them for such payments.

Gold would be held back, except to supplement, as might be necessary, the other forms of money, and instead of the present large proportion of gold now received at the custom-house, that percentage would be reduced to the lowest possible minimum. Thus the Treasury's present stock of silver would receive a daily re-enforcement.

Treasury on a Silver Basis.

If we inquire whether this source of supply would be sufficient to enable the Treasury to make all payments in silver, we raise a question difficult of answer. It is true that there is in the hands of the people some 480 millions in silver dollars and silver certificates, but these are scattered over our wide-spreading domain; they are nowhere concentrated. It is, therefore, doubtful whether for some time to come as much as \$800,000 per day in silver (the average daily customs receipts) could be secured. Part of the payment would be in gold, and therefore part of the Government's disbursements would necessarily be in gold. It would then be a considerable time before the Treasury could be said to be upon a "silver basis."

It is likely that the time would eventually come when its receipts would substantially all be in silver and greenbacks, and its payments would be made in the same funds. What then? There would have been established a new kind of endless chain. The

scope and influence of such proposed action. When people cannot understand or measure dangers to their interests they will either run or hide. A danger that can be measured may be bravely met; one that cannot be measured excites panicky fears. Such a declaration would, therefore, be quite certain to call a halt in many forms of industry. Commercial men and trades of every name would be disposed to diminish their transactions. General credit would be impaired, and reduced in efficiency. Contemplated enterprises would be suspended, and labor, as a natural consequence, would find a decreased demand for its services. Such is a rational and unexaggerated presentation of the first effects of such an announcement.

Gold Would be Held Back.

But would the effort to destroy the gold standard be successful if unaided by Congressional action? It has been shown above that the Treasury is possessed of only 16 millions in silver. Suppose it paid its daily outgoes exclusively in silver. Unless re-enforced, its stock of silver would be exhausted in ten days, and then it would be obliged to pay in gold. That the present stock of silver would be supplemented by new receipts there can be no doubt. Custom-house dues are payable in gold, silver, or legal tender notes. It is beyond doubt that, under the conditions herein contemplated, silver and legal tender notes would go to the customs to the extent parties hav-

ing legal tender obligations, either in gold or silver.

Such is the end to which the effort to put the Treasury upon the silver basis would finally come.

Bryan Could Put the Country on Silver Basis.

The following conclusions are warranted by a critical analysis of probabilities:

An unfriendly administration could, without further legislation, put the Government upon the silver basis.

To accomplish this end would require skill, persistency, and a disregard for law, however adroitly concealed.

The effort to accomplish it would seriously disturb general finances, trade, and industry.

IT WOULD IMPAIR THE PUBLIC CREDIT AND MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO SELL BONDS for the restoration of the gold reserve within the limits of interest required by law.

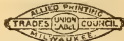
Would Cripple the Country.

Its effect upon trade and industry would be such as to impair the revenue, so that a deficiency would be created instead of a surplus realized.

IT WOULD CRIPPLE THE TREASURY AND SO DISABLE IT THAT IT COULD NOT REDEEM ITS DEMAND OBLIGATIONS, EITHER IN SILVER OR GOLD.

It would not of necessity reduce the country in its general operations of trade and industry to the silver basis.

As in California during the Civil War, gold could be maintained as the standard in commercial affairs, in which case silver and legal tender Government notes might, and probably would, pass at a discount.



The endless chain has been broken and the drain upon our gold reserve no longer frets us.

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

BRYAN'S POWER

FOR DOING MISCHIEF

**Nothing to Prevent Him from Paying
Public Debt Interest in Silver and
also Government Notes**

**The New Currency Law Not Made Obligatory by Any
Penalty—A Grave Condition Which Confronts All
Friends of Honest Money—Premium on
Gold Possible in Spite of Congress**

BY THOMAS HITCHCOCK ("MATTHEW MARSHALL")

The platform adopted by the Democratic party, last July, at the Kansas City Convention, contains this declaration:

"We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and retain a bimetallic price level; and, as part of such system, the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

The effect of passing an act of Congress to carry out this declaration would be,

practically, to substitute for the present gold dollar as the standard of monetary value, a silver dollar worth only 47 cents in gold. This the wiser members of the Convention saw, and they saw, moreover, that the consequences of such an enactment would be disastrous to the Democratic party, as it would be to the country. They, accordingly, opposed with all their might the adoption of the declaration and would have prevented it, had not Mr. Bryan, whose friends were in the majority, insisted upon it, and by the announcement that otherwise he would refuse the Presidential nomination, succeeded in carrying it through.

COMMITTED TO FREE SILVER.

Mr. Bryan is, therefore, by his action at Kansas City, as well as by the numerous speeches he made in the Presidential campaign of 1896, committed to the promotion of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and to the use of all his power as President, should he be elected, to procure the enactment by Congress of a law to that effect. That he would do this is as sure as anything can be. The same masterful spirit that made him risk the loss of his nomination rather than seem to have abandoned a measure which he advocated so earnestly in 1896, is a guarantee that he would be no less reckless in promoting it after he had obtained the power and the patronage of the Presidency.

for his failing to perform either of these duties, nor is there any way of compelling him to do it except by threat of impeachment.

BRYAN'S CAPACITY FOR MISCHIEF.

These things being so it is easy to see how a silverite President, like Mr. Bryan, could do mischief. The Treasury holds the principal gold supply of the country, and our finances rest quietly upon the confident belief that the Government will maintain gold payment under any and every condition. So long as the Republican party remains in power the belief will not be shaken. Let, however, Mr. Bryan become President and the whole aspect of affairs would change. He would appoint as Secretary of the Treasury a man of his own way of thinking, who would, as the first thing, offer to pay the interest on the public debt in silver dollars, and when Government notes were presented at the Treasury for redemption, he would offer for them only the same coin. This would amount to a suspension of gold payments by the Government and would put the country back to where it was before resumption in 1879.

In itself, indeed, the suspension of gold payments thus indirectly effected would do no great amount of mischief. It would not bring the country, as some people say it would, to a silver basis. Nothing can do that but opening the mints to the

free coinage of silver without limit, and thus making the silver dollar worth no more than the silver in it. So long as the coinage of silver dollars is restricted to a comparatively small amount, as it is at present, they will retain an artificial value far above that of the silver of which they are made. The mischief done would be to create general alarm and distrust, and, if any large quantity of gold were needed for export, to put it to a premium over other kinds of money. The banks would pay their depositors, and debtors would pay their creditors, only in Government notes, bank notes, silver dollars and silver certificates, and so long as the Treasury refused to pay out gold, whoever needed it would have to buy it of the dealers in it at a premium greater or less according to the demand for it. Even if the premium rose to no more than 5 per cent, it would derange all business, increase the fluctuations of foreign exchange and, by reviving the memories of the Civil War, lead to a great hoarding of gold. There might, indeed, ensue a monetary panic which would spread over the whole land. What people will do in the face of a danger, the extent of which they cannot see, is proved by the way runs on savings banks are started and spread. Every depositor in a bank and every creditor who had money owing him would hasten to call it in and to convert his money into gold, before the premium became greater than it was.

A SILVER CIRCULATION COULD BE FORCED.

It is true that the banks and the individual capitalists of the country might combine, and call the Secretary's bluff by taking the few million silver dollars he had on hand, so that he would, thereafter, either have to pay in gold, or suspend payment altogether. This would, however, be only a temporary check to the evil. As soon as silver dollars went to a discount as compared with gold, though it were only for a day or two, their holders and the holders of silver certificates would avail themselves of their legal right to tender them to the Government in payment of dues and taxes and the Government would get its revenues in nothing else. The silver dollars would thus become the country's standard currency and gold would command a premium, as it did during suspension days.

All this would come merely from the election of William J. Bryan, even with both Houses of Congress steadfast defenders of the gold standard. What he might do, by the use of patronage, to overcome their opposition and secure a positive enactment in favor of silver, nobody can tell. He would be sure to exert his power in this way to the utmost, and the knowledge that he was doing it would increase the general alarm and intensify the panic. Moreover, in case of the occurrence of a vacancy in the Supreme Court of the United States, he would fill it with

OBLIGATIONS PAYABLE IN COIN.

The principal and interest of all the Government bonds outstanding, except the 2 per cents issued under the Currency act of last March, are payable in "coin," because in 1870 when the act authorizing the issue of most of them was passed the only coin known was gold coin, and it was thought unnecessary to say "gold coin" expressly. Efforts have repeatedly been made since to correct this wording and to declare that "coin" means "gold coin," but they have been as often defeated by the partisans of free silver. The \$346,000,000 in Government notes, called greenbacks, are also redeemable, according to the Resumption act, in coin, and the Treasury notes of 1890 are redeemable in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury. For the payment of the ordinary debts of the Government any kind of money is sufficient.

The Currency act of last March undertakes, in a way, to remedy these defects in our legislation. It declares that all the Government notes shall be redeemed in gold coin, and makes it "the duty" of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain all forms of money created by the Government at par in gold. To enable him to accomplish this, it is also made his "duty" to issue and sell for gold coin whenever he needs it, Government bonds payable in gold, principal and interest. At the same time no penalty is provided

Notwithstanding this plain declaration of the intention both of the Democratic party as an organization and of its Presidential candidate personally, to restore the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, as soon as they get the power to do it, a considerable number of misguided men, who are fully aware of the mischief that the measure would produce, announce that they mean to vote the Democratic ticket. They excuse themselves for doing so, partly on the ground that the ticket will be defeated any way, and that they vote for it only to express their hatred of what they call the Imperialism of the Republican party; and they also assert that even if the ticket is successful the Senate will prevent the passage of any act likely to impair the maintenance of the present gold standard. They act as a man would act who should set fire to his house, and excuse himself by saying that he did not believe, in the first place, that his house would burn, and secondly, that, if it did burn, the firemen would prevent the flames from doing any damage. Evidently every voter of this kind who votes for Mr. Bryan will help, at least, to elect him. If he is elected, even without a Senate and a House of Representatives so constituted as to support him in passing a silver coinage bill, he will have immense power for financial mischief, and will exercise it to the utmost.

a man of his own stamp, who would try to pervert the decisions of the court to the detriment of property rights and to the discouragement of industrial enterprise. He could appoint as Attorney General and District Attorney men who would harass the banks and the corporations, with hostile proceedings for every little technical violation of law, and the importers of foreign goods for every failure to comply with the most trivial customs regulation. He has promised to put the man above the dollar, and the man would be himself and his satellites, while the dollar would be the dollar of every man who earned it by his labor and his enterprise.

Is it safe to take the risk of voting for Bryan? Is it not safer to vote for McKinley?





Shall we go back to a tariff which brings deficiency in our revenues and destruction to our industrial enterprises?—*William McKinley.*

COAL

*A Barometer of Prosperity
and of Activity to
Labor.*

The greatest prosperity barometers in the world are coal and pig iron. Coal, perhaps, is the greater of the two. It is the material energy of the country; the great factor in all its manufacturing enterprises.

When the country is prosperous, when all the factory chimneys are belching smoke, and when all the furnace fires are flaming, then the coal

miners are busy, the production increases, wages advance, and the railroads get enormous tonnage in hauling the coal. Shipping is in demand for coal cargoes and the entire country throbs with the energy generated by coal.

That the United States, judged by this barometer, is prospering as it never prospered before, is indisputable. That it is a prosperity that reaches the masses is also beyond dispute.

In 1898, under "Prosperity at Home" and "Prestige Abroad," the production of coal in the United States was not only the largest in our history, but larger than that of any other country in the world. In 1898, for the first time, the United States figures show a larger production than that of Great Britain.

As the production of the United States in 1899 exceeded that of 1898 by 38,564,983 tons, the immense and steadily increasing prosperity of the country can be fairly gauged.

In the following tabulated statement of the amount and value of the coal produced in the United States, we compare 1896, the last year of the Democratic Wilson bill administration, with the last year of the present McKinley administration, for which figures are available, viz., 1899. The figures are official, from the United States Geological Survey, Division of Mineral Resources. They are commended to the attention of the calamity howlers:

COAL PRODUCT OF THE UNITED STATES IN 1896 AND 1899, BY STATES.

STATE.	1896.		1899.	
	Total Production.	Total Value.	Total Production.	Total Value.
	Short Tons.		Short Tons.	
Alabama	5,748,697	\$ 5,174,135	7,234,558	\$ 7,971,366
Arkansas	675,374	755,577	911,342	1,015,798
California and Alaska	93,776	220,523	160,335	428,293
Colorado	3,112,400	3,606,642	5,425,618	6,115,336
Georgia and North Carolina.	246,359	179,770	260,008	268,309
Iaho			20	100
Illinois	19,786,626	15,809,736	23,434,445	18,408,470
Indiana	3,905,779	3,261,737	6,529,826	5,884,514
Indian Territory.	1,366,646	1,918,115	1,677,100	2,392,378
Iowa	3,951,028	4,628,022	5,265,480	6,617,981
Kansas	2,884,801	3,295,032	3,948,197	4,939,821
Kentucky	3,333,478	2,584,306	5,120,375	4,142,552
Maryland	4,143,936	3,299,928	5,516,363	4,295,225
Michigan	92,882	150,631	523,084	727,194
Missouri	2,331,542	2,518,194	3,833,546	4,413,182
Montana	1,543,445	2,279,672	1,956,300	2,796,021
New Mexico	622,626	930,381	1,200,668	1,616,390
North Dakota	78,050	84,908	116,929	132,123
Ohio	12,875,202	10,253,461	16,679,880	14,516,995
Oregon	101,721	294,564	90,302	264,493
Pennsylvania	49,557,453	35,368,249	75,591,554	55,794,799
Tennessee	2,553,106	2,281,295	3,361,460	2,973,315
Texas	544,015	896,251	938,765	1,577,482
Utah	418,627	500,547	787,258	995,982
Virginia	1,254,723	848,851	2,332,627	1,506,077
Washington	1,195,504	2,396,078	2,020,260	4,254,701
West Virginia	12,876,296	8,336,685	18,755,222	12,572,899
Wyoming	2,233,184	2,918,225	4,547,733	4,690,163
Total bituminous.	137,640,276	\$114,891,515	198,219,255	\$171,311,919
Pennsylvania anthracite	54,346,081	81,748,651	60,320,395	88,123,493
Grand total	191,986,357	\$196,640,166	258,539,650	\$259,435,412

By opening the mills rather than the mints, the coal production of the country has increased from 191,986,357 tons in 1896 to 258,539,650 tons in 1899—an increase of 66,553,293 tons.

The figures as to the average number of men employed in the coal mines of the United States

in 1896 and in 1899 show how the opening of the mills of the country increased the number of wage-workers in this one industry.

IN 1896 THERE WERE 393,162 MEN EMPLOYED IN COAL MINING. IN 1898 THERE WERE 401,221 MEN SO EMPLOYED, AND IN 1899 THERE WERE 410,635, AN INCREASE OF 17,473 MEN EMPLOYED OVER 1896 AND OF OVER 10,000 OVER 1898.

There is a tariff on coal, yet we appear to be capturing the markets of the world with that product.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, the United States exported anthracite and bituminous coal valued at \$10,646,062.

In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898, the United States exported anthracite and bituminous coal valued at \$11,683,749.

For the year ending June 30, 1900, we have exported coal to the value of \$19,502,412.

Steamers are now being chartered almost daily to carry coal from the United States to St. Petersburg and Stockholm, as well as to Italian, French and German ports.

Expansion is the order of the day in our coal industry as in all others. More men are employed at the mines. More wages are paid. The output is larger. Most of the coal is used in our own factories, where additional work is given to thousands of others of our wage-earners, who are busily employed making goods with which to supply the active American market, as well as to capture the markets of the world. And all of this is the result of a tariff that protects American labor and industry.

No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be. WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Consent of the Governed

How it is Practiced by Democrats Who Preach Against Re- publican Methods

[From the New York Times].



Four years ago, in the so-called Democratic Convention at Chicago, Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, of South Carolina, in offering a resolution to denounce the Administration of President Cleveland, made an attempt to convert the convention to his view that the campaign about to begin was a sectional one, in which the South and the West were to be combined by a common sentiment against the North and the East, to overthrow those sections and make their financial opinions odious, and to destroy their domination in future National financial legislation and operations.

Tillman has learned something since that day, when he was deservedly hissed and hooted in a convention otherwise none too sane or sensible, and the merited rebuke administered by Senator J. K. Jones possibly convinced him that sectionalism is as hopeless an issue as secession to divide the country. But he was still a man of impulse at Kansas City. Restored to favor after a civilizing ordeal of four years of service in the Senate, he helped to prepare a platform ex-

posing his party to gross inconsistency or insincerity.

Tillman Forecasts Democratic Methods.

To Tillman was assigned the task of reading the platform. He does not lack dramatic sense, and he has a large voice. With prodigious volume and vehemence he rolled forth the references, in the opening phrases to "the inalienable rights" of man guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. As a sweet morsel he mouthed the language of the declaration that Governments must "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." "Any other government," he shouted, with sonorous intensity, "is tyranny, and to impose upon any people a government of force is to sustain the methods of imperialism." The case of the Porto Ricans was described as appealing "with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity."

These sentiments were prepared and emitted by Mr. Tillman for application solely to the question of imperialism and the conduct of the Administration in endeavoring to deal with the new problems that vex the country. But they seem to have a more interesting meaning, as applied to certain Southern States, than they would as interpreted only to denounce and embarrass the Administration in its effort to establish free governments in the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico.

Manipulating the Southern Vote.

Alabama's population in 1890 was 1,513,017. There were, upon the common calculation of one voter in five, 302,203 voters in that State in 1896. Alabama gave to all candi-

dates for President 193,653 votes, Bryan receiving 130,307. Louisiana's population in 1890 was 1,118,587. The State was entitled in 1896 to at least 223,000 votes. It cast 102,046, and Bryan had 77,000 of these. Mississippi had 1,289,600 population in 1890, and presumably 257,920 males of voting age. In 1896 there were cast for President in Mississippi 70,545 votes, Bryan getting 63,859. North Carolina was reported in 1890, in the census of that year, as having 1,617,947 population. The State cast 331,210 votes in the Presidential contest of 1896, or a little more than the reasonable ratio for 1890. South Carolina, with a reported population in 1890 of 1,151,149, and with not less than 230,000 voters, cast for all candidates in 1896, 68,907 votes, and 58,798 of them went to Mr. Tillman's man Bryan.

Six Hundred Thousand Votes Missing.

What became of the 600,000 votes that appear to have been missing from the election returns of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. Were these 600,000 voters to be governed, in case Mr. Bryan was chosen or defeated, without their consent, thus subjecting them to the "tyranny" referred to by the Democratic platform? Have those missing voters been since found and required to give their consent to the election of Representatives in Congress, in order that they should not be taxed without National representation fairly secured; or has their consent been obtained to new restrictions of the service? Has there been shown any tendency in any of those States to exchange "the methods of imperialism for those of a republic?"

How have Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina qualified themselves to reproach the Administration for imperialism? Have not three of those States formally and completely and the two others by progressive steps undertaken to deprive some 600,000 of "the governed" of the opportunity to give or withhold that consent guaranteed as a right according to the Democratic application of the Declaration of Independence and secured by the Constitution?

Democratic Government without Consent of the Governed.

Why waste hypocritical platform sentiment on the people of Porto Rico because they have "a government without their consent and taxation without representation" when 600,000 voters in four States, all Democratic States, are deprived of the right to consent, and about 1,000,000 altogether, if we consider Virginia, Georgia, Florida and Tennessee, are in like manner subjected to "tyranny." Mr. Tillman's platform also declares its opposition to "militarism," for the reason that "it means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the standing army that has always been fatal to free institutions." What apology does Senator Tillman offer to the standing army of 1,000,000 voters disfranchised in Southern States? Were "intimidation and oppression at home" practiced to bring about that result, peculiar only to one section of the country? Does not the condition of these silenced voters "appeal with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity?"

"They stone our prophets living; build monuments to them dead."—As J. Wilkes Booth ran across the stage of Ford's Theatre, he turned to the audience and shouted "Sic semper tyrannis!"

Lincoln, 1864--

McKinley, 1900.

**The Democratic Party's Parallel—
"Imperialism" and "Militarism,"
Then and Now—"Consent of the
Governed" Applied to the Seceded
States—"The War a Failure"—The
Same Charge of Surrendering to
Plutocracy—Expansion South of
Mason and Dixon's Line Denounced.**

Six separate times at Indianapolis Bryan quoted Lincoln with commendation.

A correspondent describing Bryan's speech of acceptance said it foreshadowed the Democratic policy to "confound Republicans of 1900 by quoting the Republican ideas of other days."

Democratic praise of Lincoln is much in evidence in 1900. The libels uttered against Lincoln in 1864 are reproduced against McKinley in 1900.

There is a wonderful parallel between the Democratic attack upon Lincoln twenty-six

years ago and the Democratic attack upon Mc Kinley now.

Mr. Bryan has studied Lincoln and his times for catchwords and oratorical properties. He has dodged the truth and significance of the great emancipator's struggles and achievements.

Like his chief, Adlai E. Stevenson adopted the historical argument at Indianapolis but he, too proved lacking in information about one important episode in democratic history when he said "the word and the idea of imperialism are new to American politics." Not so. The cry of imperialism was first raised against Abraham Lincoln, who was accused of trying to rule the Southern States without the consent of the governed, and in violation of the Declaration of Independence. In the same connection he was charged with militarism, with waging a war of conquest, and with making an abject surrender to commercialism, the rule of speculators and the dominion of the money power. The charges against McKinley in 1900 are simply new editions of those against Lincoln in 1864. As Bryan has appealed to that sword let thinking men say whether he does not deserve to perish by it.

FATHER OF THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

The sinister distinction of introducing the cry or idea of imperialism into American politics belongs to Alexander Long, of Ohio, who from his seat in the House of Representatives sprung it against Lincoln in 1864, and precipitated one of the greatest debates of the war period. Long spoke on several occasions; over fifty speeches were uttered in reply to him and an attempt was started to expel him from the house for giving sympathy and encouragement to the enemy in the field. Speaker Colfax left the chair to offer the resolution of expulsion on the floor, but the proposition failed and one of censure was adopted instead, Long being pronounced "an unworthy member of the House." Such was the reception of the im-

CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED CONFEDERATES.

Mr. Bryan would hardly agree to stop oratorical effusions on the Fourth of July. In that particular it is safe to say he would not accept the anti-imperialist doctrine of 1864 in its full strength and measure, but otherwise he cannot consistently dispute Mr. Long. Here are two further quotations where Mr. Long asserted the consent of the governed theory on behalf of the confederates, as Bryan now asserts it for the insurgents in the Philippines:

"How do we stand in the eyes of the civilized world today in waging a war of subjugation and conquest against the confederate states which have seceded from us and set up a government of their own? . . . Much better would it have been for us in the beginning, much better would it be for us now, to consent to a division of our magnificent empire and cultivate amicable relations with our estranged brethren than to seek to hold them to us by the power of the sword."

A few months later, Mr. Long, the originator of the imperialistic cry in American politics and the man who first pushed the doctrine of consent of the governed to ruinous and ridiculous excess, was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, which declared the war a failure, and in a speech before that body he denounced "the odious emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln" and his "corrupt and tyrannical administration." Democratic orators now leave these parts out and also omit the denunciations of Fourth of July oratory, but otherwise preach anti-imperialism just as laid down by Long.

Nor is Mr. Bryan's indictment of the republican party under McKinley for an alleged surrender to plutocracy a new thing under the sun. Precisely the same charge was rung in as a support and buttress of the imperialist issue by Mr. Long in the debate from which we have quoted. He said:

"Patriotism has been made a paying virtue thus far under the war and subjugation policy; it is seldom that a virtue has been so easily coined into gold."

THE CRY OF PLUTOCRACY.

Mr. Long, while not naming Lincoln or others personally, said it was "a singular circumstance that many who vaunted their patriotism were made immensely wealthy through its instrumentality."

Among the extreme, anti-war democrats who joined Long in the cry of militarism, commercialism and corruption was Fernando Wood of New York who, in his speech of April 11, said the country was brought to such a state that "those who produce everything get nothing, and these who produce nothing get everything." Trade trusts were not complained of in that day but army contractors, bloated bondholders, and speculators were accused of bringing about this miserable state of things with the actual approval of Lincoln himself. April 19th, Wood said the republican administration chose rather to "increase the rent of the poor man's tenement than to dim the luster of the jobber's palace." So in their address to the people at the close of the session the democratic members of congress in 1864, who felt that charges of corruption and favoritism to wealth would naturally ring in well with that of imperialism, stigmatized the Lincoln men as "radicals and corruptionists," while Lincoln's administration was declared subservient to men "who make money out of the war" and whose "thirst for sudden wealth" was gratified by the Lincoln administration under the favor of which "they nestle and gratify their unholy greed and detestable passions."

In the Senate in 1864 Garrett Davis was one of the men who most persistently rung the charges of imperialism and corruption as the twin evils of the Lincoln administration. Hear him in his speech of March 30th:

"Lincoln is equally a usurper with Caesar,

Cromwell and Bonaparte. He is no statesman, but a mere political charlatan. He has inordinate vanity and conceit. He is a consummate dissembler and an adroit and sagacious demagogue. He has the illusion of working a great historical name for himself in connection with the total abolition of slavery in the United States. He also loves power and money. . . . The world never witnessed a more lawless and more daring political enterprise and except in the feature of blood it comes up to the measure of the greatest usurpations."

This was said of the extremely mild reconstruction policy of Lincoln, which required voters in Tennessee and Arkansas to take an oath of allegiance and renounce their negro property.

Senator Powell, in his speech of April 8, said if any one would specify the acts for which Charles I. was rightfully beheaded, "I pledge myself as a gentleman and a man of honor to give him two for one, and those more flagrant, infractions committed by Abraham Lincoln on the constitution and laws of the United States." He added that while Lincoln ought to be impeached and put out of office he did not want his head chopped off.

LINCOLN'S ONE ANXIETY.

According to the custom of the time, Lincoln made no campaign speeches and his letter of acceptance was a mere note of a page or two. Still he managed quite shrewdly to work in a reply to some of the charges against him when waited upon by bodies of soldiers who were returning to civil life. Admonishing them to take up the duties of the citizen at the ballot-box as earnestly as they had the musket, he warned them especially not to be fooled or diverted, by false cries, from the real issues of the day. Everybody knew what that meant, and quick applause greeted Lincoln's further caution not to be misled by appeals to passion and prejudice.

Lincoln took no time to refute the charge of imperialism. The only cry he cared to deal with was that of his administration being hand in glove with rich army contractors and having the hearty support of jobbers and bondholders who were "making money out of the war." Lincoln could not obtain the vast supplies and the vaster loans needed for the war from men of limited means, and his administration necessarily had large dealings with rich men and corporations, and they of course (truly patriotic as many of them were) were exposed to the suspicion of wanting the war prolonged to fill their own pockets. Dealing intimately with these men, and having their warm and earnest support, Lincoln seemed

lating and unscrupulous man, it destroys instead of uniting the union."

The precise doctrine to-day, save that the personal slurs on Lincoln are now changed to praise, his name now being spoken reverently, but his doctrine still reviled.

Fanatically bent on applying the doctrine of the consent of the governed so as to protect treason and break up the Union, Mr. Long, in his speech of February 7, continued:

"It is enough to know that they (the seceding states) have withdrawn, and my purpose is to convince others of that which to my own mind is clear, that they cannot be forced back into the union by coercion. . . . The doctrines laid down as self-evident truths in the Declaration of Independence are that all rightful government springs from the consent of the governed—that any people have the right to alter, change, or amend their form of government at pleasure."

Alexander Long was an upright man personally, and one of no mean ability, badly mistaken though he was. Honest and thorough, he went deeper than Bryan into the study of anti-imperialism, and had the added virtue of setting forth his conclusions fearlessly. It is instructive to know that he considered expansion and what he called imperialism as pretty much the same things—the evil twin progeny of Fourth of July oratory. Said Mr. Long in his speech of February 7th:

"The passion for extended territory is one of the most vulgar, ignoble and unworthy that ever afflicted a nation. This idea of expansion, acquisition and dominion has been inculcated by a peculiar and most bombastic literature—our Fourth of July orations. For a long series of years the sum and substance of these orations has been a eulogy upon our immense territory, and all sorts of extravagant figures of speech were used to indicate that it extended from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from ocean to ocean. Thus was the pride of national domination fostered that has since broken out in this fearful and horrible war."

perialism cry against Lincoln, and the lesson was the more emphatic as it was generally conceded in the debate that Long was a man of good character and superior ability, but yielding to the fanatical and wrongheaded idea that it was imperialism and a violation of the Declaration of Independence to suppress insurrection by force, he had placed himself in a position more odious than that of a confederate in the field.

Mr. Long first assailed the Lincoln Administration in his speech of April 8th, when he pictured Lincoln sitting in the White House with every approach guarded by soldiery, and declared the iron heel rang as loud in Washington as in France or Austria. Vastly worse was Lincoln's proposition to subdue the rebellious states and put them through a course of reconstruction without any regard to the consent of the governed, but by exercising military force. Mr. Long said:

"If we cannot rise above the Austro-Russian principle of holding subject provinces by the power of force and coercion what becomes of the Declaration of Independence and all our teachings for eight years?"

Referring to Poland, Hungary and Italy, he went on:

"If imperial governments are not able to hold in submissive obedience small portions of a vast empire once in revolt, how much less a government having for its basis the consent of the governed? The very idea upon which this war is founded, coercion of the states, leads to despotism."

WORSE AND WORSE.

With the "consent of the governed" idea on the brain, and pushed beyond sane limits, Mr. Long was ready to denounce the war policy of Lincoln as both contradictory and dangerous "Contradictory because it violates the great principles of free government which derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and dangerous because by its exercise, especially when wielded by a weak, vacil-

at times to have a passing fear of being misunderstood by the people. On just that one subject did he feel anxious to speak to the voters.

Talking to the soldiers of the 148th Ohio, Lincoln admitted that things went wrong sometimes with the administration, and taxes were not always adjusted with precise equality between different classes. If it had to wait until that was done the government could collect no taxes at all. As for the army contractors, and the support they were giving his administration from what might be interested motives, Lincoln said to the soldiers:

"But this government must be preserved in spite of the acts of any man or set of men. I beg of you not to allow your minds or your hearts to be diverted from the support of all necessary measures by any miserable picaune arguments addressed to your pockets or inflammatory appeals to your passions and your prejudices."

That was all. With this one reference to the charge of being a tool of rich speculators, and being himself infected with love of money, Lincoln confidently submitted the matter to the discriminating sense of the people.

Everybody knows how glorious Lincoln triumphed. Not, many know, however, that in 1864 some weak-kneed Republicans were opposed to his renomination, fearing that his support by army contractors and the irregularities of the war times would give color to the charge of being hand in glove with rich speculators and wrongly prejudice the people against him. It proved, however, as Lincoln thought—the people were not to be fooled.

Verily history repeats itself now when having fought a successful war, and with the resultant difficulties and problems still before him, Mc Kinley is charged just as Lincoln was with imperialism, militarism, and being a mere tool of plutocracy. Now, as then, the people will refuse to be led away from the true issues by any such cries.



With Bryan's Consent

He Advised Ratification of the Peace Treaty
which Gave Us the Philippines and
All Responsibility for their
Good Government

WHETHER the people of the Philippines should continue under the control of the government of the United States must depend upon the action of Congress and could not depend upon that of the President or his administration. To have directed our forces to sail away from the Philippines after the destruction of the Spanish power there would have been not only to leave them in anarchy but to invite a scramble among European nations for their control, or, as President McKinley said in his message, "If we desert them, we leave them at once to anarchy and finally to barbarism; we fling them—a golden apple of discord—among the rival powers, no one of which could permit another to seize them unquestioned; their rich plains and valleys would be the scene of endless strife and bloodshed."

The peace treaty provided for their purchase, and it was ratified by a two-thirds vote of the United

States Senate, and by the advice and consent of Wm. Jennings Bryan, who resigned his position in the army and came to Washington to urge the members of his party to vote for it.

This action by Congress added to the duties of the President to maintain order in the Philippines. The treaty ceding the islands to the United States was signed Dec. 10, 1898; on Jan. 4, 1899, it was sent to the Senate; on February 4th, the Filipinos began their attack upon the American forces and Aguinaldo issued his proclamation of war against the United States. Yet, on February 6th, with these facts well known in the United States, by the "advice and consent" of Mr. Bryan, a sufficient number of Democrats and Populists cast their votes in its favor to bring about ratification, and the new duty was thus by both parties placed upon the shoulders of the President to suppress an insurrection in the territory, which by that ratification of the treaty was finally acquired two days after the insurrection began.

Among those voting for ratification were Allen of Nebraska, Populist; Butler of North Carolina, Populist; Clay of Georgia, Demo-

crat; Faulkner of West Virginia, Democrat; Gray of Delaware, Democrat; Harris of Kansas, Populist; Jones of Nevada, Silver; Kenney of Delaware, Democrat; Kyle of South Dakota, Independent; Lindsey of Kentucky, Democrat; McEnery of Louisiana, Democrat; McLaurin of South Carolina, Democrat; Morgan of Alabama, Democrat; Pettus of Alabama, Democrat; Stewart of Nevada, Silver; Sullivan of Mississippi, Democrat; Teller of Colorado, Silver; and Wellington of Maryland, and Mason of Illinois, Republicans, who have since opposed the course of the administration in the Philippines.

Thus it will be seen that ten Democrats, three Populists, three Silver men, one Independent, and Senators Mason and Wellington voted for the ratification of the treaty absolutely conveying the Philippine Islands to the United States *two days after the breaking out of the insurrection, whose suppression they are denouncing—a suppression made absolutely unavoidable by the ratification which could not have been accomplished except by the votes of those men, some of whom were at that moment in close consultation with and presumably acting by the advice of Mr. Bryan.*

The treaty with the Sultan of the Sulu Islands has been criticised on the ground that it did not immediately terminate slavery and polygamy. It need scarcely be said that the insistence upon such radical changes in the long-established customs of the people of those islands would have rendered the treaty of peace with them impossible; though, as is shown by the President's message, a provision is made in the treaty that any slave shall have the right to purchase freedom and that Gen. Gates, who made the treaty, was directed to communicate to the Sultan that "this agreement is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu Archipelago."

There has also been criticism of the fact that the treaty agreed to an annual payment to the Sultan and certain of his subordinates. The sum which it agrees to pay is \$9,120 per annum, while the sum which the Democratic administration proposed to pay to the king of the Hawaiian Islands and his associates, when the treaty of annexation was negotiated under President Pierce in 1854, was \$100,000 per annum.

"IGNORANT FOREIGNERS."

WHAT BRYAN'S MANAGER SAYS.

"Hundreds of thousands of Ignorant Foreigners, who were here taking bread out of the mouths of honest labor, voted at the last election at the dictation of McKinley's supporters. These foreigners comprised fully one-half of the number of votes received by McKinley."—*James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, January 20, 1897.*

"Can there be any doubt as to which will prevail, the six and one-half millions of intelligent Bryan voters, or the three and one-half millions of Ignorant Foreigners who voted for McKinley?"—*James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, January 20, 1897.*

The Democratic party is using every effort to induce the "Foreign" American citizens to vote for the election of Bryan next November. The Democratic party claims that it has at least secured the German vote for Bryan.

In the election of 1896 the "Foreign" vote was cast mainly for the election of President McKinley. Shortly after that election in a speech delivered in his own State, Arkansas, and addressed to the legislature in joint informal session at Little Rock, on the night of Wednesday, January 20, 1897, Senator and Chairman Jones stigmatized the "Foreign" American voters as "*Ignorant Foreigners*," as quoted above.

Senator Jones was then the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Senator Jones is now the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He is now asking the "*Ignorant Foreigners*" to vote for Bryan this year.

How will the "*Ignorant Foreigners*" respond to the request of Bryan's manager, the Democratic National Chairman?

“Unwissende Ausländer.”

Was Bryan's Manager sagt.

“Hunderttausende unwissender Ausländer, welche hier der ehrlichen Arbeit das Brot aus dem Munde nehmen, stimmten bei der letzten Wahl auf Order von Anhängern McKinley's. Die Hälfte der Stimmen die McKinley erhielt, kamen von diesen Ausländern.” — James H. Jones, Bundes-Senator und Vorsitzender des demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

“Kann man zweifeln, wer siegen wird, die siebenthalb Millionen intelligenter Stimmen für Bryan, oder die vierthalb Millionen Stimmen unwissender Ausländer für McKinley?” — James H. Jones, Bundes-Senator und Vorsitzender des demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

Die demokratische Partei thut alles Mögliche, “ausländische” amerikanische Bürger für Bryan zu gewinnen. Sie behauptet, sie habe wenigstens die Deutschen für Bryan sicher.

1896 stimmten die “Ausländer” meistens für Präsident McKinley. Kurz nach der Wahl hielt Senator und Vorsitzender Jones vor den Abgeordneten seines Staats, Arkansas, am Mittwoch den 20. Januar 1897 eine Rede, in welcher er die “ausländischen” amerikanischen Wähler, wie oben angeführt, als “unwissende Ausländer” brandmarkte.

Damals war Senator Jones Vorsitzender des demokratischen National-Comites. Jetzt ist Senator Jones Vorsitzender des demokratischen National-Comites. Jetzt ersucht er die “unwissenden Ausländer” dieses Jahr für Bryan zu stimmen.

Wie werden die “unwissenden Ausländer” das Gesuch von Bryan's Manager, dem demokratischen National-Vorsitzer, beantworten?

“CIEMNI OBCOKRAJOWCY.”

CO MÓWI BRYANA PRZEWÓDCA.

“Setki tysięcy ciemnych obcokrajowców, którzy odejmowali od ust chleb uczciwym obywatelom, głosowali przy ostatnich wyborach podług dyktanda popleczników McKinleya. Ci obcokrajowcy stanowili całkowitą połowę głosów otrzymanych przez McKinleya.”—James K. Jones, Senator Stanów Zjednoczonych i prezes Narodowego Komitetu Demokratycznego, 20 Stycznia 1897.

“Czy może być jakakolwiek wątpliwość, to zwycięży-sześć i pół miliona inteligentnych wyborców Bryana, czy trzy i pół miliona ciemnych popleczników?”—James K. Jones, Senator Stanów Zjednoczonych i prezes Narodowego Komitetu Demokratycznego, 20. Stycznia 1897.

Demokratyczna partya stara się wszelkimi środkami do nakłonienia “obcokrajowych” amerykańców w przyszłe wybory w listopadzie głosowali za Bryanem. Przyczem Demokracy twierdzą, że przy najmniej niemcy są już pozyskani dla Bryana.

W czasie elekcyi 1896 przeważną część głosów McKinleya stanowili obcokrajowcy. Wkrótce po elekcyi, Senator i prezes Jones, we własnym swym Stanie Arkansas, w mowie na wspólnej sesyi do legislatury, wygłoszonej w Środę wieczorem 20. Stycznia 1897,—napiewał obcokrajowych wyborców—amerykanów jako *ciemnych obcokrajowców*, jak wyżej przytoczono.

Senator Jones był wtedy Prezesem Narodowego Komitetu Demokratycznego. Ten sam Senator Jones jest i dziś prezesem tegoż Demokratycznego Komitetu. Dziś śmie namawiać owych *“ciemnych obcokrajowców”* do głosowania w tym roku za Bryanem.

Jak też na to odpowiedzą *“Ciemni Obcokrajowcy”* panu prezesowi Narodowego Komitetu Demokratycznego, a przewodcy Bryana?

“BUTA KÜLFÖLDIEK.”

BRYAN FÖKORTESÉNEK A VÉLEMÉNYE.

“A Buta Külföldiek százezrei, a kik azért vannak itt, hogy kivegyék a becsületes munkások szájából a kenyeret, szavaztak a mult választásnál McKinley korteseinek a parancsa szerint. Ezek a külföldi szavazatok épen felét tették ki az összes szavazatoknak, melyeket McKinley kapott.” — James K. Jones-nak, az Egyesült Államok Szenátorának és a Demokratikus Nemzeti Bizottság Elnökének 1897 januárius 20.-án tartott beszédéből.

“Lehet-e kétség, hogy ki fog győzni: a hat és fél millió művelt ember, a kik Bryanra szavaztak, vagy a három és fél millió Buta Külföldi, a kik McKinleyre szavaztak?” — James K. Jones-nak, az Egyesült Államok Szenátorának és a Demokrata Nemzeti Bizottság Elnökének 1897 januárius 20.-án tartott beszédéből.

A demokrata párt óriási erőlködéseket követ el, hogy rábirja a “Külföldi” amerikai polgárokat, hogy Bryanra szavazzanak novemberben. A demokrata párt azt állítja, hogy végre sikerült a németek szavazatait Bryan számára biztosítani.

Az 1896.-iki választásnál a “Külföldi” szavazatok legnagyobb része McKinley Elnökre esett. Rövid idővel ezen választás után Jones Szenátor és Bizottsági Elnök egy beszédben, melyet saját államában, Arkansasban, a Szenátus és Képviselőház együttes üléséhez intézve tartott, Little Rock városában, 1897 januárius 20.-án, Szerdán este, a “Külföldi” amerikai szavazókat “Buta Külföldieknek” bélyegezte, mint a fentebbi idézetből kitűnik.

Jones Szenátor akkor a Demokrata Nemzeti Bizottság elnöke volt. Jones Szenátor ma is a Demokrata Nemzeti Bizottság elnöke. Most arra kéri a “Buta Külföldieket,” hogy szavazzanak Bryanra az idén.

Hogyan fognak a “Buta Külföldiek” Bryan főkorteseinek, a Demokrata Nemzeti Elnöknek kérésére válaszolni?

“Nevzdělaní cizinci.”

Co pravil Bryanův manager.

“Statisíce nevzdělaných cizinců, kteří brali chléb z úst poctivé práce, hlasovalo poslední volbu dle přání McKinleyových přívrženců. Tito cizinci tvořili plnou polovičku hlasů pro McKinleyho odevzdáných.” — James K. Jones senátor Spoj. Států a předseda demokratického národního výboru 20. ledna 1897.

Může býti nějaké pochyby o tom, co bude převládati, těch šest a půl millionu vzdělaných Bryanových voličů, neb tři a půl millionu nevzdělaných cizinců, kteří hlasovali pro McKinleyho? James K. Jones, senátor Spoj. Států, předseda demokratického národního výboru, dne 20. ledna 1897.

Demokratická strana namáhá se všemožně, by přiměla “cizí” americké občany k hlasování pro Bryana v příštím listopadu. Demokratická strana tvrdí, že získala při nejmenším německé hlasy pro Bryan.

Ve volbě roku 1896 byl hlas cizinců odevzdán výhradně pro zvolení presidenta McKinleyho. Krátce po té volbě v jedné řeči, přednesené ve vlastním svém státě, Arkansasu a přednášené zákonodárně v pravidelném sczení v Little Rock, ve středu večer, 20. ledna 1897, senátor a předseda Jones označil “cizí americké voliče” za “nevzdělané cizince,” jak shora uvedeno.

Senátor Jones byl tehdy předsedou demokratického národního výboru. Senátor Jones je nyní předsedou demokratického výboru. Žádá nyní ty “nevzdělané” voliče, aby hlasovali pro Bryana letos.

Jak odpoví tito “nevzdělaní cizinci” na žádost Bryanova managera, předsedy demokratického nár. výboru?

“LES ETRANGERS IGNORANTS.”

CE QUE DIT LE DIRECTEUR DE BRYAN.

“Des centaines de mille Etrangers Ignorants qui prenaient ici le pain de la bouche des honnêtes travailleurs, votèrent, à la dernière élection, sous le contrôle des partisans de McKinley. Ces étrangers composaient pleinement la moitié du nombre de votes reçus par McKinley.”—James K. Jones, Sénateur des Etats-Unis et Président du Comité National Démocratique, le 20 Janvier 1897.

“Peut-il exister aucun doute sur ce qui prévaut, des six millions et demi de votants intelligents en faveur de Bryan, ou des trois millions et demi d'Etrangers Ignorants qui votèrent pour McKinley?”—James K. Jones, Sénateur des Etats-Unis et Président du Comité National Démocratique, le 20 Janvier 1897.

Le Parti Démocrate fait tous ses efforts pour décider les citoyens américains “Etrangers” à voter en faveur de l'élection de Bryan en novembre prochain. Le Parti Démocrate prétend s'être assuré, pour le moins, du vote allemand en faveur de Bryan.

A l'élection de 1896 le vote “Etranger” fut donné en grande partie en faveur de l'élection du Président McKinley. Peu après cette élection, dans un discours qu'il prononça dans son propre Etat (l'Arkansas), devant une assemblée conjointe irrégulière de la législature, tenue à Little Rock le soir du mercredi, 20 Janvier 1897, le Sénateur et “Chairman” Jones stigmatisa du nom d'*Etrangers Ignorants* les votants Américains d'origine étrangère, ainsi qu'il est mentionné plus haut.

Le Sénateur Jones était alors Président du Comité National Démocratique. Le Sénateur Jones est encore aujourd'hui président de ce même comité. Il demande maintenant à ces “*Etrangers Ignorants*” de voter cette année pour Bryan.

Comment ces “*Etrangers Ignorants*” vont-ils répondre à la requête du Directeur de Bryan, Président du Comité National Démocratique?

“Uvidende Udlændinger.”

Hvad Styreren af Bryans Valgstamp siger.

“Hundreder af Tusinder af uvidende Udlændinger, som er komne hid for at tage Brodet ud af Munden paa ærlige Arbeidere, stemte ved forrige Valg, som McKinleys Tilhængere lod dem. Disse Udlændinger kastede over Halvdelen af de Stemmer, som McKinley fik.”—James K. Jones, For. Staters Senator og Chairman for den demokratiske National-Komite, 20de Januar 1897.

“Kan der være nogen Tvivl om, hvem som vil seire: enten de syv og en halv Million oplyste Votere for Bryan eller de tre og en halv Million uvidende Udlændinger, som stemte paa McKinley?”—James K. Jones, For. Staters Senator og Chairman for den demokratiske National-Komite, 20de Januar 1897.

Det demokratiske Parti gjør alt muligt for at formaa de “udenlandske” amerikanske Borgere til at stemme paa Bryan næste November. Det demokratiske Parti paa- staar, at det har ialfald sikret sig Tysfernes Stemmer for Bryan.

Ved Valget i 1896 blev de “udenlandske” Stemmer givet hovedsagelig for President McKinley. Kort efter Valget stemplede Senator og Chairman Jones i en Tale til Legislaturen, der var samlet i Little Rock, i hans egen Stat, Arkansas, den 20de Januar 1897, de udenlands- fødte amerikanske Votere som “uvidende Udlændinger,” om ovenfor anført.

Senator Jones var den Gang Chairman for den demokratiske National-Komite. Senator Jones er endnu Chairman for den demokratiske National-Komite. Han anmoder nu de “uvidende Udlændinger” om at vote for Bryan naa.

Svorledes vil de “uvidende Udlændinger” svare paa Bryans Styrers, den demokratiske nationale Chairmans, Anmodning?

„ONWETENDE VREEMDELINGEN”

WAT BRYANS MANAGER SAGEN.

“Honderde duizenden van onwetende vreemdelingen, die brood namen uit de mond van eerlijken arbeid, stonden bij de laatste verkiezing naar den wijs van Mc. Kinley's ondersteuners. Deze vreemdelingen bedroegen ten volle de helft van het getal der stemmen door McKinley verkregen.” JAMES K. JONES, SENATOR DER VEREENIGDE STATEN EN VOORZITTER VAN HET DEMOCRATISCH NATIONALE COMITE” 20 JANUARI, 1897.

„Kan er eenige twijfel zijn wat de bovenhand zal behouden, de zes en een half millioen van denkende stemmen voor Bryan, of de drie en een half million onwetende vreemdelingen die stemde voor McKinley.” JAMES K. JONES, SENATOR DER VEREENIGDE STATEN EN VOORZITTER VAN HET DEMOCRATISCH NATIONAAL COMITE, 20 JANUARI, 1897.

De Democratische partij spant al hare krachten in om de vreemde Amerikaansche burgers te bewegen om te stemmen voor Bryan in de verkiezing van November aanstaande. De Democratische partij beweert dat het op zijn minst al vast de stem der Duitschers voor Bryan gewonnen heeft.

In de verkiezing van 1896, werd de stem der “vreemden” hoofdzakelijk uitgebracht voor McKinley. Kort na die verkiezing, kenschetste Senator en voorzitter Jones in een rede gehouden in zijn eigen staat, Arkansas, toesprekende de in niet formeele zitting zamengekomen vereenigde lichamen van wetgevingen te Little Rock, aan de avond van Woensdag. 20 Januari 1897, de “vreemde Amerikaansche stemgerechtigden als onwetend vreemdelingen, zooals hierboven aangehaald.

Wat zullen de “Onwetende Vreemdelingen” antwoorden op de oproep van Bryans manager der voorzitter der Democratisch Nationale Commissie

“Ἄπειροι Ξένοι.”

Τι λέγει ὁ Διευθυντὴς τοῦ Μπραϊν.

Ἐκατοντάδες χιλιάδων ἄπειροι ξένοι, οἵτινες ἦτο ἐνταῦθα ἀπολαμβάνοντες ἄρτον ἐκ τῶν στομάτων ἐντίμου ἐργασίας, ἐψήφησαν τὰς παρελθούσας ἐκλογάς καθ' ὑπαγόρευσιν τῶν ὑποστηρικτῶν τοῦ Μακ Κίνλεϊ. Ἄυτοί οἱ ξένοι ἀποτελοῦν ἀκριβῶς τό ἴμησιν ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ψήφων οὓς ἔλαβεν ὁ Μακ Κίνλεϊ.—JAMES K. JONES, Γερουσιαστῆς τῶν Ἑνωμένων Πολιτειῶν καὶ Προέδρος τῆς Δημοκρατικῆς Ἐθνικῆς Μερίδος, Ἰανουαρίου 20, 1897.

Δύναται νὰ ὑπάρξῃ ἀμφιβολία ποῖον θά ἐπικρατίσῃ, τὰ ἑξ καὶ ἴμησιν ἑκατομμύρια εὐφυνῶν ψηφοφόρων τοῦ Μπραϊν, ἢ τὰ τρία καὶ ἴμησιν ἑκατομμύρια ἀπείρων ξένων αἵτινες ἐψήφησαν τὸν Μακ Κίνλεϊ;—JAMES K. JONES, Γερουσιαστῆς τῶν Ἑνωμένων Πολιτειῶν καὶ Προέδρος τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Δημοκρατικῆς Μερίδος, Ἰανουαρίου 20, 1897.

Ἡ Δημοκρατικὴ μερίς μεταχειρίζεται ὅλα τὰ μέσα νὰ πῇσιν τοὺς “ξένους” Ἀμερικανούς πολίτας νὰ ψηφήσουν διὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τοῦ Μπραϊν τὸν προσεχῆ Νοέμβριον. Ἡ Δημοκρατικὴ μερίς ἐπαινεῖται ὅτι ἔχει ἐν τέλει ἀσφαλισμένας τὰς Γερμανικὰς ψήφους διὰ τὸν Μπραϊν. Κατὰ τὰς ἐκλογάς τοῦ 1896 ἡ “ξένη” ψῆφος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον διετέθη πρὸς ἐκλογὴν τοῦ Προέδρου Μακ Κίνλεϊ. Μετ' οὗ πολὺ τῶν ἐκλογῶν, εἰς λόγον τινὰ ἐκφωνηθέντα εἰς τὴν ἰδικὴν του πολιτείαν Ἀρκάνσας καὶ διευθυνόμενον πρὸς τὸ νομοθετικόν Σῶμα εἰς ἠνωμένην ἀκανόμιστον συνεδρίασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει Λίτλ Ρόκ τετάρτην ἑσπέραν Ἰανουαρίου 20, 1897, ὁ Γερουσιαστῆς καὶ Προέδρος Jones (Ντζόνες) ἐστηγάτισεν τοὺς “Ξένους” Ἀμερικανούς ψηφοφόρους ὡς “Ἀπειρους Ξένους” καθὼς ἀνωτέρω ἐρρήθη.

Ὁ Γερουσιαστῆς Ντζόνες ἦτο τότε προέδρος τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Δημοκρατικῆς μερίδος: Ὁ Γερουσιαστῆς Ντζόνες εἶνε ἤδη ὁ Προέδρος τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Δημοκρατικῆς μερίδος. Οὗτος ἤδη ζητεῖ ἀπὸ τοὺς “Ἀπείρους Ξένους” νὰ ψηφήσουν τὸν Μπραϊν φέτος.

Πῶς ἤδη μέλλουν νὰ ἀπαντήσουν οἱ “Ἄπειροι Ξένοι” εἰς τὰς ἱκετεύσεις τοῦ διευθυντοῦ τοῦ Μπραϊν τοῦ Προέδρου τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Δημοκρατικῆς Μερίδος;

“OKUNNIGA UTLÄNNINGAR.”

HVAD BRYANS KAMPANJ-DIREKTÖR SÄGER.

“Hundra tusentals okunniga utlänningar, hitkomna med afsigt att taga brödet ur munnen på ärliga amerikanska arbetare, röstade vid sista presidentvalet på anbefallning af McKinleys understödjare. Dessa okunniga utlänningars röster utgjorde med säkerhet halfva antalet röster som kastades för McKinley.”—James K. Jones, Förenta Staternas Senator och Ordförande i Demokratiska National-Komiteen, 20 Januari 1897.

“Kan det verkligen vara något tvifvel om hvilken sida skall vinna, antingen de sex och en half millioner upplysta röstegare som stå för Bryan, eller de tre och en half millioner okunniga utlänningar som röstade för McKinley?” — James K. Jones, Förenta Staternas Senator och Ordförande i Demokratiska National-Komiteen, 20 Jan. 1897.

Det demokratiska partiet gör nu hvarje ansträngning för att få dessa “utländska” Amerikanska medborgare till att rösta för Bryan vid valet nästa November och det påstår sig redan ha öfvervunnit alla tyska röstegare i hans favör.

Vid 1896 års presidentval kastades de flesta “utländska” röster för President McKinley. Kort efter detta val, i ett tal han (Jones) höll i sin egen stat, Arkansas, och framsagdt till legislaturen vid fullt och öppet möte i Little Rock Onsdags aftonen den 20 Januari 1897, brännmärkte Senatoren och Ordföranden Jones de “utländska” Amerikanska röstegarne såsom varande “*okunniga utlänningar*,” som ofvanstående citering visar.

Senator Jones var då ordförande i Demokratiska National-Komiteen. Senator Jones är äfven nu ordförande i samma komité. Han uppmanar nu dessa “*okunniga utlänningar*” att rösta för Bryan vid stundande presidentval.

Huru vilja dessa “OKUNNIGA UTLÄNNINGAR” svara på Bryans kampanj-direktörs uppmaning, den Demokratiska National-Komiteens Ordförande?

"STRANIERI IGNORANTI."

QUE CHE DICE L'AMMINISTRATORE DI BRYAN.

Centinaia di migliaia di stranieri ignoranti, sono qui levando il pane di bocca all'onesto oratore, hanno votato nell'ultima elezione del consiglio dei seguaci di McKinley. Questi stranieri rappresentano una buona metà dei voti McKinley ricevuti."—James K. Jones, Senatore degli Stati Uniti e Presidente del Comitato Nazionale Democratico, 20 Gennaio 1897.

Puo' esserci mai dubbio fra chi deve prevalere, i sei milioni e mezzo di intelligenti elettori di Bryan, oppure, i tre milioni e mezzo d'ignoranti stranieri che votarono per McKinley?—James K. Jones, Senatore degli Stati Uniti e Presidente del Comitato Nazionale Democratico, 20 Gennaio 1897.

Il partito democratico sta usando ogni sforzo per indurre i cittadini americani "stranieri" a votare per l'elezione di Bryan nel prossimo Novembre. Il partito democratico reclama di aver per lo meno assicurato il voto Tedesco per Bryan.

Nell'elezione del 1896 il voto "straniero" fu essenzialmente dato per l'elezione del Presidente McKinley. Poco dopo questa elezione in un discorso tenuto nel proprio Stato, Arkansas, e rivolto alla legislatura aggregatasi in sessione informale a Little Rock, nella sera di mercoledì 20 Gennaio 1897, il Senatore e Presidente Jones, ha stigmatizzato i votanti "stranieri" americani come "*stranieri ignoranti*," come sopra detto.

Il Senatore Jones era allora il Presidente del Comitato Nazionale Democratico. Il Senatore Jones e' anche stato Presidente del Comitato Nazionale Democratico. Si domanda che quest'anno gli "*stranieri ignoranti*" votino per Bryan.

Come risponderanno gli "*stranieri ignoranti*" alla richiesta dell'amministratore di Bryan, il Presidente del Comitato Nazionale Democratico?

"דיא אנוויסענדע פאריינערס."

וואס ברייאן זיין מאנאטצער זאגט.

"הונדערטע טויזענד פון אנוויסענדע פאריינערס וועלכע זאבען דא ארויסגעריסען דיא ברויט פון מויל פון היעזיגען ארבייטער, האבען ביים פערגאנגענעם עלעקשין געשטיממט זיין מעק-קינלעס אנהיינגער האבען זיין געהייסען. דויע פאריינערס האבען געגעבן א ריכטיגע העלפט פון דיא גאנצע צאהל שטימען וואס מעק-קינלע האט ערהאלטען". — זיימס ק. דזאנס, יונייטעד סטייטס סענאטאר אונד טזער-מאן פון דיא דעמאקראטיק נאציאנאל קאמיטע 20-טין יאנואר, 1897.

"קען דען נאך זיין א צווייפאל ווער פון זיי וועט זיעגען, זיין זעכס אונד א האלב מיליאן אינטעליגענטע ברייאן אומטערס, אדער די דריי אונד א האלב מיליאן אנוויסענדע פאריינערס וואס האבען געשטימט פיר מעק-קינלען?" — זיימס ק. דזאנס, יונייטעד סטייטס סענאטאר אונד טזער-מאן פון דיא דעמאקראטישע נאציאנאל קאמיטע, 20 יאנואר, 1897.

דיא דעמאקראטישע פארטיי ווענדעט אן אללע קרעפטן איבערצוריידיגן דיא פאריינאמעריקאן סיסטעם זיי זאללען שטימען פיר ברייען נעכטסין נאועמבער. דיא דעמאקראטישע פארטיי ריהמט זיך דאס דער דייטשער וואוט ווירד גיין צו ברייען.

אין דעם עלעקשין פון יאהר 1896 האבען כמאם אללע פאריינערס נעשטימט פיר מעק-קינלען. גלייך נאך דעם עלעקשין אין א רעדע וועלכע ער האט געהאלטן אין זיין סטייט ארקענזאס, אונד וועלכע ער האט אדרעסירט צו דיא לעגיסליאטור אין א דאזיגט אינפארמאט סעציאן אין ליטעל ראק, אס מיט וואך אבענד, דעם 20-טען יאנואר 1897, האט סענאטאר און טזער-מאן דזאנס געשימפט דיא פאריינאמעריקאן וואוטערס מיט דעם נאמען "אנוויסענדע פאריינערס", וויא אבען געזאגט.

סענאטאר דזאנס איז ראמאלס געוועזן דער טזער-מאן פון דיא דעמאקראטיק נאציאנאל קאמיטע, אונד סענאטאר דזאנס איז אויך יעצט דער טזער-מאן פון דער דעמאקראטיק נאציאנאל קאמיטע. ער בעט יעצט דיא "אנוויסענדע פאריינערס" זיי זאללען שטימען דויען יאהר פיר ברייען.

וויא קענען דיא אנוויסענדע פאריינערס צוהערין דיא טיטע פון דעם דעמאקראטיק נאציאנאל טזער-מאן?

THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER

Accepting the Nomination of the Republican Party.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
September 10, 1900.

HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,

Chairman Notification Committee:

MY DEAR SIR—The nomination of the Republican national convention of June 19, 1900, for the office of President of the United States, which, as the official representative of the convention, you have conveyed to me, is accepted. I have carefully examined the platform adopted and give to it my hearty approval.

Upon the great issue of the last national election it is clear. It upholds the gold standard and indorses the legislation of the present congress by which that standard has been effectively strengthened. The stability of our national currency is, therefore, secure so long as those who adhere to this platform are kept in control of the government.

SAME ISSUES INVOLVED.

In the first battle, that of 1896, the friends of the gold standard and of sound currency were triumphant and the country is enjoying the fruits of that victory. Our antagonists, however, are not satisfied. They compel us to a second battle upon the same lines on which the first was fought and won.

While regretting the reopening of this question, which can only disturb the present satisfactory financial condition of the government and visit uncertainty upon our great business enterprises, **we accept the issue and again invite the sound money forces to join in winning another and we hope a permanent triumph for an honest financial system which will continue inviolable the public faith.**

ALL LOYAL TO SILVER.

As in 1896, the three silver parties are united under the same leader, who, immediately after the election of that year, in an address to the bimetallicists, said:

"The friends of bimetallicism have not been vanquished; they have simply been overcome. They believe that the gold standard is a conspiracy of the money changers against the welfare of the human race—and they will continue the warfare against it."

The policy thus proclaimed has been accepted and confirmed by these parties. The silver Democratic platform of 1900 continues the warfare against the so-called gold conspiracy when it expressly says:

"We reiterate the demand of that (the Chicago) platform of 1896 for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level; and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

So the issue is presented. **It will be noted that the demand is for the immediate restoration of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. If another issue is paramount, this is immediate. It will admit of no delay and will suffer no postponement.**

Turning to the other associated parties, we find in the Populist national platform adopted at Sioux Falls, S. D., May 10, 1900, the following declaration:

"We pledge anew the People's party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute book, the Lincoln greenback restored, the

bonds all paid and all corporation money forever retired. We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privilege, granted by law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws."

DECLARE THEIR HOSTILITY.

The platform of the silver party adopted at Kansas City, July 6, 1900, makes the following announcement:

"We declare it to be our intention to lend our efforts to the repeal of this currency law, which not only repudiates the ancient and time-honored principles of the American people before the Constitution was adopted, but is violative of the principles of the Constitution itself; and we shall not cease our efforts until there has been established in its place a monetary system based upon the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold into money at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 by the independent action of the United States, under which system all paper money shall be issued by the government, and all such money coined or issued shall be a full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private, without exception."

COMBINE AGAINST GOLD.

In all three platforms these parties announce that their efforts shall be unceasing until the gold act shall be blotted from the statute books and the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 shall take its place.

The relative importance of the issues I do not stop to discuss. All of them are important. Whichever party is successful will be bound in conscience to carry into administration and legislation its several declarations and doctrine. One declaration will be as obligatory as another, but all are not immediate.

It is not possible that these parties would treat the doctrine of 16 to 1, the immediate realization of which is demanded by their several platforms, as void and inoperative in the event that they should be clothed with power. Otherwise their profession of faith is insincere. It is therefore the imperative business of those opposed to this financial heresy to prevent the triumph of the parties whose union is only assured by adherence to the silver issue.

FACING GRAVE PERIL.

Will the American people, through indifference or fancied security, hazard the overthrow of the wise financial legislation of the past year and revive the danger of the silver standard, with all of the inevitable evils of shattered confidence and general disaster which justly alarmed and aroused them in 1896?

The Chicago platform of 1896 is reaffirmed in its entirety by the Kansas City convention. Nothing has been omitted or recalled; so that all the perils then threatened are presented anew with the added force of a deliberate reaffirmation. Four years ago the people refused to place the seal of their approval upon these dangerous and revolutionary policies, and this year they will not fail to record again their earnest dissent.

FAITHFUL TO PLEDGES.

The Republican party remains faithful to its principle of a tariff which supplies sufficient revenues for the government and adequate protection to our enterprises and producers, and of reciprocity, which opens foreign markets to the fruits of American labor and furnishes new channels through which to market the surplus of American farms. The time-honored principles of protection and reciprocity were the first pledges of Republican victory to be written into public law.

The present congress has given to Alaska a territorial government for which it had waited more than a quarter of a century; has established a representative government in Hawaii; has enacted bills for the most liberal treatment of the pensioners and their widows; has revived the free homestead policy.

In its great financial law it provided for the establishment of banks of issue with a capital of \$25,000 for the benefit of villages and rural communities and bringing the opportunity for profitable business in banking within the reach of moderate capital. Many are already availing themselves of this privilege.

SOME CONVINCING FIGURES.

During the past year more than \$19,000,000 of United States bonds have been paid from the surplus revenues of the treasury, and in addition \$25,000,000 of 2 per

cents matured, called by the government, are in process of payment. Pacific Railroad bonds issued by the government in aid of the roads in the sum of nearly \$44,000,000 have been paid since Dec. 31, 1897. The treasury balance is in satisfactory condition, showing on Sept. 1 \$135,419,000, in addition to the \$150,000,000 gold reserve held in the treasury. The government's relations with the Pacific railroads have been substantially closed. \$124,421,000 being received from these roads, the greater part in cash and the remainder with ample securities for payments deferred.

Instead of diminishing, as was predicted four years ago, the volume of our currency is greater per capita than it has ever been. It was \$21.10 in 1896. It had increased to \$26.50 on July 1, 1900, and \$26.85 on Sept. 1, 1900. Our total money on July 1, 1896, was \$1,506,434,966; on July 1, 1900, it was \$2,062,425,496, and \$2,096,683,042 on Sept. 1, 1900.

PROSPERITY IN GENERAL.

Our industrial and agricultural conditions are more promising than they have been for many years; probably more so than they have ever been. Prosperity abounds everywhere throughout the republic. I rejoice that the southern as well as the northern states are enjoying a full share of these improved national conditions and that all are contributing so largely to our remarkable industrial development.

The money lender receives lower rewards for his capital than if it were invested in active business. The rates of interest are lower than they have ever been in this country, while those things which are produced on the farm and in the workshop, and the labor producing them, have advanced in value.

Our foreign trade shows a satisfactory and increasing growth. The amount of our exports for the year 1900 over those of the exceptionally prosperous year of 1899 was about half a million dollars for every day of the year, and these sums have gone into the homes and enterprises of the people. There has been an increase of over \$50,000,000 in the exports of agricultural products, \$92,692,220 in manufactures and in the products of the mines of over \$10,000,000.

BIG GAINS IN TRADE.

Our trade balances cannot fail to give satisfaction to the people of the country. In 1898 we sold abroad \$615,432,676 of products more than we bought abroad, in 1899 \$529,874,813 and in 1900 \$544,471,701, making during the three years a total balance in our favor of \$1,689,779,190—nearly five times the balance of trade in our favor for the whole period of 108 years from 1790 to June 30, 1897, inclusive.

Four hundred and thirty-six million dollars of gold have been added to the gold stock of the United States since July 1, 1896. The law of March 14, 1900, authorized the refunding into 2 per cent. bonds of that part of the public debt represented by the 3 per cents due in 1908, the 4 per cents due in 1907 and the 5 per cents due in 1904, aggregating \$840,000,000. More than one-third of the sum of these bonds was refunded in the first three months after the passage of the act, and on Sept. 1 the sum had been increased more than \$33,000,000, making in all \$330,578,050, resulting in a net saving of over \$8,379,520.

GOVERNMENT SAVING MONEY.

The ordinary receipts of the government for the fiscal year 1900 were \$79,527,060 in excess of its expenditures.

While our receipts both from customs and internal revenue have been greatly increased, our expenditures have been decreasing. Civil and miscellaneous expenses for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, were nearly \$14,000,000 less than in 1899, while on the war account there is a decrease of more than \$95,000,000. There were required \$8,000,000 less to support the navy this year than last, and expenditures on account of Indians were nearly two and three-quarter million dollars less than in 1899.

The only two items of increase in the public expenses of 1900 over 1899 are for pensions and interest on the public debt. For 1899 we expended for pensions \$139,394,929, and for the fiscal year 1900 our payments on this account amounted to \$140,877,316. The net increase of interest on the public debt of 1900 over 1899 required by the war loan was \$263,408.25.

BONDS SPEEDILY TAKEN.

While congress authorized the government to make a war loan of \$400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, only \$200,000,000 of bonds were issued, bearing 3 per cent. interest, which were promptly and patriotically taken by our citizens.

Unless something unforeseen occurs to reduce our revenues or increase our expenditures, the congress at its next session should reduce taxation very materially.

Five years ago we were selling government bonds bearing as high as 5 per cent interest. Now we are redeeming them with a bond at par bearing 2 per cent interest. We are selling our surplus products and lending our surplus money to Europe.

EUROPE IS OUR DEBTOR.

One result of our selling to other nations so much more than we have bought from them during the past three years is a radical improvement of our financial relations. The great amounts of capital which have been borrowed of Europe for our rapid, material development have remained a constant drain upon our resources for interest and dividends and made our money markets liable to constant disturbances by calls for payment or heavy sales of our securities whenever moneyed stringency or panic occurred abroad. We have now been paying these debts and bringing home many of our securities and establishing countervailing credits abroad by our loans and placing ourselves upon a sure foundation of financial independence.

In the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and the Boer states of South Africa **the United States has maintained an attitude of neutrality in accordance with its well-known traditional policy.** It did not hesitate, however, when requested by the governments of the South African republics, to exercise its good offices for a cessation of hostilities.

DID WHAT WE COULD.

It is to be observed that while the South African republics made like request of other powers, the United States is the only one which complied. The British government declined to accept the intervention of any power.

Ninety-one per cent of our exports and imports are now carried by foreign ships. For ocean transportation we pay annually to foreign ship owners over \$165,000,000. **We ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the world, and we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors.** Our own citizens should receive the transportation charges now paid to foreigners.

I have called the attention of congress to this subject in my several annual messages. In that of Dec. 6, 1897, I said:

"Most desirable from every standpoint of national interest and patriotism is the effort to extend our foreign commerce. To this end our merchant marine should be improved and enlarged. We should do our full share of the carrying trade of the world. We do not do it now. We should be the laggard no longer."

In my message of Dec. 5, 1899, I said: "Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remains unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth.

"The past year has recorded exceptional activity in our shipyards, and the promises of continual prosperity in shipbuilding are abundant. Advanced legislation for the protection of our seamen has been enacted. Our coast trade, under regulations wisely framed at the beginning of the government and since, shows results for the past fiscal year unequaled in our records or those of any other power.

NEED OF THE CANAL.

"We shall fail to realize our opportunities, however, if we complacently regard only matters at home and blind ourselves to the necessity of securing our share in the valuable carrying trade of the world.

"I now reiterate these views.

"A subject of immediate importance to our country is the completion of a great waterway of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific. The construction of a maritime canal is now more than ever indispensable to that intimate and ready communication between our eastern and western seaports, demanded by the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands and the expansion of our influence and trade in the Pacific.

"Our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this government, and it is believed that the next session of congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work.

WOULD RESTRICT TRUSTS.

Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer, are obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare. **They are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory or penal legislation.**

Publicity will be a helpful influence to check this evil. Uniformity of legislation in the several states should be secured. Discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations is essential to the wise and effective treatment of this subject.

Honest co-operation of capital is necessary to meet new business conditions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, create monopolies and control prices should be effectively restrained.

BEST FRIENDS OF LABOR.

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests.

With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products employment should continue to wait upon labor, and with the present gold standard the workingman is secured against payment for his labor in a depreciated currency. **For labor a short day is better than a short dollar.** One will lighten the burdens, the other lessens the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence, the other penury and want.

SPEAKS FOR GOOD WAGES.

The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children, and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.

Practical civil service reform has always had the support and encouragement of the Republican party. The future of the merit system is safe in its hands.

During the present administration as occasions have arisen for modification or amendment in the existing civil service law and rules, they have been made. Important amendments were promulgated by executive order under date of May 29, 1899, having for their principal purpose the exception from competitive examination of certain places involving fiduciary responsibilities or duties of a strictly confidential, scientific or executive character, which it was thought might better be filled by non-competitive examination or by other tests of fitness in the discretion of the appointing officer.

VALUE OF MERIT SYSTEM.

It is gratifying that the experience of more than a year has vindicated these changes in the marked improvement of the public service.

The merit system, as far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments to office in our new territory.

The American people are profoundly grateful to the soldiers, sailors and marines who have in every time of conflict fought their country's battles and defended its honor. The survivors and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen are justly entitled to receive the generous and considerate care of the nation.

Few are now left of those who fought in the Mexican war, and while many of the veterans of the civil war are still spared to us their numbers are rapidly diminishing, and age and infirmity are increasing their dependence. These, with the soldiers of the Spanish war, will not be neglected by their grateful countrymen. The pension laws have been liberal. They should be justly administered, and will be. Preference should be given to the soldiers, sailors and marines, their widows and orphans, with respect to employment in the public service.

KEPT FAITH WITH CUBA.

We have been in possession of Cuba since the first of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquility. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked, and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condi-

tion of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education, and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants.

The qualification of electors has been settled and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 43,000 soldiers to less than 6,000.

An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention, by the same order, is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. **All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba.**

PLANS FOR PORTO RICO.

We hold Porto Rico by the same title as the Philippines. The treaty of peace which ceded us the one conveyed to us the other. Congress has given to this island a government in which the inhabitants participate, elect their own legislature, enact their own local laws, provide their own system of taxation, and in these respects have the same power and privileges enjoyed by other territories belonging to the United States and a much larger measure of self-government than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. A district court of the United States for Porto Rico has been established and local courts have been inaugurated, all of which are in operation.

The generous treatment of the Porto Ricans accords with the most liberal thought of our own country and encourages the best aspirations of the people of the island. While they do not have instant free commercial intercourse with the United States, congress complied with my recommendation by removing, on the 1st day of May last, 85 per cent of the duties and providing for the removal of the remaining 15 per cent on the 1st of March, 1902, or earlier if the legislature of Porto Rico shall provide local revenues for the expenses of conducting the government.

ISLAND IS PROFITED.

During this intermediate period Porto Rican products coming into the United States pay a tariff of 15 per cent of the rates under the Dingley act and our goods going to Porto Rico pay a like rate. The duties thus paid and collected both in Porto Rico and the United States are paid to the government of Porto Rico and no part thereof is taken by the national government.

All of the duties from Nov. 1, 1898, to June 30, 1900, aggregating the sum of \$2,250,523.21, paid at the custom-houses in the United States upon Porto Rican products, under the laws existing prior to the above-mentioned act of congress, have gone into the treasury of Porto Rico to relieve the destitute and for schools and other public purposes. In addition to this, we have expended for relief, education and improvement of roads the sum of \$1,513,084.95.

MILITARY FORCE CUT DOWN.

The United States military force in the island has been reduced from 11,000 to 1,500, and native Porto Ricans constitute for the most part the local constabulary.

Under the new law and the inauguration of civil government there has been a gratifying revival of business. **The manufactures of Porto Rico are developing; her imports are increasing; her tariff is yielding increased returns; her fields are being cultivated; free schools are being established.** Notwithstanding the many embarrassments incident to a change of national conditions, she is rapidly showing the good effects of her new relations to this nation.

For the sake of full and intelligent understanding of the Philippine question and to give to the people authentic information of the acts and aims of the administration, I present at some length the events of importance leading up to the present situation. The purposes of the executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing.

EVERY MOVE FOR PEACE.

It will be seen that the power of the government has been used for the liberty, the peace and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and that force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends.

On the 25th day of April, 1898, congress declared that a state of war existed between Spain and the United States. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey destroyed

the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. On May 19, 1898, Major General Merritt, U. S. A., was placed in command of the military expedition to Manila and directed among other things to immediately "publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection."

SOME FORTUNES OF WAR.

On July 3, 1898, the Spanish fleet in attempting to escape from Santiago harbor was destroyed by the American fleet, and on July 17, 1898, the Spanish garrison in the city of Santiago surrendered to the commander of the American forces.

Following these brilliant victories, on the 12th day of August, 1898, upon the initiative of Spain, hostilities were suspended, and a protocol was signed with a view to arranging terms of peace between the two governments. In pursuance thereof I appointed as commissioners the following distinguished citizens to conduct the negotiations on the part of the United States: Hon. William R. Day of Ohio, Hon. William P. Frye of Maine, Hon. Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, Hon. George Gray of Delaware and Hon. Whitelaw Reid of New York.

FORCED INTO CONFLICT.

In addressing the peace commission before its departure for Paris, I said:

"It is my wish that throughout the negotiations intrusted to the commission the purpose and spirit with which the United States accepted the unwelcome necessity of war should be kept constantly in view. We took up arms only in obedience to the dictates of humanity and in the fulfillment of high public and moral obligations. We had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest.

"Through the long course of repeated representations which preceded and aimed to avert the struggle and in the final arbitrament of force this country was impelled solely by the purpose of relieving grievous wrongs and removing long existing conditions which disturbed its tranquility, which shocked the moral sense of mankind and which could no longer be endured.

HIGH SENSE OF DUTY.

"It is my earnest wish that the United States in making peace should follow the same high rule of conduct which guided it in facing war. It should be as scrupulous and magnanimous in the concluding settlement as it was just and humane in its original action. * * * Our aim in the adjustment of peace should be directed to lasting results and to the achievement of the common good under the demands of civilization rather than to ambitious designs. * * *

"Without any original thought of complete or even partial acquisition, the presence and success of our arms at Manila impose upon us obligations which we cannot disregard. The march of events rules and overrules human action. Avowing unreservedly the purpose which has animated all our effort, and still solicitous to adhere to it, we cannot be unmindful that without any desire or design on our part the war has brought us new duties and responsibilities which we must meet and discharge as becomes a great nation on whose growth and career, from the beginning, the Ruler of Nations has plainly written the high command and pledge of civilization."

SHIRKED NO RESPONSIBILITY.

On Oct. 28, 1898, while the peace commission was continuing its negotiations in Paris, the following additional instruction was sent:

"It is imperative upon us that as victors we should be governed only by motives which will exalt our nation. Territorial expansion should be our least concern; that we shall not shirk the moral obligations of our victory is of the greatest.

"It is undisputed that Spain's authority is permanently destroyed in every part of the Philippines. To leave any part in her feeble control now would increase our difficulties and be opposed to the interest of humanity. * * * Nor can we permit Spain to transfer any of the islands to another power. Nor can we invite another power or powers to join the United States in sovereignty over them. **We must either hold them or turn them back to Spain.**

ONLY ONE HONORABLE COURSE.

"Consequently, grave as are the responsibilities and unforeseen as are the difficulties which are before us, the President can see but one plain path of duty, the

acceptance of the archipelago. Greater difficulties and more serious complications—administrative and international—would follow any other course.

"The President has given to the views of the commissioners the fullest consideration, and in reaching the conclusion above announced, in the light of information communicated to the commission and to the President since your departure, he has been influenced by the single consideration of duty and humanity. The President is not unmindful of the distressed financial condition of Spain, and whatever consideration the United States may show must come from its sense of generosity and benevolence rather than from any real or technical obligation."

COULD NOT ABANDON THEM.

Again, on Nov. 13, I instructed the commission:

"From the standpoint of indemnity, both the archipelagoes (Porto Rico and the Philippines) are insufficient to pay our war expenses, but aside from this, do we not owe an obligation to the people of the Philippines which will not permit us to return them to the sovereignty of Spain? Could we justify ourselves in such a course, or could we permit their barter to some other power?"

"Willing or not, we have the responsibility of duty which we cannot escape.
* * * The President cannot believe any division of the archipelago can bring us anything but embarrassment in the future. The trade and commercial side, as well as the indemnity for the cost of the war, are questions we might yield. They might be waived or compromised, but the questions of duty and humanity appeal to the President so strongly that he can find no appropriate answer but the one he has here marked out."

TERMS OF THE TREATY.

The treaty of peace was concluded on Dec. 10, 1898. By its terms the archipelago, known as the Philippine Islands, was ceded by Spain to the United States. It was also provided that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the congress."

Eleven days thereafter, on Dec. 21, the following direction was given to the commander of our forces in the Philippines:

* * * "The military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that, in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations of the inhabitants and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of the persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. **It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends,** to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments and in their personal and religious rights."

SENT A COMMISSION.

In order to facilitate the most humane, pacific and effective extension of authority throughout these islands, and to secure, with the least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants, I appointed in January, 1899, a commission consisting of Hon. Jacob Gould Schurman of New York, Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N.; Hon. Charles Denby of Indiana, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan and Major General Elwell S. Otis, U. S. A. Their instructions contained the following:

"In the performance of this duty the commissioners are enjoined to meet at the earliest possible day in the City of Manila, and to announce by a public proclamation their presence and the mission intrusted to them, carefully setting forth that, while the military government already proclaimed is to be maintained and continued so long as necessity may require, efforts will be made to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons and of property by such means as may be found conducive to these ends.

GIVEN CAREFUL INSTRUCTIONS.

"The commissioners will endeavor, without interference with the military authorities of the United States now in control of the Philippines, to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable, and for this purpose they will study attentively the existing social and political state of the various populations, particularly as regards the forms of local government, the administration of justice, the collection of cus-

toms and other taxes, the means of transportation, and the need of public improvements. They will report * * * the results of their observations and reflections, and will recommend such executive action as may from time to time seem to them wise and useful.

"The commissioners are hereby authorized to confer authoritatively with any persons resident in the islands from whom they may believe themselves able to derive information or suggestions valuable for the purposes of their commission, or whom they may choose to employ as agents, as may be necessary for this purpose. * * *

AVOIDED HARSH MEASURES.

"It is my desire that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the government of the United States.

"It is also my wish and expectation that the commissioners may be received in a manner due to the honored and authorized representatives of the American Republic, duly commissioned on account of their knowledge, skill and integrity as bearers of the good will, the protection and the richest blessings of a liberating rather than a conquering nation."

On the 6th of February, 1899, the treaty was ratified by the senate of the United States, and the congress immediately appropriated \$20,000,000 to carry out its provisions. The ratifications were exchanged by the United States and Spain on the 11th of April, 1899.

As early as April, 1899, the Philippine commission, of which Dr. Schurman was president, endeavored to bring about peace in the islands by repeated conferences with leading Tagalogs representing the so-called insurgent government, to the end that some general plan of government might be offered them which they would accept.

PLEASED THE NATIVES.

So great was the satisfaction of the insurgent commissioners with the form of government proposed by the American commissioners that the latter submitted the proposed scheme to me for approval, and my action thereon is shown by the cable message following:

"May 5, 1899. Schurman, Manila:—Yours 4th received. You are authorized to propose that, under the military power of the President, pending action of congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a governor general appointed by the President, cabinet appointed by the governor general, a general advisory council elected by the people, the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined, and the governor general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent, principal judges appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness.

The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order."

SIGNS OF TREACHERY.

In the latter part of May another group of representatives came from the insurgent leader. The whole matter was fully discussed with them and promise of acceptance seemed near at hand. They assured our commissioners they would return after consulting with their leader, but they never did.

As a result of the views expressed by the first Tagalog representative favorable to the plan of the commission, it appears that he was, by military order of the insurgent leader, stripped of his shoulder straps, dismissed from the army and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

The views of the commission are best set forth in their own words:

"Deploable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us except ignominious retreat.

HAD TO REMAIN.

"It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open

to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission.

"The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

After the most thorough study of the peoples of the archipelago the commission reported, among other things:

"Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to co-operate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs, from Manila as a center, and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary) the administration of provincial and municipal affairs. * * *

WOULD INVITE ANARCHY.

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers, and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. * * *

"Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

Satisfied that nothing further could be accomplished in pursuance of their mission until the rebellion was suppressed, and desiring to place before the congress the result of their observations, I requested the commission to return to the United States. Their most intelligent and comprehensive report was submitted to congress.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION.

In March, 1900, believing that the insurrection was practically ended and earnestly desiring to promote the establishment of a stable government in the archipelago, I appointed the following civil commission: Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Hon. Luke I. Wright of Tennessee, Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Hon. Bernard Moses of California. My instructions to them contained the following:

"You (the Secretary of war) will instruct the commission * * * to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order and loyalty. * * *

AWAITS THE REPORT.

"Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control they will report that conclusion to you (the Secretary of War), with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control. * * *

"Beginning with the 1st day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military governor, under such rules and regulations as you (the Secretary of War) shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil central government for the islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph or until congress shall otherwise provide.

LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY.

"Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders having the effect of law for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties and

imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of the public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character. The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for. * * *

RULES FOR THE INTERIM.

Until congress shall take action I directed that:

"Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines must be imposed these inviolable rules: That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed. * * *

EXTENDING EDUCATION.

"It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship, and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. * * * Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language. * * *

"Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material, but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

ALL PLEDGES KEPT.

"The articles of capitulation of the City of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words: 'This city, its inhabitants, its churches, and religious worship, its educational establishments and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army.'

"I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States."

AMNESTY PROCLAIMED.

That all might share in the regeneration of the islands and participate in their government, I directed General MacArthur, the military governor of the Philippines, to issue a proclamation of amnesty, which contained, among other statements, the following:

MANILA, P. I., June 21, 1900.—By direction of the President of the United States the undersigned announces amnesty, with complete immunity for the past and absolute liberty of action for the future, to all persons who are now, or at any time since Feb. 4, 1899, have been in insurrection against the United States in either a military or civil capacity,

and who shall, within a period of ninety days from the date hereof, formally renounce all connection with such insurrection and subscribe to a declaration acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty and authority of the United States in and over the Philippine Islands.

"The privilege herewith published is extended to all concerned without any reservation whatever, excepting that persons who have violated the laws of war during the period of active hostilities are not embraced within the scope of this amnesty. * * *

PAY OFFERED FOR RIFLES.

"In order to mitigate as much as possible consequences resulting from the various disturbances which since 1896 have succeeded each other so rapidly, and to provide in some measure for destitute Filipino soldiers during the transitory period which must inevitably succeed a general peace, the military authorities of the United States will pay 30 pesos to each man who presents a rifle in good condition."

Under their instructions the commission, composed of representative Americans of different sections of the country and from different political parties whose character and ability guarantee the most faithful intelligence and patriotic service, are now laboring to establish stable government under civil control, in which the inhabitants shall participate, giving them opportunity to demonstrate how far they are prepared for self-government.

QUOTES THE COMMISSION.

This commission, under date of Aug. 21, 1900, makes an interesting report, from which I quote the following extracts:

"Hostility against Americans was originally aroused by absurd falsehoods of unscrupulous leaders. The distribution of troops in 300 posts has by contact largely dispelled hostility, and steadily improved temper of people. This improvement is furthered by abuses of insurgents. Large numbers of people long for peace and are willing to accept government under the United States.

"Insurgents not surrendering after defeat divided into small guerilla bands under general officers or become robbers. Nearly all of the prominent generals and politicians of the insurrection, except Aguinaldo, have since been captured or have surrendered and taken the oath of allegiance. * * *

"All northern Luzon, except two provinces, substantially free from insurgents. People busy planting, and asking for municipal organization. Railway and telegraph lines from Manila to Dagupan, 122 miles, not molested for five months. * * *

PLANS NATIVE MILITIA.

"Tagalogs alone active in leading guerilla warfare. In Negros, Cebu, Romblon, Masbate, Sibuyan, Tablas, Bohol and other Philippine islands little disturbance exists, and civil government eagerly awaited. * * *

"Four years of war and lawlessness in parts of islands have created unsettled conditions. * * * Native constabulary and militia, which should be organized at once, will end this and the terrorism to which defenseless people are subjected. The natives desire to enlist in these organizations. If judiciously selected and officered, will be efficient forces for maintenance of order, and will permit early material reduction of United States troops. * * *

"Turning islands over to coterie of Tagalog politicians will blight fair prospects of enormous improvement, drive out capital, make life and property secular and religions most insecure: banish by fear of cruel proscription considerable body of conservative Filipinos who have aided Americans in well-founded belief that their people are not now fit for self-government, and reintroduce same oppression and corruption which existed in all provinces under Malolos insurgent government during the eight months of its control. The result will be factional strife between jealous leaders, chaos and anarchy, and will require and justify active intervention of our government or some other. * * *

TRADE FOLLOWS PEACE.

"Business interrupted by war much improved as peace extends. * * * In Negros more sugar in cultivation than ever before. New forestry regulations give impetus to timber trade and reduce high price of lumber. The customs collections for last quarter 50 per cent. greater than ever in Spanish history, and August collections show further increase. The total revenue for same period one-third greater than in any quarter under Spain, though cedula tax, chief source of Spanish revenue, practically abolished.

"Economy and efficiency of military government have created surplus fund of \$6,000,000, which should be expended in much needed public works, notably improvement of Manila harbor. * * * With proper tariff and facilities Manila will become great port of Orient."

The commission is confident that "by a judicious customs law, reasonable land tax and proper corporation franchise tax, imposition of no greater rate than that in the average American state will give less annoyance and with peace will produce revenues sufficient to pay expenses of efficient government, including militia and constabulary."

CIVIL SERVICE TO RULE.

They "are preparing a stringent civil service law giving equal opportunity to Filipinos and Americans, with preference for the former where qualifications are equal, to enter at the lowest rank and by promotion reach head of department. * * *

"Forty-five miles of railroad extension under negotiation will give access to a large province rich in valuable minerals, a mile high, with strictly temperate climate. * * * Railroad construction will give employment to many and communication will furnish a market to vast stretches of rich agricultural lands."

They report that there are "calls from all parts of the islands for public schools, school supplies and English teachers, greater than the commission can provide until a comprehensive school system is organized. Night schools for teaching English to adults

are being established in response to popular demand. Native children show aptitude in learning English, Spanish is spoken by a small fraction of people, and in a few years the medium of communication in the courts, public offices and between different tribes will be English.

WORKING FOR HUMANITY.

"Creation of central government within eighteen months, under which substantially all rights described in the bill of rights in the federal Constitution are to be secured to the people of the Philippines, will bring to them contentment, prosperity, education and political enlightenment."

This shows to my countrymen what has been and is being done to bring the benefits of liberty and good government to these wards of the nation. Every effort has been directed to their peace and prosperity, their advancement and well-being, not for our aggrandizement nor for pride of might, not for trade or commerce, not for exploitation, but for humanity and civilization, and for the protection of the vast majority of the population who welcome our sovereignty against the designing minority whose first demand after the surrender of Manila by the Spanish army was to enter the city that they might loot it and destroy those not in sympathy with their selfish and treacherous designs.

NO SIGN OF ALLIANCE.

Nobody who will avail himself of the facts will longer hold that there was any alliance between our soldiers and the insurgents or that any promise of independence was made to them. Long before their leader had reached Manila they had resolved, if the commander of the American navy would give them arms with which to fight the Spanish army, they would later turn upon us, which they did murderously and without the shadow of cause or justification.

There may be those without the means of full information who believe that we were in alliance with the insurgents and that we assured them that they should have independence. To such let us repeat the facts:

On the 26th of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey was instructed by me to make no alliance with any party or faction in the Philippines that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future, and he replied under date of June 6, 1898:

"Have acted according to spirit of department's instructions from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession."

DENIES ANY COMPACT.

In the report of the first Philippine commission, submitted on Nov. 2, 1899, Admiral Dewey, one of its members, said:

"No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo nor was any promise of independence made to him at any time."

General Merritt arrived in the Philippines on July 25, 1898, and a dispatch from Admiral Dewey to the government at Washington said:

"Merritt arrived yesterday. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with the insurgents under Aguinaldo, who have become aggressive and even threatening toward our army."

Here is revealed the spirit of the insurgents as early as July, 1898, before the protocol was signed, while we were still engaged in active war with Spain. Even then the insurgents were threatening our army.

FILIPINOS TOOK NO PART.

On Aug. 13, Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine commission says:

"When the City of Manila was taken, Aug. 13, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view to looting the city and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city. He demanded of General Merritt the palace of Malacanán for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manila, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and, above all, that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. All these demands were refused."

NO PROMISES MADE.

Generals Merritt, Greene and Anderson, who were in command at the beginning of our occupation and until the surrender of Manila, state that there was no alliance with the insurgents and no promise to them of independence. On Aug. 17, 1898, General Merritt was instructed that there must be no joint occupation of Manila with the insurgents. General Anderson, under date of Feb. 10, 1900, says that he was present at the interview between Admiral Dewey and the insurgent leader, and that in this interview Admiral Dewey made no promises whatever. He adds:

"He (Aguinaldo) asked me if my government was going to recognize his government. I answered that I was there simply in a military capacity; that I could not acknowledge his government, because I had no authority to do so."

EASY TO FIND FAULT.

Would not our adversaries have sent Dewey's fleet to Manila to capture and destroy the Spanish sea power there, or, dispatching it there, would they have withdrawn it after the destruction of the Spanish fleet; and if the latter, whither would they have directed it to sail? Where could it have gone? What port in the Orient was opened to it?

Do our adversaries condemn the expedition under the command of General Merritt to

strengthen Dewey in the distant ocean and assist in our triumph over Spain, with which nation we were at war? Was it not our highest duty to strike Spain at every vulnerable point, that the war might be successfully concluded at the earliest practicable moment?

ASKS FOR HONEST OPINION.

And was it not our duty to protect the lives and property of those who came within our control by the fortunes of war? Could we have come away at any time between May 1, 1898, and the conclusion of peace without a stain upon our good name? Could we have come away without dishonor at any time after the ratification of the peace treaty by the senate of the United States?

There has been no time since the destruction of the enemy's fleet when we could or should have left the Philippine archipelago. After the treaty of peace was ratified no power but congress could surrender our sovereignty or alienate a foot of the territory thus acquired. The congress has not seen fit to do the one or the other, and the President had no authority to do either, if he had been so inclined, which he was not.

So long as the sovereignty remains in us it is the duty of the executive, whoever he may be, to uphold that sovereignty, and if it be attacked to suppress its assailants. Would our political adversaries do less?

BECUN BY INSURGENTS.

It has been asserted that there would have been no fighting in the Philippines if congress had declared its purpose to give independence to the Tagal insurgents. The insurgents did not wait for the action of congress. They assumed the offensive, they opened fire on our army.

Those who assert our responsibility for the beginning of the conflict have forgotten that before the treaty was ratified in the senate, and while it was being debated in that body, and while the Bacon resolution was under discussion, on Feb. 4, 1899, the insurgents attacked the American army, after being previously advised that the American forces were under orders not to fire upon them except in defense. The papers found in the recently captured archives of the insurgents demonstrate that this attack had been carefully planned for weeks before it occurred.

ONLY ONE COURSE OPEN.

Their unprovoked assault upon our soldiers at a time when the senate was deliberating upon the treaty shows that no action on our part except surrender and abandonment would have prevented the fighting, and leaves no doubt in any fair mind of where the responsibility rests for the shedding of American blood.

With all the exaggerated phrasemaking of this electoral contest, we are in danger of being diverted from the real contention. We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue was made.

It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it, and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my constitutional authority, and will continue to do until congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

PLEA FOR CONSISTENCY.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the senate but for their assistance. The senate which ratified the treaty and the congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation comprised senators and representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should be promptly disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos, that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago, the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized and the powers of government over all the other peoples of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

PROLONGS THE REBELLION.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by General MacArthur under my direction. But for these false hopes a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

The American people are asked by our opponents to yield the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines to a small fraction of the population, a single tribe out of eighty or more inhabiting the archipelago, a fraction which wantonly attacked the American troops in Manila while in rightful possession under the protocol with Spain, awaiting the ratification of the treaty of peace by the senate, and which has since been in active, open rebellion against the United States. We are asked to transfer our sovereignty to a small minority in the islands without consulting the majority and to abandon the largest portion of the population, which has been loyal to us, to the cruelties of the guerilla insurgent bands.

DEMANDS CANNOT BE MET.

More than this, we are asked to protect this minority in establishing a government, and to this end repress all opposition of the majority. We are required to set up a stable government in the interest of those who have assailed our sovereignty and fired upon our soldiers, and then maintain it at any cost or sacrifice against its enemies within and against those having ambitious designs from without.

This would require an army and navy far larger than is now maintained in the Philippines and still more in excess of what will be necessary with the full recognition of our sovereignty. **A military support of authority not our own, as thus proposed, is the very essence of militarism, which our opponents in their platform oppose, but which by their policy would of necessity be established in its most offensive form.**

NO PREMIUM ON MURDER.

The American people will not make the murderers of our soldiers the agents of the republic to convey the blessings of liberty and order to the Philippines. They will not make them the builders of the new commonwealth. Such a course would be a betrayal of our sacred obligations to the peaceful Filipinos, and would place at the mercy of dangerous adventurers the lives and property of the natives and foreigners. It would make possible and easy the commission of such atrocities as were secretly planned, to be executed on the 22d of February, 1899, in the City of Manila, when only the vigilance of our army prevented the attempt to assassinate our soldiers and all foreigners and pillage and destroy the city and its surroundings.

In short, the proposition of those opposed to us is to continue all the obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety. Our responsibility is to remain, but our power is to be diminished. Our obligation is to be no less, but our title is to be surrendered to another power, which is without experience or training, or the ability to maintain a stable government at home and absolutely helpless to perform its international obligations with the rest of the world.

WILL DEFEND OUR TITLE.

To this we are opposed. We should not yield our title while our obligations last. In the language of our platform, "Our authority should not be less than our responsibility," and our present responsibility is to establish our authority in every part of the islands.

No government can so certainly preserve the peace, restore public order, establish law, justice and stable conditions as ours. Neither congress nor the executive can establish a stable government in these islands except under our right of sovereignty, our authority and our flag. And this we are doing.

We could not do it as a protectorate power so completely or so successfully as we are doing it now. As the sovereign power we can initiate action and shape means to ends, and guide the Filipinos to self-development and self-government.

As a protectorate power we could not initiate action, but would be compelled to follow and uphold a people with no capacity yet to go alone. In the one case we can protect both ourselves and the Filipinos from being involved in dangerous complications; in the other we could not protect even the Filipinos until after their trouble had come.

CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

Besides, if we cannot establish any government of our own without the consent of the governed, as our opponents contend, then we could not establish a stable government for them or make ours a protectorate without the like consent, and neither the majority of the people nor a minority of the people have invited us to assume it. We could not maintain a protectorate even with the consent of the governed without giving provocation for conflicts and possibly costly wars.

Our rights in the Philippines are now free from outside interference and will continue so in our present relation. They would not be thus free in any other relation. We will not give up our own to guarantee another sovereignty.

Our title is good. Our peace commissioners believed they were receiving a good title when they concluded the treaty. The executive believed it was a good title when he submitted it to the senate of the United States for its ratification. The senate believed it was a good title when they gave it their constitutional assent, and the congress seems not to have doubted its completeness when they appropriated \$20,000,000 provided by the treaty.

TITLE IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

If any who favored its ratification believed it gave us a bad title they were not sincere. Our title is practically identical with that under which we hold our territory acquired since the beginning of the government, and under which we have exercised full sovereignty and established government for the inhabitants.

It is worthy of note that no one outside of the United States disputes the fullness and integrity of the cession. **What then is the real issue on this subject? Whether it is paramount to any other or not, it is whether we shall be responsible for the government of the Philippines, with the sovereignty and authority which enables us to guide them to regulated liberty, law, safety and progress, or whether we shall be responsible for the forcible and arbitrary government of a minority, without sovereignty and authority on our part, and with only the embarrassment of a protectorate which draws us into their troubles without the power of preventing them.**

OBLIGATION OF WAR.

There were those who two years ago were rushing us on to war with Spain who are unwilling now to accept its clear consequences as there are those among us who advocated the ratification of the treaty of peace, but now protest against its obligations. Nations

which go to war must be prepared to accept its resultant obligations, and when they make treaties must keep them.

Those who profess to distrust the liberal and honorable purposes of the administration in its treatment of the Philippines are not justified. Imperialism has no place in its creed or conduct. Freedom is the rock upon which the Republican party was built and now rests. Liberty is the great Republican doctrine for which the people went to war and for which a million lives were offered and billions of dollars expended to make it a lawful legacy of all without the consent of master or slave.

STRAIN OF HYPOCRISY.

There is a strain of ill-concealed hypocrisy in the anxiety to extend the constitutional guarantees to the people of the Philippines, while their nullification is openly advocated at home. Our opponents may distrust themselves, but they have no right to discredit the good faith and patriotism of the majority of the people who are opposed to them. They may fear the worst form of imperialism with the helpless Filipinos in their hands, but if they do, it is because they have parted with the spirit and faith of the fathers and have lost the virility of the founders of the party which they profess to represent.

The Republican party doesn't have to assert its devotion to the Declaration of Independence. That immortal instrument of the fathers remains unexecuted until the people, under the lead of the Republican party in the awful clash of battle, turned its promises into fulfillment. It wrote into the Constitution the amendments guaranteeing political equality to American citizenship, and it has never broken them or counseled others in breaking them. It will not be guided in its conduct by one set of principles at home and another set in the new territory belonging to the United States.

DOCTRINE OF LINCOLN.

If our opponents would only practice as well as preach the doctrines of Abraham Lincoln there would be no fear for the safety of our institutions or their rightful influence in any territory over which our flag floats.

Empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen. The flag of the republic now floats over these islands as an emblem of rightful sovereignty. Will the republic stay and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of liberty, education and free institutions, or steal away, leaving them to anarchy or imperialism?

The American question is between duty and desertion. The American verdict will be for duty and against desertion, for the Republic against both anarchy and imperialism.

The country has been fully advised of the purposes of the United States in China, and they will be faithfully adhered to as already defined.

SUFFERERS IN PEKIN.

The nation is filled with gratitude that the little band, among them many of our own blood, who for two months have been subjected to privation and peril by the attacks of pitiless hordes at the Chinese capital, exhibiting supreme courage in the face of despair, have been enabled by God's favor to greet their rescuers and find shelter under their own flag.

The people not alone of this land, but of all lands, have watched and prayed through the terrible stress and protracted agony of the helpless sufferers in Peking; and while at times the dark tidings seemed to make all hope vain, the rescuers never faltered in the heroic fulfillment of their noble task. We are grateful to our own soldiers and sailors and marines, and to all the brave men who, though assembled under many standards, representing peoples and races strangers in country and speech, were yet united in the sacred mission of carrying succor to the besieged, with a success that is now the cause of a world's rejoicing.

PASSING OF SECTIONALISM.

Not only have we reason for thanksgiving for our material blessings, but we should rejoice in the complete unification of the people of all sections of our country that has so happily developed in the last few years and made for us a more perfect union. The obliteration of old differences, the common devotion to the flag and the common sacrifices for its honor, so conspicuously shown by the men of the North and South in the Spanish war, have so strengthened the ties of friendship and mutual respect that nothing can ever again divide us.

The nation faces the new century gratefully and hopefully, with increasing love of country, with firm faith in its free institutions, and with high resolve that they "shall not perish from the earth." Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.



President McKinley's

Speech of Acceptance

JULY 12, 1900

Upon the occasion of the notification of his re-nomination for the
Presidency by the

Republican National Convention
at Philadelphia, Pa.

SENATOR LODGE, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NOTI-
FICATION COMMITTEE:

The message which you bring to me is one of signal honor. It is also a summons to duty. A single nomination for the office of President by a great party which in thirty-two years out of forty has been triumphant at national elections, is a distinction which I gratefully cherish. To receive a unanimous renomination by the same party is an expression of regard and a pledge of continued confidence for which it is difficult to make adequate acknowledgment.

If anything exceeds the honor of the office of President of the United States it is the responsibility which attaches to it. Having been invested with both, I do not under-appraise either.

Anyone who has borne the anxieties and burdens of the Presidential office, especially in time of national trial, cannot contemplate assuming it a second time without profoundly realizing the severe exactions and the solemn obligations which it imposes, and this feeling is accentuated by the momentous problems which now press for settlement. If my countrymen shall confirm the action of the Convention at our national election in November, I shall, craving Divine guidance, undertake the exalted trust, to administer it for the interest and honor of the country, and the well-being of the new peoples who have become the objects of our care. (Great applause.) The declaration of principles adopted by the Convention has my hearty approval. At some future date I will consider its subjects in detail and will by letter communicate to your chairman a more formal acceptance of the nomination.

REPUBLICAN PARTY'S PROMISES.

On a like occasion four years ago, I said:

"The party that supplied by legislation the vast revenues for the conduct of our greatest war; that promptly restored the credit of the country at its close; that from its abundant revenues paid off a large share of the debt incurred by this war, and that resumed specie payments and placed our paper currency upon a sound and enduring basis, can be safely trusted to preserve both our credit and currency, with honor, stability and inviolability. The American people hold the financial honor of our Government as sacred as our flag, and can be relied upon to guard it with the same sleepless vigilance. They hold its preservation above party fealty, and have often demonstrated that party ties avail nothing when the spotless credit of our country is threatened.

"* * * The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any government creditor.

"* * * Our industrial supremacy, our productive capacity, our business and commercial prosperity, our labor and its rewards, our national credit and currency, our proud financial honor and our splendid free citizenship, the birthright of every American, are all involved in the pending campaign, and thus every home in the land is directly and intimately connected with their proper settlement.

THE HOME MARKET.

"* * * Our domestic trade must be won back and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade so precipitately cut off by adverse national legislation, re-opened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products.

"* * * Public confidence must be resumed, and the skill, energy and the capital of our country find ample employment at home. * * * The Government of the United States must raise money enough to meet both its current expenses and increasing needs. Its revenues should be so raised as to protect the material interests of our people, with the lightest possible drain upon their resources, and maintain that high standard of civilization which has distinguished our country for more than a century of its existence.

"* * * The national credit, which has thus far fortunately resisted every assault upon it, must and will be upheld and strengthened. If sufficient revenues are provided for the support of the Government there will be no necessity for borrowing money and increasing the public debt."

SOUND MONEY ESTABLISHED.

Three and one-half years of legislation and administration have been concluded since these words were spoken. Have those to whom was confided the direction of the Government kept their pledges? The record is made up. The people are not unfamiliar with what has been accomplished. The gold standard has been re-affirmed and strengthened. (Great applause.) The endless chain has been broken and the drain upon our gold reserve no longer frets us. (Applause.) The credit of the country has been advanced to the highest place among all nations. (Great applause.) We are refunding our bonded debt bearing three and four and five per cent interest at two per cent, a lower rate than that of any other country, and already more than three hundred millions have been so funded with a gain to the Government of many millions of dollars. (Continued applause.) Instead of free silver at 16 to 1 (laughter), for which

our opponents contended four years ago, legislation has been enacted which, while utilizing all forms of our money, secures one fixed value for every dollar and that the best known to the civilized world. (Great and long-continued applause.)

PROTECTION TO LABOR AND INDUSTRY.

A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenues has been written in public law. (Applause.) We have lower interest and higher wages; more money and fewer mortgages. (Applause.) The world's markets have been opened to American products, which go now where they have never gone before. (Great applause.) We have passed from a bond issuing to a bond paying nation (Applause); from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders (Applause); from a deficiency in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment. (Great applause.) The public faith has been upheld; public order has been maintained. We have prosperity at home and prestige abroad. (Enthusiastic and long-continued applause.)

DEMOCRATS DENOUNCE THE GOLD STANDARD.

Unfortunately the threat of 1896 has just been renewed by the allied parties without abatement or modification. The gold bill has been denounced and its repeal demanded. The menace of 16 to 1, therefore, still hangs over us with all its dire consequences to credit and confidence, to business and industry. The enemies of sound currency are rallying their scattered forces. The people must once more unite and overcome the advocates of repudiation and must not relax their energy until the battle for public honor and honest money shall again triumph. (Great applause.) A Congress which will

sustain, and if need be strengthen, the present law, can prevent a financial catastrophe, which every lover of the Republic is interested to avert.

THEY CONDEMN PROTECTION.

Not satisfied with assaulting the currency and credit of the Government, our political adversaries condemn the tariff law enacted at the extra session of Congress in 1897, known as the Dingley Act, passed in obedience to the will of the people expressed at the election in the preceding November, a law which at once stimulated our industries, opened the idle factories and mines and gave to the laborer and to the farmer fair returns for their toil and investment. Shall we go back to a tariff which brings deficiency in our revenues and destruction to our industrial enterprises? (Cries of "No.")

Faithful to its pledges in these internal affairs, how has the Government discharged its international duties?

REPUBLICAN PEACE POLICY.

Our platform of 1896 declared, "The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them." (Applause.) This purpose has been fully accomplished by annexation, and delegates from these beautiful islands participated in the convention for which you speak to-day. (Great applause.) In the great conference of nations at The Hague we reaffirmed before the world the Monroe doctrine and our adherence to it and our determination not to participate in the complications of Europe. We have happily ended the European alliance in Samoa, securing to ourselves one of the most valuable harbors in the Pacific ocean; while the open door in China gives to us fair and equal competition in the vast trade of the Orient. (Great applause.)

RESULTS OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

Some things have happened which were not promised, nor even foreseen, and our purposes in relation to them must not be left in doubt. A just war has been waged for humanity and with it have come new problems and responsibilities. Spain has been ejected from the Western Hemisphere and our flag floats over her former territory. (Great applause.) Cuba has been liberated and our guaranties to her people will be sacredly executed. (Applause.) A beneficent government has been provided for Porto Rico. (Great applause.) The Philippines are ours and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago. (Long-continued applause.) There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights, no abandonment of our duty. (Applause.)

NO SCUTTLE POLICY.

There must be no scuttle policy. (Tremendous applause, long continued.) We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our arms and by the treaty of peace, by international law, by the nation's sense of honor, and more than all by the rights, interests and conditions of the Philippine peoples themselves. (Great applause.) No outside interference blocks the way to peace and a stable government. The obstructionists are here, not elsewhere. (Laughter and great applause.) They may postpone but they cannot defeat the realization of the high purpose of this nation to restore order in the islands and establish a just and generous government, in which the inhabitants shall have the largest participation for which they are capable. (Great applause.) The organized forces which have been misled into rebellion have been dispersed by our faithful soldiers and sailors, and the people of the islands, delivered from

anarchy, pillage and oppression, recognize American sovereignty as the symbol and pledge of peace, justice, law, religious freedom, education, the security of life and property, and the welfare and prosperity of their several communities. (Great applause.)

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES REASSERTED.

We reassert the early principle of the Republican party, sustained by unbroken judicial precedents, that the representatives of the people, in Congress assembled, have full legislative power over territory belonging to the United States (tremendous applause), subject to the fundamental safeguards of liberty, justice and personal rights, and are vested with ample authority to act "for the highest interests of our nation and the people entrusted to its care." (Long-continued applause.) This doctrine, first proclaimed in the cause of freedom, will never be used as a weapon for oppression. (Tremendous applause.)

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

I am glad to be assured by you that what we have done in the Far East has the approval of the country. The sudden and terrible crisis in China calls for the gravest consideration, and you will not expect from me now any further expression than to say that my best efforts shall be given to the immediate purpose of protecting the lives of our citizens who are in peril, with the ultimate object of the peace and welfare of China, the safeguarding of all our treaty rights, and the maintenance of those principles of impartial intercourse to which the civilized world is pledged. (Enthusiastic applause.)

STRONG NATIONAL SENTIMENT.

I cannot conclude without congratulating my countrymen upon the strong national sentiment which finds expression in every part of our common country, and the increased respect with which the American name is greeted throughout the world. (Great applause.)

THE PARTY OF LIBERTY.

We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty. There will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat. (Applause.) No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be. (Great applause.) We will perform without fear every national and international obligation. (Great applause.) The Republican party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession but of performance. (Great applause.) It broke the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves and made them free, and to the party of Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of 10,000,000 of the human family from the yoke of imperialism. (Tremendous applause and cheers, which broke out again and again.) In its solution of great problems, in its performance of high duties, it has had the support of members of all parties in the past, and confidently invokes their co-operation in the future.

Permit me to express, Mr. Chairman, my most sincere appreciation of the complimentary terms in which you convey the official notice of my nomination, and my thanks to the members of the Committee and to the great constituency which they represent, for this additional evidence of their favor and support. (Great and long-continued applause.)



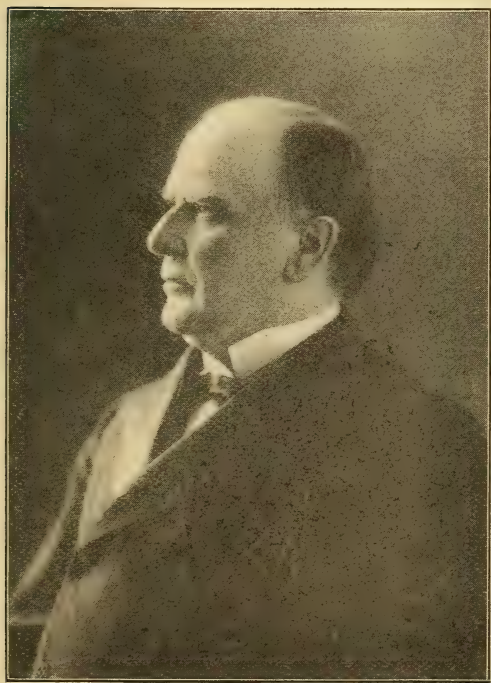
President McKinley's Share in the War With Spain.

He Exhausted Every Avenue of Diplomacy to Avoid
the Conflict, But After It Began He Pushed It
With Vigor In Order to Speedily Bring
About Peace with Success.

[From "*The American-Spanish War*," published by CHAS. C. HASKELL & SON, Norwich, Conn.]

"We want no wars of conquest. We must avoid the temptation of territorial aggression. War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed."

These were the ringing words of William McKinley, when he took



the oath of office as President of the United States, on the 4th of March, 1897, with the shadow of an impending conflict with Spain resting darkly over him. From the views thus expressed he never deviated during all the trying period that afterwards intervened. When every agency of peace had failed, and war became inevitable, he accepted all of its grave responsibilities, just as, after the protocol of peace had been signed, he declared that where the flag had once been raised it should not be hauled down with his consent, and that, as far as in him lay, he would carry out to their logical and le-

gitimate conclusions the results achieved by the war.

More fully than any one else Mr. McKinley appreciated, when he entered upon the duties of Chief Executive, the dread responsibilities

which a declaration of war would impose. He knew that though war might be demanded or proclaimed by the people of any nation—Imperial, Monarchical or Republican—the responsibilities for its conduct and for its results must fall upon the Executive. He comprehended the peculiar difficulties which surrounded our relations with Spain, the greatest of these being that which had the least popular consideration—the possibility that a declaration of war with Spain would bring about the hostile intervention of other European Powers, intimately connected with that country by ties of common interest and family relationship. Traditions and international understandings, the Monroe Doctrine, the inviolability of which has so recently been asserted by this country, and questions of politics and religion all aided to complicate the situation. While it is true that each of the great political parties in the campaign which preceded the election of President McKinley had condemned in strong terms the existing condition of affairs in Cuba, and declared a readiness to exhaust every effort to secure to the people of that island the blessings of freedom and good government, no pledge was given by either party which could, even by inference, be held to bind the Government of the United States to take up arms to accomplish the end which was rhetorically advocated.

When Mr. McKinley left his home in Canton, Ohio, to assume the duties of the Presidency, he had in mind a plan, which he had carefully thought out, for the emancipation of Cuba and the establishment of an independent form of government in that island. His purpose was to bring about this result by a series of swift and positive diplomatic movements, which included an appeal to motives of humanity and justice, and an array of the more powerful, if less disinterested, motives of self interest. There can be little doubt that one of his leading ideas for the pacification of Cuba was the surrender of Spanish sovereignty to be brought about by diplomatic negotiations or by friendly purchase, the United States to be either the direct purchaser or the guarantor in behalf of an independent Cuban Republic. He immediately proceeded to put in operation all the agencies of diplomacy to secure an amelioration of the condition of the people of Cuba. Contemporaneously with these efforts he called Congress in extra session, to enact laws which should place the industrial, commercial and agricultural interests of our own country upon a more satisfactory basis. He asked Congress, before transacting any other business, first to provide sufficient revenue to administer the Government faithfully, without the contraction of further debt or the continued disturbance of our finances. In the light of events that followed, it may well be claimed that Divine Providence shaped the ends to which the President directed the nation. Without the revival of prosperity, which almost immediately followed the legislation recommended—the enactment of which consumed time and tended to create a feeling of unrest on the part of those who desired speedy action in Cuba,—there could not have been the national cohesion which enabled us to secure the results afterwards achieved.

During this extra session, called only to consider economic ques-

tions, events in Cuba so progressed as to excite the public mind almost beyond the limits of repression. General Weyler's policy of concentration, inaugurated February 16, 1896, removed from the provinces controlled by the Spanish army the rural population, including women, children and helpless old people. The massing of these in the neighborhood of the cities, and the leaving of them there to die of starvation, had reached a culmination of horror which shocked the civilized world. The President issued an appeal to the people of the United States to relieve the necessities of these innocent sufferers; Congress made an appropriation for the purpose; and the noble organization of the Red Cross, and, later on, many newspaper and private agencies of benevolence were drawn to their assistance.

Agitation for the recognition of Cuban Independence, or for forcible intervention by the United States, was rampant all over the country, sustained by the pulpit, the press and the lecture forum. Resolutions by the hundred were adopted at public gatherings and forwarded to the President, almost as urgent in tone as those addressed to President Lincoln prior to the Proclamation of Emancipation. So many Americans, impelled by righteous indignation at the stories of Cuban wrongs, had entered the service of the Cuban army of freedom that there was scarcely a Congressional District which did not number one or more of these recruits, whose relatives were importunate in beseeching their Representatives in Congress to take speedy measures to put an end to the struggle.

Expeditions, unauthorized by international law, but quite generally sanctioned by public sentiment, fitted out in our ports to carry arms, ammunition and men to aid the cause of Cuba Libre, became so alarmingly frequent and formidable that the President ordered a special patrol by revenue cutters and naval vessels of our coast adjacent to Cuba, and directed the appointment of special officers of the Department of Justice to prosecute the offenders against our neutrality laws. Among those intercepted and prosecuted as the result of these measures was General Calixto Garcia, the Cuban patriot, whose death in December, 1898, while on a mission of peace and conciliation to the City of Washington, was generally deplored.

To the different delegations from Congress who waited upon him to urge immediate action, President McKinley, with the frankness which has always characterized his dealings with the legislative branch of the Government, explained his plans and his aspirations for a peaceful settlement, and asked them to give him further time. Congress trusted the President, and respected his wishes by adjourning the extra session without taking decisive action on the Cuban question.

Diplomatic efforts to effect an adjustment were continued with increased vigor. The President, it is understood, went just as far in his demands as he could within the constitutional limits of his power, stopping short only of such action as might be construed into a practical declaration of war. Spain replied, in her customary manner, by promises and prevarication. The pressure of public sentiment increased

in volume. Local militia organizations, covertly or openly abetted by governors of States, and many individual citizens of military training, undertook the organization of volunteer forces to proceed to Cuba to aid in the liberation of its people. Political parties and geographical lines were ignored. The men who carried on the agitation were those who had fought on each side of the most desperate civil war of modern history.

To withstand this pressure until the time was ripe; to continue to enforce our neutrality laws in the face of a hostile public sentiment; and scrupulously to observe all our international obligations towards Spain, imposed upon the President duties which called for the exercise of the highest executive ability and tact.

When the 356 members of the House of Representatives and the ninety Senators, fresh from intercourse with their people, met in regular session of Congress on the 6th of December, 1897, it was as the commingling of many streams forming one mighty flood of public sentiment in favor of the immediate evacuation of Cuba by Spain, or an open declaration of war by the United States as the alternative. The President addressed to Congress a thoughtful, firm, but temperate message. Summarizing the historical facts, he reminded Congress that our relations towards Spain and Cuba had been almost a continuous question since the first enfranchisement of the colonial possessions of Spain in the Western Hemisphere in 1823, and that the possibility that some other European Power might take advantage of the weakness of Spain's hold upon Cuba to establish a foothold on that island to the detriment of the United States, had called forth repeated declarations that this country would permit no disturbance of Cuba's connection with Spain, unless in the direction of independence, or the acquisition of the island by the United States through purchase.

While maintaining in his communications to Congress the reticence which must accompany uncompleted negotiations, and withholding any statement of precise propositions, so as to avoid embarrassment to the Government of Spain, he stated that our new Minister to that country (General Stewart L. Woodford) had been instructed to inquire seriously whether the time was not ripe for Spain, of her own volition, moved by her own interests, to make proposals of settlement honorable to herself and just to her Cuban colony; and also instructed to intimate, in plainest terms, that the United States, as a neighboring country, with large interests, both commercial and humane, in Cuba, could not be required to wait much longer for the restoration of peace and order in that island. The President still counselled a last appeal to peaceful negotiation. Forcible annexation of Cuba by the United States, he said, would be an act of criminal aggression. Recognition of the beligerency or of the independence of the Cuban Republic he also put aside, for the reason that the essential qualifications of sovereignty required by international law had not, in his judgment, been yet attained. Denouncing General Weyler's concentration order as an act, not of civilized warfare, but of extermination, he gave full faith to the

declarations of the new Spanish Government of Premier Sagasta, which had succeeded that of Premier Canovas, under whom this cruel policy originated, that it would be reversed, and that a broad and liberal scheme of Home Rule or Autonomy would be granted to Cuba. These propositions he thought were in the line of a better understanding between this Government and that of Spain. He felt that it was honestly due to Spain that she should be given a reasonable chance to realize her expectations and to prove the asserted efficacy of the new order of things to which she stood irrevocably committed.

At the same time he added these pregnant words:

"Sure of the right, keeping free from all offence ourselves, actuated only by upright and patriotic considerations, moved neither by passion nor selfishness, the Government will continue its watchful care over the rights and property of American citizens, and will abate none of its efforts to bring about by peaceful agencies a peace which shall be honorable and enduring. If it shall hereafter appear to be a duty imposed by our obligations to ourselves, to civilization and humanity, to intervene with force, it shall be without fault on our part and only because the necessity for such action shall be so clear as to command the support and approval of the civilized world."

This declaration was afterward abundantly fulfilled. On the night of the 15th of February, eleven weeks after the assembling of Congress, the United States battleship *Maine*, while on a friendly visit to the harbor of Havana, and lying at a mooring especially assigned to her by the Captain of the port, was destroyed by a submarine mine, and in this catastrophe two of her officers and 264 of her crew perished.

The horror and suspicion which this occurrence created in the minds of the President and his advisers were increased by the fact that Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee at Havana had cabled, suggesting delay in sending the *Maine* to that city, on the ground that the Spanish authorities professed to think her presence had some ulterior purpose, and would obstruct autonomy and most probably produce a demonstration. This telegram was received after the *Maine* had sailed for Havana.

Those who saw President McKinley the night this fateful news was received say that the anguish depicted on his face was as great as that which Abraham Lincoln exhibited when he visited the battlefield of Gettysburg. He knew then that all his efforts to avert a war, of which no one could foretell the duration or extent, had been unavailing.

This was the crucial moment in the President's life; a turning point in the life of the Republic. Then the sturdy characteristics of firmness and readiness of mind derived from his ancestry were displayed. Mr. McKinley, as is well known, is of Scotch-Irish descent. The crest of "James McKinlay the Trooper," head of the Scotch clan of McKinlay, from whom the McKinleys of Pennsylvania and Ohio descended, was an olive branch clasped in a mailed hand. The motto accompanying this emblem implied Moderation and Patience. Its literal reading was, "Not too much." In transition from Scotland to the North of Ireland the "a" of the name was changed to "e," and under

the Scotch-Irish name of "McKinley," the ancestors of the present President of the United States came to America, where, in York County, Pennsylvania, his great grandfather, David McKinley, a gallant private soldier of the War of the Revolution, was born.

These old heraldic bearings derived new significance in the present crisis. The "olive branch" had been extended for eleven months; the "mailed hand" was now to come into play. Not for the first time was William McKinley, the soldier, called upon to take heroic assumption of responsibility, but never before in so vast a theater and with the world for a spectator. William McKinley was a gallant soldier in the war of 1861-5. He entered that war as a private and emerged as a Major. He participated in many battles, and won promotion for distinguished services. He knew what war meant, and had shown his capacity in positions of great difficulty and responsibility.

An incident recorded of him in that struggle illustrates the self-reliance of the man, and the qualities which were now to be brought into operation on a far grander scale. The story, as told by one of his biographers, is this:—

"At the battle of Opequan, McKinley (who, like his ancestor of Revolutionary fame, had entered the war as a private, but who was now a Captain and Aide on General Crook's staff) was sent with an order to General Isaac H. Duval to move his command quickly to a position on the right of the Sixth Corps; but Duval, not knowing the topography of the country, asked the young aide, 'By what route shall I move my command?' Captain McKinley was without definite orders or knowledge of the country, but having a general idea of the direction of the water courses and location of the troops, replied, 'I would move up this creek.' Duval then said, 'I shall not move without definite orders.' McKinley knew that any delay was hazardous, and so, acting on his own view of the position of the armies, at once replied: 'This is a case of great emergency, General, and so I order you, by command of General Crook, to move your command on the road up this ravine to a position on the right of the army!' The movement proved exactly right, and Duval's command was soon in position to do effective work. It drove the enemy in confusion from their works and contributed to the victory of the day. Still it is not hard to conjecture what would have been the young aide's fate if the order had been a mistake."

The admirable equipoise of Mr. McKinley's character, and his readiness to meet emergencies whenever they occurred, and however unexpectedly they confronted him, have been manifested on many occasions since the termination of this great epoch in American history. Three years before he was called to enter upon the duties of Chief Executive of the Nation, when he was filling a similar but less exalted position, that of Chief Executive of the great State of Ohio, disturbances of a most threatening character broke out among the coal miners. Governor McKinley assumed personal direction of the State troops sent to suppress rioting, and by his firmness and moderation averted what threatened to be a sanguinary and widespread disturbance.

His twelve years' service in Congress, his experience in other walks of life, in all of which he acquitted himself in the most trying circum-

stances with credit and distinction, marked him as the man destined for the hour when the storm of foreign war broke over the United States.

On the day after the news of the destruction of the battleship Maine, the President was visited by nearly every member of Congress, urging immediate warlike action. He counselled prudence and delay; he asked them all to suspend judgment before determining the responsibility for the tragic occurrence. In point of fact, he sustained the wise cable message sent by Captain Sigsbee of the Maine in announcing the disaster.

President McKinley knew—none better—that the country was not prepared for war. We had an army of but 27,500 men, while Spain had sent 135,000 troops to Cuba alone. The Spanish Navy, on paper at least, was equal, if not superior, to that of the United States. Very little had been done since the war of 1861-5 in the way of fortifying our sea coast or providing siege guns or fixed ammunition. It is related that at this juncture a distinguished army officer reported to the President, "If we should go to war with Spain to-morrow, we have not enough small ammunition for a continuous battle of two hours."

Nevertheless a caucus of the House of Representatives, confined to no one political party, decided almost unanimously on an immediate declaration of war; and a sufficient number of members of Congress were present at this conference to indicate that the strength of the war party in both Houses was sufficient to override even a Presidential veto.

The President had asked Congress at the beginning of the session to await the result of Spain's new policy of granting autonomy to Cuba and of reversing General Weyler's order of concentration. The hopes of peace which these propositions held out failed him at this critical juncture. Our consuls in Cuba reported the continuance of such sickening scenes of starvation, cruelty and death in the camps of the reconcentrados that the correspondence, though called for by Congress, was for the time prudently withheld by the President from publication, lest in the excited state of the public mind it might prove a spark in the powder magazine, already dangerously near explosion. These consuls also reported that autonomy was an absolute failure; that coercion and bribery had been tried in vain to induce Cubans of character to give countenance to the movement. Sr. Manuel Rafael Angulo, sent to Washington as a delegate from the so-called Colonial or Autonomist Government of Cuba, about this time cabled Governor-General Blanco at Havana, through the Spanish Minister in Washington, that it was necessary, in order to offset what he termed "the perfidious machinations of Lee and his copartners," to have a cable message sent him giving the names of representative native-born Cubans of standing who adhered to the Autonomist Government. When the reply was received on April 15th, 1898, he wrote despairingly to Sr. Jose Maria Galvez, President of the Council of the so-called Colonial Government at Havana, that the names which had been forwarded to him were all

"Peninsulares" (that is, Spaniards), not Cubans; that he had seen the President of the "Chamber of Congress" by appointment, and had also had an interview with the Honorable John Addison Porter, Secretary to the President, at the White House, who had made it apparent that if the Autonomist solution was to be well received in the United States it must be shown to be, not a Spanish proposition, but a Cuban; also that it must be shown that affairs had changed in Cuba, not in appearance only, but substantially.

Autonomy was thus admitted to be a subterfuge, even by its originators, and the promised reforms a failure.

Amid all these discouragements the President remained undimayed; his courage never failed him; he abated none of his high purposes; and Congress showed its unlimited confidence in him by an act which excited the wonder and admiration of Europe. On the mere suggestion of the Executive, by a unanimous vote of both Houses, on the 9th of March, 1898, an appropriation of fifty million dollars was made "for the national defense and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the direction of the President." It is a matter of history that Congress subsequently supplemented this grant by authorization to negotiate a three per cent loan to the extent if necessary of \$400,000,000, only half of which was called out, and which was subscribed by the people in sums ranging from twenty dollars upwards, no one subscription accepted exceeding five thousand dollars.

Immediate steps were taken by the President so to utilize the fund created by the special appropriation of \$50,000,000 as to place the country on a war footing. Agents were sent abroad to purchase all available warships before the outbreak of hostilities brought the neutrality laws into force. On the suggestion of the President, the four swift ocean steamers of the International Navigation Company were chartered and fitted out as cruisers and scouts, and other vessels were bought for colliers and transports. At home every arsenal and navy yard, and all private firms engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war, were put to work at their full capacity, by night as well as by day.

On the 11th of April the President addressed a message to Congress, setting forth in detail the final efforts he had made through diplomatic channels, by means of Minister Woodford at Madrid, to bring about an amelioration of the condition of the people of Cuba, and the reply of the Spanish Government, which remitted the question of the settlement of terms of peace with the Cuban insurgents to the so-called Insular Congress of the pretended Autonomist Government of Cuba. "With this last overture," he said, "in the direction of immediate peace, and its disappointing reception by Spain, the Executive is brought to the end of his effort."

The President referred to the destruction of the Maine as a tragic horror, increasing the elements of danger and disorder, and asked that Congress authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

On the same day he sent to Congress the delayed Consular correspondence relating to the atrocities perpetrated on the reconcentrados of Cuba.

On the 19th of April, after nine days' debate and conference, Congress passed a joint resolution calling upon Spain to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the Presi-

dent to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as might be necessary to carry this resolution into effect. This was in effect a formal declaration of war.

On the morning of the 21st of April, before he could present this ultimatum to the Spanish Government, Minister Woodford received his passports and immediately afterwards Minister Polo y Barnabe withdrew from Washington. On the 22nd of April the blockade of the north coast of Cuba was proclaimed by President McKinley, and on the 25th of April Congress passed an act declaring the existence of a state of war between the United States and Spain.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to follow in detail the events of that brief and glorious struggle, but only to indicate some of the prominent incidents of the President's personal participation therein. Every movement, great or small, received the benefit of his personal consideration, and of the experience he had gained in the War of 1861-'65, the animosities arising from which his efforts have done so much to obliterate. It was indeed fortunate for the Government and the people of the United States that a man occupied the Executive chair who was by birth and training so well equipped to perform the duties devolving upon him as was William McKinley. In the prime of life, 55 years of age, his mental and physical vigor sustained by a life of conspicuous rectitude and his administrative powers enforced by years of trying experience, he entered the arena with every qualification to command the esteem of his countrymen and to insure also the respect of the governments of other Nations. In the selection of the general officers to command the volunteer forces he ignored sectional lines, calling to his aid distinguished army officers who had worn the gray to co-operate with those who had worn the blue, thus presenting to the world the imposing spectacle of a united nation of eighty millions of people—a

"Tower of strength,

"Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew."

When 200,000 volunteers responded promptly to the President's call, he said: "I feel that the American people have committed these boys to my hands," and he watched over the minutest details of their equipment, encampment, sustenance, hospital accommodation and transportation, not contenting himself with the reports of his capable chiefs of department, but going directly to the Bureau officials who had the actual work in charge. The President spent hours every day following the movements of the campaign with pin points on the maps in the war room of the White House, studying out every possible condition and contingency. He knew neither rest nor recreation from the hour when hostilities commenced until the protocol of peace was signed. Like Lincoln, he never slept when there was duty to perform.

The Cabinet met frequently, sometimes twice a day. It was by the President's personal direction that Secretary Long issued the famous order to Admiral Dewey to proceed to the Bay of Manila, capture or destroy the Spanish fleet, and take possession of the harbor and city. It is said that when the President announced to the Cabinet his determination to strike this decisive blow at the power of Spain in the East, the audacity and gravity of the proposition produced a silence which could be felt, and which was not broken for several minutes. The President carried his point, and the result is known of all men.

When the land attack on Santiago was determined upon, the President asked how many siege guns were ready to be taken to Santiago, and the reply was that fifteen or twenty were at command. The President contended that not less than eighty were necessary, and it was not his fault that eighty were not sent. Thus he looked after the details of preparations for battle.

Direct telegraphic communication was established between Playa del Este, the Cuban cable terminus on the Santiago coast, and the Executive Offices at the White House in Washington, and was maintained during and after the battles of San Juan and El Caney. General Shafter's camp was near Sevilla, within easy communicating distance of Playa del Este. The interchange of cable messages was rapid, and on the part of our Commanding General indicated a desire to retreat or to ask for a parley with the Spanish Commander.

On the 3rd of July, General Shafter cabled that he had the city of Santiago well invested on the north and east, but, as he added significantly—"with a very thin line." He said that as he approached the city he found the defences so strong that it would be impossible to carry it by storm with his present forces, adding: "I am now seriously considering withdrawing about five miles and taking up a new position on the high ground between the San Juan River and Siboney, with our left at Santiago, so as to get our supplies to a large extent by means of the railroad, which we can use, having engines and cars at Siboney. Our losses up to date will aggregate a thousand." Then he spoke of his own health and that of his generals, and of his efforts to get Admiral Sampson to force the entrance of the harbor. Of himself he said: "I have been unable to be out during the heat of the day for four days, but am retaining the command. General Wheeler is seriously ill, and will probably have to go to the rear to-day. General Young also very ill, confined to his bed; General Hawkins slightly wounded in foot during sortie enemy made last night."

Other dispatches followed, and one in particular was spoken of in the press dispatches some days after its receipt, as follows:

"There was some talk in the Cabinet to-day about the telegram General Shafter sent on Sunday morning, to the effect that he would have to have reinforcements before he could proceed. Just what was said is not known. It is learned that the telegram contained suggestions which were stricken out. It is claimed that if these statements had been made public the country would have been greatly worried on Sunday."

The public did not then know, nor till some time afterwards, how firm was the grasp which the President kept on the progress of events. On the 15th of July, 1898, he directed this dispatch to be sent:

"Washington, July 15, 1898, 9:20 p. m.

"Major-General Shafter, Playa del Este:

"The President and Secretary of War are becoming impatient with parley. Any arrangement that allows the enemy to take their arms had as well be abandoned once for all, as it will not be approved. The way to surrender is to surrender, and this should be fully impressed on General Toral."

Once more the result justified the President's judgment. Santiago was surrendered, and with it a force nearly double that of the investing army.

In every movement of the war, as well as in the peace negotiations that followed, the President's firm hand was felt, and the country has surely just cause to be proud of the humane and Christian policy by which he sought to avoid a war; the prudent and patriotic foresight with which, when war became inevitable, he postponed its outbreak until the country was ready for it; and the marvelous skill, courage and judgment with which he so directed affairs, aided by the invincible valor of our sailors and soldiers, as to bring about an early, honorable and glorious peace.

William McKinley

A Typical American of Wide Experience Who Has Become a Masterful President

[From the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 26, 1900.]

The Presidency of the United States derives its influence from the suffrages of 80,000,000 of free people. Its occupants are elected for a short term, and in cases where important national policies are undertaken by an administration, the time is too limited for the full test of their wisdom and the complete recognition of their value desired by those who have at heart the interests of the country. But, in even so short a time as four years, there may be crowded the solution of problems so momentous as not only to call for the critical judgment and dispassionate estimate of our citizens, but to engage the attention of the civilized world.

The administration of William McKinley has been one of the most important in the life of the republic.

Taking office in a time of general industrial depression, with the vexed questions of finance and tariff still under discussion and pressing for settlement, his assumption of his new duties was cause for anxiety on the part of those who had opposed the doctrines of the Republican party and for the most sincere congratulations and enthusiastic hopefulness from his political associates and from those who, casting aside party ties, had supported the candidate standing for sound money and a protective tariff.

Men often become great by embracing an opportunity presented for accomplishing beneficent results for a people. Opportunity and responsibility will draw out the best that is in a man if his character and preparation are of the right kind. Our great men have come from the people, and have been equal to great emergencies.

American history is full of such examples. The highest places in the republic have been sought and won by those whose beginnings were the lowliest, and in times of national emergency the people have, with unerring judgment, made wise selections of their public servants.

Following the Civil War came the days of reconstruction. Troublesome questions which are yet with us were then the cause of bitterness and discontent, but for several administrations the problems confronting the Government of the United States were largely those of domestic affairs and did not call for wide acquaintance with international conditions, nor did they enlarge the field of statesmanship, as in the time of President Cleveland and his successor.

International questions, like the adjustment of Samoan affairs, and

now and then insistence upon redress for an American citizen maltreated or injured in his property rights, called for little more than the ordinary routine of international intercourse.

During the latter part of Mr. Cleveland's second administration, however, the threatening conditions in the Island of Cuba gave intimation that the country would have to meet, at no distant date, questions designed to bring it into the arena of world politics, and requiring the attention of its ablest statesmen. The United States has been, since its foundation, a liberty-loving nation. It was knit together more firmly as such by the great fraternal struggle of the '60s, and when the terrible four years' experience had passed, the spirit of liberty emerged brighter and steadier, to become more and more the spirit of the nation.

It was not of our seeking that through abhorrence of conditions in Cuba we entered upon the conflict with Spain. During the latter part of Mr. Cleveland's administration he properly exerted every honorable resource to prevent war. His able Secretary of State seconded him in this patriotic American policy. But the events, crowding one another rapidly, bade fair, time and time again, to sweep aside the conservatism with which the question was handled.

This condition of great unrest and danger confronted William McKinley when he assumed the Presidency on March 4, 1897.

From the day he entered the White House he saw that it would take all the resources of the government to prevent war with Spain, and while he employed every resort of diplomacy and was frequently encouraged to hope that a peaceful solution of the problem would be found, the increasing difficulties experienced by Spain in Cuba brought the crisis constantly nearer.

Public clamor breaks out unthinkingly at such times. It is not that the people are at heart unreasonable, for they are not. But they are generous in their sympathies, they are touched to the quick by needless suffering, by cruel oppression, by pillage, outrage and murder, and with the contrast between their own happy conditions and the unfortunate plight of their near neighbors constantly before them, it was not strange that the cry grew louder that a stop must be put to the warfare in Cuba and that the simple justice which the people of that island sought from their mother country must be speedily accorded to them, or that to them must be given in some form the freedom for which in the past they had so frequently fought and bled. A weak man in such a crisis would have been bewildered.

Domestic matters of grave moment pressed upon every hand. There were unsettled the questions of tariff and finance, and scores of other subjects of internal policy required immediate attention, not only in justice to those whose suffrages had placed the administration in power, but for its own good name, that at the end of its term of office it might give a worthy account of its stewardship. A weak man would have accepted peace at any price, or prompt war at the behest of a clamoring public.

It is well not to forget the temper of the public mind at this time. The press teemed with bitter denunciation of the Spanish tyranny in Cuba; the demand for instant recognition of independence or for intervention was emphatic; the halls of Congress rang with appeals to prejudice and partisan feeling, and then, when all this was at its height, came the terrible calamity in the harbor of Havana. A weak man would have taken the easy alternative and yielded with much show of reason to the almost universal cry for vengeance.

No greater test has come to any public man in the history of this country than to the President during those days. Through it all the man in the White House kept his head. He comes of Scotch-Irish parentage; good stock. The women of that stock are model housewives, thrifty, helpful in communities. The men are steady, self-reliant, God-fearing, peace-loving; they think for themselves; when they are assailed they take a firmer grip on things. He had been educated in the common schools, and had been before the people for a generation in the various walks of public employment where men come to know and to be known by one another. His career had been constantly upward. He had broadened in intellect and sympathies with each year of service.

Affectionate and tender in the domestic relations of life, as he was, some unconsciously had lost sight of the sturdy Scotch-Irish strain in his character. With the record of his administration as President before them, his friends now realize what these years were doing for him. They look back now upon his services as Representative in Congress and as Governor of his native state, and recall the traits which only needed wider fields for their development. They recall how, frequently when before the people for their suffrages, he surprised his supporters and confounded his enemies by the simplicity and directness of his dealings with vexed questions.

Time and again they had heard him insist that a course mapped out for him must be right rather than expedient. He saw fourteen years of service in that school of statesmanship, the national House of Representatives, and never deserted the standard of the great doctrine of which he became the exponent and defender. So it was that his friends of these years watched with eager and hopeful interest his discharge of the great duties of the Presidency.

William McKinley is a typical American citizen. He stands for what is best in American life and character. He is without ostentation, simple in his tastes, deliberate in his speech, conservative in judgment, spotlessly pure in his private life, devoted to his home and his friends. There has been no stain upon his integrity during all the years that he has been under the searching light of public scrutiny.

His devotion to his wife is one of the most beautiful and touching things in the lives of our public men. He wears well. There is nothing erratic about him. He does not pose. He believes in harmony. He is a fighter, but not a vindictive one. He fights with sense. If he has an object to accomplish, he will accomplish it even though he may have to

sacrifice the small distinction of winning a personal victory. He keeps faith. He fulfills his promises. He believes in party obligation. He wants a united party. He believes that such a party can best serve the great interests committed to its charge. He knows that we can oftentimes but approximate to our ideals and that it then becomes our duty to secure the best results obtainable.

The Republican party under the leadership of William McKinley is more harmonious, more forceful, more dominant than at any time in its history. In his state and nation he has a united party. Could this have been the work of a weak man, as some of his opponents would have us believe? Is this the record of uncertainty?

There were times during the Spanish-American war when William McKinley was a force of strength and power that brushed aside jealousies and littlenesses, that hurried forward great movements, that blocked the way of schemers and swept all before him.

He dominates his administration, but, whether by force or gentle persuasiveness, he is the strong man at the helm. His methods are direct. He has had able men about him at his Cabinet table; men of keen minds, of independent thought, but who has heard of dissensions in the Cabinet? There are none. He is the guiding spirit, the controlling mind among those picked men of affairs. With them he is the friend and counselor, but when the decision comes, when the government is to act, when the Republic speaks, he is President. He is a many-sided man, not restricted in his equipment. In the varied fields of administrative duty he has been called upon, during his three and a half years in the White House, to assume the direction of matters in many branches of the government. In these he has shown a familiarity with the great affairs of government which has astonished those who have known it.

Many of the state papers emanating from the executive departments and that have become a part of the history of his administration were inspired by him or were the work of his own hand. His mastery of diplomacy has been the wonder of diplomats, but the secret of it has been his Americanism, his plainness of speech, combined with a certain Yankee shrewdness in the presentation of a subject or in the discovery of the weak points in an adversary's contentions. In the conduct of the operations of our Army and Navy he has been the real commander-in-chief.

When the history of his time is written his masterful hand will be seen at every turn. He took nothing for granted, but the patriotism and integrity of the American people. He is methodical in his habits, he is systematic. He accomplished much because of an orderly disposition of his time.

When in the White House he arises at 8, breakfasts at 8:30; from 9 to 9:45 reads the papers, and at 10 o'clock he is in his office ready for business. From 10 to 1:30 he receives the various public officials, Senators, Representatives, members of the staffs of the various departments and the public. At 1:30 he has lunch.

From 2 to 2:30 he spends with Mrs. McKinley, either driving with her, or on inclement days reading to her. During the warm weather he defers the drive until late in the day. At 2:30 he is back in the office again and remains there until late in the afternoon, rarely leaving it before 5 o'clock. If sufficient time is left before dinner he takes a short nap. Rising refreshed he is ready for dinner at 7 o'clock.

After dinner the evening is spent in company with Mrs. McKinley and friends who call. Appointments are not made for official calls in the evening, except in special cases. At 10 o'clock the President is in his office again and remains there with his secretary until the accumulation of the day is disposed of.

These hours at night are the only uninterrupted ones during the twenty-four that the President has for the consideration of the mass of detail that must be daily brought to his notice; even these are constantly encroached upon in times of stress and emergency. During the eventful days of the Spanish war the President remained in his office many hours of the night and was not infrequently working there with his secretary long past midnight.

He is a plain liver. He smokes moderately, does not use intoxicating liquors. He is clean of speech as he is of character. He has been a model husband, a devoted son and brother, and in all the walks of life has so carried himself as to leave the impress of a noble character. He is strong mentally and physically. He has no physical weakness. He walks with a decided and energetic step. While his face has a certain pallor under excitement, it has habitually the fine glow of a man in rugged health.

The President is frequently seen upon the streets of Washington. He is not hedged about by the usual pride and circumstance of rulers. He is the most reasonable of men, the most accommodating. No citizen is too lowly, no cause too poor to enlist his sympathy, but with all this he is a business man. He knows the value of time. He cannot accomplish the work for which he has been chosen if he fails to husband his resources, and so it is that he gets out of every man associated with him the best and most that is in him. He does nothing himself that others should do for him.

His Cabinet officers were appointed for a purpose—to administer the affairs of their great departments. He requires of them a strict account of stewardship. He does not interfere with them in the discharge of their onerous duties. He calls them into consultation. He requires a showing of their books. He draws upon them for a strengthening of administrative policies. He relies upon them for material and support. His office is a model in the dispatch of public business.

A keen judge of men, he has surrounded himself with efficient helpers. From an ordinary government establishment, with very indifferent methods, the Executive Mansion has become one of the most practical and helpful of public offices. A position in the office of the President of the United States is to-day a post of signal honor, highly prized among the thousands of such places in the Federal service.

President McKinley believes in true civil service reform. During the first year of his administration, when his attention was repeatedly called to the inequalities and injustices of the then existing civil service regulations, he ordered the collection of data which would acquaint him with what was needed to better those conditions. And when it was gathered together, and he had satisfied himself of the wisdom of the changes, he promulgated the amendments to the civil service rules, which have already demonstrated their value and proved one of the most potent influences in the strengthening of the merit system.

His administration has not been one of bluster. There has been no blare of trumpets or resorts to the arts of the demagogue. A striking example of this is found in the settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness, when a vast sum was realized and the debt canceled without a ripple in the financial world, with a saving to the government of many millions of dollars. For years this indebtedness had taxed the skill of our ablest financiers, and was one of the things handed down from administration to administration.

Hawaii has been annexed. From danger of embarrassment in Samoa we have emerged in undisputed possession of the best of that group of islands. A government has been provided for Alaska. A practical tariff law and an equally practical financial law are on the statute books. Any one of these measures would be sufficient for the

record of an administration. Great results for liberty and humanity have been achieved in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines.

Militarism and imperialism are terms glibly spoken these days by the unthinking, and, high sounding as they are, may appeal for the time to partisan expediency. They are the symbol of fine theories, but neither the one nor the other exists in America. Nor can the unbiased citizen, after a thoughtful study and investigation, come to any other conclusion than that they are but words—campaign necessities—for those who must find a catch phrase or a platform.

These are the days of fact against fancy; of things done against things promised; of practice against theory; of sense against sound; of men of action against men of straw; of flesh and blood against bugaboos. Where is the evidence of this thing called imperialism? Is the President attended with pomp and ceremony as he goes from place to place? Has he surrounded himself with courtiers and retainers? Is there a word or a line in any of his state papers championing absolutism or a ruthless disregard of the rights of the people?

He has served while others have scoffed. He has fulfilled the obligations of his oath while others have vilified, have encouraged treason and cast their lot with the murderers of our soldiers. Devotion to the constitution is not well expressed by giving succor to the enemies of the government.

No man in the Presidential office was ever more scrupulous in his conduct of the people's business; no man in that exalted office ever had a nicer sense of its proprieties.

No man was ever nearer the hearts of the common people than William McKinley.

American diplomacy in China has had in it no element of either militarism or imperialism, but it stands to-day as an example to the world of what plain speech and direct methods can accomplish in the intercourse of nations. It is but a link in the chain of the administration's achievements. It appeals to all classes as a substantial advance of the republic in the pathway of progress and civilization.

From the hour of the declaration of war with Spain, America has taken her proper place among the nations. To-day she stands at the front, with no entangling alliances. With the destiny of the enfranchised in her keeping she undertakes the heavy burdens and responsibilities which come with growth and advancement.

Ever alive to her material interests, she has yet kept steadily before her, clear as the pole-star, the guiding principle of duty, and no amount of partisan rancor, no sort of cheap political argument, no din of sophistry and assurance, no weakling reserve will stand in the way of her enlightened progress and commercial supremacy.

And because he has at heart the republic's best interests and with an eye single to her future greatness bent the energy of his administration to their achievement, while preserving the old ties and the old sentiments, abating nothing of devotion and adherence to the constitution, the Declaration of Independence and all the other great bulwarks of our national safety—because of this record in the closing days of the century, will William McKinley's name go into the history of his country as one of her greatest and best beloved citizens.

McKINLEY ON LABOR.

HIS PUBLIC UTTERANCES IN BEHALF OF THE WORKINGMEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF PERSISTENT LABOR FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THEIR INTERESTS.

The following extracts from the public utterances of William McKinley during the twenty-two years since the beginning of his participation in national legislation cannot fail to interest every workman and every friend of labor. They show a consistent and persistent devotion to the interests of labor and legislation in its behalf. The quotations here given are from public addresses, and in the attempt to present them as a continuous record of a period of such length and activity they are necessarily incomplete and fragmentary, being in all cases brief extracts from speeches and addresses in which the interests of labor are discussed at greater length than would be possible to completely present in a publication of this character. They are sufficient, however, to show that William McKinley has been at every stage of his career and on all occasions an avowed, earnest, and persistent friend of labor and of its protection and the advance of its interests in every legitimate means.

"WE SHOULD TAKE CARE OF OUR NATION AND HER INDUSTRIES FIRST."

(In House of Representatives, April 15, 1878.)

No man or party would be bold enough to advocate the reduction of labor as a naked proposition, but rather its increase. But, Mr. Chairman, behind this bill, underneath its provisions, as I shall attempt to show you later, is inevitable reduction of the price of labor all over the country. The price of labor is inadequate to the necessities of the laboring man, and the workmen of the country are patiently accepting the inevitable in the hope of relief and better times in the near future. And while I would rejoice at the reduction of the rate of interest for the use of money and the decrease of local taxation, I must protest against this or any other measure which looks to the scaling down of the wages of labor. * * * * Reduce the tariff, and labor is the first to suffer. The difference between the present and the proposed rate of duty must be made up somewhere, must be compensated in some way. As always has been the case, when economy in production is to be studied, the manufacturer looks to his payroll of labor and commences there first. * * * * It is our duty, and we ought to protect as sacredly and assuredly the labor and the industry of the United States as we would protect her honor from taint or her territory from invasion. We ought to take care of our own nation and her industries first.

"OUR LABOR MUST NOT BE DEBASED OR OUR LABORERS DEGRADED."

(In House of Representatives, April 6, 1882.)

The fundamental argument for protection is its benefits to labor. That it enables the manufacturer to pay more and better wages than are paid to like labor and services anywhere else will not be disputed.

There is not a branch of labor in the United States that does not receive higher rewards than in any other country. Our laborers are not only the best paid, clothed, and educated in the world, but they have more comforts, more independence, more of them live in houses that they own, more of them have savings in savings institutions, and are better contented, than their rivals anywhere else. And this, according to my view, is the result of protection—of the protective system that was inaugurated by the Republican party. Our laboring men are not content with the hedger and ditcher's rate of pay. No worthy American wants to reduce the price of labor in the United States. It ought not to be reduced; for the sake of the laborer and his family and the good of society it ought to be maintained. To increase it would be in better harmony with the public sense. Our labor must not be debased, nor our laborers degraded to the level of slaves, nor any pauper or servile system in any form, nor under

any guise whatsoever, at home or abroad. Our civilization will not permit it. Our humanity forbids it. Our traditions are opposed to it. The stability of our institutions rests upon the contentment and intelligence of all our people, and these can only be possessed by maintaining the dignity of labor and securing to it its just rewards. That protection opens new avenues for employment, broadens and diversifies the field of labor, and presents variety of vocation, is manifest from our own experience.

"I SPEAK FOR THE WORKINGMEN OF THE COUNTRY."

(In House of Representatives, Jan. 27, 1893.)

No lover of his race, no friend of humanity, wants reduced wages. I speak for the workingmen of my district, the workingmen of Ohio, and of the country.

(Mr. Springer.—They did not speak for you very largely at the last election.)

Ah, my friend, my fidelity to my constituents is not measured by the support they give me! (Great applause.) I have convictions upon this subject which I would not surrender or refrain from advocating if 10,000 majority had been entered against me last October. (Renewed applause.)

"WE MUST NOT REDUCE THE PRICE PAID TO LABOR."

(In House of Representatives, April 30, 1884.)

Our wages are higher here than in any other nation of the world, and we are all proud and grateful that it is so. I know it is denied, but experience outweighs theories or misleading statistics. One thing we do know is, that our work people do not go abroad for better wages, and every other nationality comes here for increased wages and gets them. * * * * The proposition of the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means will result in reducing the wages of labor or the destruction of many of our most valuable industries, and the deprivation of employment to thousands. The one or the other alternative must come; either will be most disastrous, and attended by business depression and individual suffering. We must not reduce the price paid to labor; it is already sufficiently low. We can only prevent it by defeating this bill, and it should be done without unnecessary delay. The sooner the better, and remove this menace which hangs over all of our industrial life and threatens the comfort and independence of millions of American workingmen.

"FOR PROTECTION TO AMERICAN LABOR."

(At Petersburg, Va., Oct. 29, 1885.)

There is no royal blood among us; there are no descended titles here; there is no way in the world of getting on and up, or earning money, except by work. (Applause.) There are just two ways in the United States to acquire money; one is to steal it, the other is to earn it, and the honorable way is to earn it; and you earn it by labor, either the labor of the hand or the labor of the brain. (Applause.) And the industrious labor of the hand, and the careful labor of the brain—the possessors of these are going to be the men of the future, whether they are in Virginia or in Ohio. (Applause.) * * * * Now, a great question, my fellow-citizens, before this country—a question of the now and a question of the hereafter—is whether we shall have maintained in the United States a system of protection to American labor and American development, or whether we shall have practical free trade with all the countries of the world. * * * *

The chief ground upon which we can justify a protective tariff to-day is that it is in the interest of American labor—American black labor as well as American white labor—and the protective tariff we want is a tax sufficient to make up the difference between the prices paid labor in Europe and the prices paid labor in America. Now, that is all the duty we want. Whenever the workingmen of the United States—I mean skilled and unskilled laboring men—whenever they are ready to work for the same wages, the same low wages that are paid their rivals on the other side, their rivals in England, in Germany, in Belgium, and in France, engaged in the same occupation—whenever they are ready for that, which I hope and believe will never be, then we are ready for the free-trade doctrines of the Democratic party. (Applause.)

* * * *

I tell you, free-trade Democracy does not mean prosperity, because when true free trade comes, and everything made on the other side comes in here to compete with that we make on this side, either one of two things must happen—either the American manufacturer must quit business, put out his fires, discharge his employees, or go to his payroll and cut that pay roll down low enough to compete with the cheap labor that makes the product on the other side. (Cries of "That's it!") You will never

have prosperity as long as the Democratic party remains as a standing menace to the industry, growth, and advancement of the United States. Stand by your interests—stand by the party that stands by the people. (A voice, “You are right, and we will do it.”) Because in the Republican party there is no such thing as class or caste. The humble poor colored man in the Republican party, the humble poor white man in the Republican party, has an equal chance with the opulent white or colored Republican in the race of life. And so with every race and every nationality, the Republican party says, “Come up higher!” We do not appeal to passions; we do not appeal to baser instincts; we do not appeal to race or war prejudices. We do appeal to your consciences; we do appeal to your own best interests, to stand by a party that stands by the people.

ON THE ARBITRATION BILL.

(In House of Representatives, April 2, 1886.)

If by the passage of this simple measure arbitration as a system shall be aided to the slightest extent or advanced in public or private favor, or if it shall serve to attract the thoughtful attention of the people to the subject, much will have been accomplished for the good order of our communities and for the welfare and prosperity of the people. * * * * It places both parties upon an equality in pursuing the investigation. A lack of means upon the one hand or the other will not impair the fullest consideration. The humblest and poorest man can send for persons and papers without incurring an expense which very often they can illy bear. As the compensation of the board comes out of the public treasury, neither party is subject to the expense of the investigation, and the laboring men will not be required to draw from their scanty savings or assess their fellow-workmen to meet actual expenses. This overcomes the disadvantage of limited means on the one hand, and avoids any advantage which might occur from bounteous means on the other. It equalizes their condition for a thorough investigation and a complete disclosure of the true situation. That provision alone is worth to the cause of arbitration much more than it will cost the National Treasury. * * * *

I believe, Mr. Chairman, in arbitration as a principle; I believe it should prevail in the settlement of international differences. It represents a higher civilization than the arbitrament of war. I believe it is in close accord with the best thought and sentiment of mankind; I believe it is the true way of settling differences between labor and capital; I believe it will bring both to a better understanding, uniting them closer in interest, and promoting better relations, avoiding force, avoiding unjust exactions and oppression, avoiding the loss of earnings to labor, avoiding disturbances to trade and transportation.

“I WOULD NOT HAVE AN IDLE MAN OR AN IDLE MILL IN THE COUNTRY.”

(At Boston, Mass., Feb. 9, 1888.)

The manufacturers of New England, and more particularly the skilled labor employed by them, need a protective tariff, and require it equally with the industries and labor of other States. It is imperatively demanded, not only here, but in every section of the Union, if the present price of labor is to be continued and maintained. * * * * I would secure the American market to the American producer (applause); and I would not hesitate to raise the duties whenever necessary to secure this patriotic end. (Applause.) I would not have an idle man or an idle mill or an idle spindle in this country, if by holding exclusively the American market, we could keep them employed and running. (Applause.) Every yard of cloth imported here makes a demand for one yard less of American fabrication. Let England take care of herself, let France look after her interests, let Germany take care of her own people, but in God's name let Americans look after America! (Loud applause.) Every ton of steel imported diminishes that much of home production. Every blow struck on the other side upon an article which comes here in competition with like articles produced here makes the demand for one blow less at home. Every day's labor upon the foreign products sent to the United States takes one day's labor from American workmen. I would give the day's labor to our own, first, last, and all the time, and that policy which fails in this is opposed to American interests. To secure this is the great purpose of a protective tariff.

OUR LABOR MUST NOT BE REDUCED TO THE EUROPEAN LEVEL.

(In House of Representatives, May 18, 1888.)

We will have no objection to free trade when all the nations shall bring the level of their labor up to ours; when they shall accept our standard; when they shall regard the toiler as a man, and not a slave; but we will never consent while we have

votes and the power to prevent to the dragging down of our labor to that of the European standard. (Applause.) Let them elevate theirs; let them bring theirs to our level; and we will then have no contention about revenue or protective tariffs. We will meet them in the open field, in home and neutral markets, upon an equal footing, and the fittest will survive. (Applause.)

"THE GATEWAY OF OPPORTUNITY MUST BE OPEN TO ALL."

(At Atlanta, Ga., August 21, 1888.)

We cannot without grave danger and serious disturbance—we ought not under any circumstances—adopt a policy which would scale down the wages and diminish the comforts of American workingmen. Their welfare and independence, their progress and elevation, are closely related to the welfare and independence and progress of the Republic. We have no pampered class in this country, and we want none. We want the field kept open; no narrowing of the avenues; no lowering of our standard. We want no barriers raised against a higher and better civilization. The gateway of opportunity must be open to all, to the end that they may be first who deserve to be first, whether born in poverty or reared in luxury. We do not want the masses excluded from competing for the first rank among their countrymen and for the nation's greatest honors, and we do not mean that they shall be.

Free trade, or a revenue tariff, will of necessity shut them out. It has no respect for labor. It holds it as the mere machinery of capital. It would have cheap men that it might have cheap merchandise. With all its boasted love for the struggling millions, it is infinitely more interested in cutting down the wages of labor than in saving twenty-five cents on a blanket; more intent in reducing the purchasing power of a man's labor than the cost of his coat.

"WE WANT LABOR TO BE WELL PAID."

(At Cleveland, O., October 5, 1889.)

I do not prize the word cheap. It is not a word of hope; it is not a word of comfort; it is not a word of cheer; it is not a word of inspiration! It is the badge of poverty; it is the signal of distress; and there is not a man in this audience, not a single white-haired man, who, if he will let his memory go back, will not recall that when things were the cheapest, men were the poorest. (Applause.) * * * * Cheap merchandise means cheap men, and cheap men mean a cheap country; and that is not the kind of Government our fathers founded, and it is not the kind their sons mean to maintain. (Applause.) If you want cheap things, go where you can get them; that is where you belong; this is not your abiding place. We want labor to be well paid; we want the products of the farm, we want mechanical products, we want everything we make and produce to pay a fair compensation to the producer. That is what makes good times; that is what protective tariffs mean.

"WE HAVE GIVEN TO EVERY MAN A FAIR CHANCE IN THE RACE OF LIFE."

(In the House of Representatives, May 7, 1890.)

There is no other country in the world where individual enterprise has so much encouragement as in the United States. There is no nation in the world, under any system, where the same reward is given to the labor of man's hands and the work of their brains as in the United States. We have widened the sphere of human endeavor and given to every man a fair chance in the race of life and in the attainment of the highest possibilities of human destinies. To reverse this system means to stop the progress of the Republic and reduce the masses to small rewards for their labor, to longer hours and less pay, to the simple question of bread and butter. It means to turn them from ambition, courage and hope, to dependence, degradation, and despair. No sane man will give up what he has, what he is in full possession of, what he can count on for himself and his children, for what is promised by your theories. Free trade, or, as you are pleased to call it, "revenue tariff," means the opening up of this market, which is admitted to be the best in the world, to the free entry of the products of the world. It means more—it means that the labor of this country is to be remitted to its earlier condition, and that the condition of our people is to be leveled down to the condition of rival countries; because under it every element of cost, every item of production, including wages, must be brought down to the level of the lowest paid labor of the world. * * *

With me this position is a deep conviction, not a theory. I believe in it and thus warmly advocate it because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for manly aspirations, with the

largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety and purity and permanence of our political system depend. (Long-continued applause on the Republican side, and cries of "Vote!" "Vote!")

ON THE EIGHT HOUR LAW.

(In the House of Representatives, August 28, 1890.)

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of this (the Eight Hour Law) bill. It has been said that it is a bill to limit the opportunity of the workingman to gain a livelihood. This is not true; it will have the opposite effect. * * * The Government of the United States ought, finally and in good faith, to set this example of eight hours as constituting a day's work required of laboring men in the service of the United States. (Applause.) The tendency of the times the world over is for shorter hours of labor, shorter hours in the interest of health, shorter hours in the interest of humanity, shorter hours in the interest of the home and family; and the United States can do no better service to labor and to its own citizens than to set the example to States, to corporations, and to individuals employing men by declaring that, so far as the Government is concerned, eight hours shall constitute a day's work, and be all that is required of its laboring force. * * *

Mr. Speaker, we owe something to the care, the elevation, the dignity and education of labor. We owe something to the workingmen and the families of the workingmen throughout the United States who constitute the large body of the population, and this bill is a step in the right direction. (Applause.)

"THAT COUNTRY IS LEAST PROSPEROUS WHERE LOW PRICES ARE SECURED THROUGH LOW WAGES."

(At Toledo, O., Feb. 12, 1891.)

Mr. President, that country is least prosperous where low prices are secured through low wages. Cheap foreign goods, free or practically free, in competition with domestic goods involve cheap labor at home or dependence upon foreign manufactures. Those who advocate duties solely for revenue see only as a result cheaper prices, which are but temporary at best, and do not see the other side, that of lower wages, cheaper labor, agricultural depression, and general distress. The protective system, by encouraging capital to engage in productive enterprises, has accorded to labor, skill and genius higher opportunities and greater rewards than could otherwise be secured, defending them against ruinous foreign competition, while promoting home competition and giving the American consumer better products at lower prices and the farmer a better market than was ever enjoyed under the free-trade tariffs of the Democratic party.

"TO THE FARMER THE BEST MARKET AND TO LABOR THE BEST WAGES."

(At New York City, April 10, 1891.)

As a tariff has to be levied to raise revenue, we believe it better that it should be levied on the foreign products which compete with those produced by our own people, and to that extent protect our own producers, our own labor, and defend them reasonably and fairly in their own markets. The result of this system of tariff has so quickened the energies of our people, so stimulated production and development, as to make us the greatest agricultural and mining and manufacturing Nation of the world. It has diversified our industries, given to the farmer the best market and to labor the best wages anywhere to be found, and the consumers better products at lower prices, than they ever before enjoyed. (Applause.)

"THERE IS NOTHING TOO GOOD FOR THE MEN WHO WORK."

(At Cincinnati, O., on Labor Day, Sept 1, 1891.)

I come by invitation of your Committee, not to make a formal address, but to express by my presence the interest which I feel in the cause which you represent, and to participate with you in the suitable recognition of "Labor Day." There is nothing too good for the men who work. The days of rest and recuperation in our pushing busy age are too few, altogether too few, and the setting apart of this public holiday is a step worthy our highest commendation, and is an honorable recognition of labor which is the foundation of our wealth and production. * * * It is our glory that the American laborer is more intelligent and better paid than his foreign competitor, and so far no call upon his greater inventive skill and genius has been made in vain. Herbert Spencer has testified, "Beyond question, in respect to mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all other nations." Superior tools would alone give us

no small advantage, but the possession of the best machinery implies much more, that we have also the best mechanics in the world.

There are some things we should remember, however. Nothing is cheap which enforces idleness upon our own people. Invention does not follow idleness. Nothing is cheap which permits to slumber in our hills and mountains the rich raw materials that only await the manipulation of man to produce untold wealth. The first duty of a nation is to enact those laws which will give to its citizens the widest opportunity for labor and the best rewards for work done.

LABOR BETTER REWARDED HERE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD.

(To Committee of Republican Clubs, at Ann Arbor, Mich., May 17, 1892.)

I need not say to you what the world knows: That this country, after nearly one-third of a century of protection, has reached the proud position of being of all nations of the world the first in manufactures, first in mining, first in agriculture, first in invention, and first in educational advantages for the masses; that labor is better rewarded here; and that the great body of the people have wider and better opportunities for advancement here than could be found anywhere else in the wide, wide world. Protection builds up; a revenue tariff tears down. Protection brings hope and courage to heart and home; free trade drives them from both. Free trade levels down; protection levels up.

"GIVE TO EVERY AMERICAN WORKINGMAN FULL WORK AT AMERICAN WAGES."

(To Tin Workers of Niles, O., June 20, 1896.)

I am glad to have demonstrated in my native town that we can make tin plate in the United States, and in reply to what your spokesman has been kind enough to say of my efforts in that direction, I answer that if I have been associated with any legislation that has given to a single American workingman a day's work at American wages which he did not receive before, that is honor enough for me. What we want in this country is a policy that will give to every American workingman full work at American wages. (Applause.)

WE WANT THE POLICY WHICH WILL GIVE TO LABOR WORK AND WAGES.

(To Zanesville Young Men's Club, June 22, 1896.)

We have had some experience in the last three years and a half. Experience has superseded prophecy, and cold facts take the place of prediction. We all know more than we knew then, and are ready and anxious to get back a period like that of 1892, when this country was enjoying its highest prosperity with the greatest domestic trade it ever had, and the largest foreign trade ever known with the nations of the world. We want to get back the old policy, my fellow-citizens, which will give to labor work and wages, and to agriculture a home market and the good foreign market which was opened up by the reciprocity legislation of the Republican party. We have come to appreciate that protective tariffs are better than idleness. (Applause.)

"I WANT A POLICY THAT WILL PUT IDLE MEN AT WORK AT GOOD AMERICAN WAGES."

(To Tuscarawas tin workers, July 3, 1896.)

Here in this country we are dependent upon each other, no matter what our occupation may be. All of us want good times, good wages, good prices, good markets, and then we want good money, too, and always intend to have it. When we give a good day's work to our employers we want to be paid in good sound dollars, worth one hundred cents each, and never any less. * * * * What I want to see in this country is a return to that prosperity which we enjoyed for thirty years, prior to 1893. A policy that will put idle men to work at American wages, for the more men we have at work at good American wages the better markets the farmers will have and the better prices they will get for their products.

"RESTORE AMERICAN PROTECTION AND SERVE THE INTERESTS OF AMERICAN LABOR."

(From speech to Notification Committee, June 29, 1896.)

Great issues are involved in the coming election, and eager and earnest the people for their right determination. Our domestic trade must be won back, and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. * * * The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner, and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any Govern-

-ment creditor. * * * The great body of our citizens know what they want, and that they intend to have. They know for what the Republican party stands and what its return to power means to them. They realize that the Republican party believes that our work should be done at home and not abroad, and everywhere proclaim their devotion to the principles of a protective tariff, which, while supplying adequate reveques for the Government, will restore American production, and serve the best interests of American labor and development. Our appeal, therefore, is not to a false philosophy, or vain theorists, but to the masses of the American people, the plain, practical people, whom Lincoln loved and trusted, and whom the Republican party has always faithfully striven to serve.

"WE WANT GOOD WAGES PAID IN GOOD MONEY."

(To Alliance, O., workingmen, July 23, 1896.)

What we want, no matter what political organization we may have belonged to in the past, is a return to the good times of four years ago. We want good prices and good wages, and when we shall have them again we want them paid in good money. (Applause.) Whether our prices be high or low, whether our wages be good or bad, they are all better by being paid in dollars worth one hundred cents each. If we have good wages, they are better by being paid in good dollars. If we have poor wages, they are made poorer by being paid in poor dollars.

"WORKINGMEN, HAVE WE NOT HAD ENOUGH OF SUCH COSTLY EXPERIMENTS?"

(To the delegation of window glass workers, at Canton, O., July 23, 1896.)

The Government, my fellow-citizens, has not been the only sufferer in the past three years, as your spokesman has vividly shown. The people have suffered, the laboring man in his work and wages, the farmer in his prices and markets, and our citizens generally in their incomes and investments. Enforced idleness among the people has brought to many American homes gloom and wretchedness, where cheer and hope once dwelt. Both Government and people have paid dearly for a mistaken policy, a policy which has disturbed our industries and cut down our revenues, always so essential to our credit, independence and prosperity. Having stricken down our industries, a new experiment is now proposed, one that would debase our currency and further weaken, if not wholly destroy, public confidence. Workingmen, have we not had enough of such rash and costly experiments? Don't all of us wish for the return of the economic policy which for more than a third of a century gave the Government its highest credit and the citizen his greatest prosperity?

"WE WANT NEITHER CHEAP MONEY NOR CHEAP LABOR."

(To delegation of colored citizens and military of Cleveland, O., at Canton, August 17, 1896.)

We want in the United States neither cheap money nor cheap labor. We will have neither the one nor the other. We must not forget that nothing is cheap to the American people which comes from abroad and when it entails idleness upon our own laborers. We are opposed to any policy which increases the number of the unemployed in the United States, even if it does give us cheaper foreign goods; and we are opposed to any policy which degrades American manhood that we may have cheaper goods made either at home or abroad. Having reduced the pay of labor, it is now proposed to reduce the value of the money in which labor is paid. * * *

My countrymen, the most un-American of all appeals observable in this campaign is the one which seeks to array labor against capital, employer against employe. It is most unpatriotic and is fraught with the greatest peril to all concerned. We are all political equals here—equal in privilege and opportunity—dependent upon each other and the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the other.

TO BENEFIT LABOR IS THE HIGHEST REWARD THAT MAN CAN HAVE.

(To delegation of workmen and others from his old Congressional district, August 24, 1896.)

I cannot forget that you trusted me in my young manhood, and that you have ever since followed me with unfaltering confidence. I remember the first time that I ever looked into the faces of an East Liverpool audience twenty years ago, and that then, as now, I was speaking for sound money and a protective tariff. Your spokesman has alluded most graciously to what he terms the services I have given to your great industry. If I have done anything to bring work to you or my fellow-man anywhere and make the condition of the American workingman easier, that is the high-

est reward I seek, and greater reward no man could have. There is no industry in the United States, my fellow citizens, which demands or deserves protection through our tariff more than yours.

"APPEALS TO PREJUDICE ARE BENEATH THE SPIRIT OF A FREE PEOPLE."

(From Letter of Acceptance, 1896.)

No one suffers so much from cheap money as the farmers and laborers. "They are the first to feel its bad effects and the last to recover from them. It has been the experience of all countries, and here as elsewhere the poor and not the rich are the greatest sufferers. * * * It is a cause for painful regret and solicitude that an effort is being made by those high in the councils of the allied parties to divide the people of this country into classes and create distinctions among us which, in fact, do not exist, and are repugnant to our form of government. These appeals to passion and prejudice are beneath the spirit and intelligence of a free people, and should be met with stern rebuke by those they are sought to influence, and I believe they will.

"THE EQUALITY OF ALL LIES AT THE BASIS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT."

(To delegation of Pittsburg workmen, on Labor Day, Sept. 5, 1896.)

This assemblage thoroughly typifies the National idea of a great American commonwealth in this, that it presents the equality of all which lies at the basis of popular government. * * * Here is a striking protest against the unworthy effort on the part of those who would divide our citizenship into classes and a striking condemnation of such un-American appeals to passion and prejudice. Nothing can better stamp with falsehood and indignant disapproval the effort to array class against class, than this great demonstration before me to-day. I have no sympathy with such appeals—have you? Patriotism is a grander sentiment; it ennobles but never disgraces. Instead of seeking to work the masses, it would be worthier on the part of all of us to try to get work for the masses. Workmen, that you should have called on me the day set apart by your great commonwealth to celebrate the worth, the dignity and the power of labor, is a great honor, which I duly and gratefully appreciate.

PROTECT THE WORKMAN AGAINST CHEAP LABOR AND CHEAP MONEY.

(To Workmen of Homestead, Pa., Sept. 12, 1896.)

I have always been, as you know, in favor of a protective tariff: I have always advocated it, and believe in it, because I think it is necessary to protect the American workman against the cheaper labor of the Old World. Applying that great principle, I am in favor of protecting to-day the laboring men of the United States against a degraded currency. I am opposed to free trade because it degrades American labor; I am opposed to free silver because it degrades American money.

"WE WANT A FULL DOLLAR AND THE BEST OPPORTUNITY TO EARN IT."

(To employes of Pennsylvania Railroad, at Canton, Sept. 12, 1896.)

I thank you gentlemen of Pennsylvania, representing every branch and department of industry, for the call which you have made upon me here to-day, and I thank you for the messages, the gracious messages which you have brought, that you will stand this year for American honor, American public faith, American prosperity and the full employment at American wages of every idle man in America. What we want in America, and by that I mean the United States, what we want, I say, in this country, is a full one hundred cent dollar and then we want after that the freest and best opportunity to earn it.

AMERICAN WAGES FOR AMERICAN WORKMEN.

(To steel workers of Braddock, Pa., Sept. 17, 1896.)

My countrymen, I am one of these Americans who believe that the American workshop should be protected as far as possible from the foreign workshop, to the end that American workmen may be constantly employed at American wages. Nor do I want products cheapened at the expense of American manhood, nor do I think that it is economy to buy goods cheaply abroad if it thereby enforces idleness at home.

"WE WANT NEITHER SHORT WORK NOR SHORT DOLLARS."

(To delegation of Pennsylvania workmen, at Canton, Sept. 19, 1896.)

I am one of those Americans who believe that the American workshop should be protected against the foreign workshop. I believe that the American workmen should be defended by a wise and judicious protective policy against the underpaid

workingmen of the Old World. In a word, I believe that this country is ours and that we, first of all, are entitled to enjoy its privileges and its blessings. The first thing we want in this country is plenty to do. We want neither short work nor short dollars in the United States. We want neither free trade nor free silver in the United States. We want an opportunity to work and when we have improved that opportunity, we want to be paid in dollars that are worth as much the week or year after they are received as on the day of their receipt. Free trade has cheated you in your wages and you do not propose to permit free silver to cheat you in your pay.

"EVERY MAN WHO SEEKS WORK SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK."

(To employes of the Carnegie City Mills, of Pittsburg, Pa., Sept. 19, 1896.)

Nothing moves me more deeply than to have the assurances of support which I am daily receiving from the men in the United States who toil. To have as allies in this great contest for the honor and prosperity of the countrymen the workingmen of the United States is indeed a crown to any cause. You have but one aim in the use of your ballots and that is to secure the highest and greatest good to the people of the United States. That is what the ballot is for and it is for the accomplishment of this that you will use the ballot this year. We have had in this country for three years past an experience under two contending National policies. Most of the men who sit before me to-day never had any experience under but one policy until within the last four years. You have now tried them both. You have tried the protective policy of the Republican Party and you have tried the free trade revenue policy of the Democratic Party. Which do you like best? * * * * What we want in this country is that every man who seeks work shall have an opportunity to work. And then when he has performed an honest day's work for his employer, we mean he shall be paid in honest dollars.

"WHAT WE WANT FIRST IS WORK FOR AMERICAN WORKMEN."

(To delegation of workingmen and others from Mercer and Butler Counties, Pennsylvania, at Canton, Sept. 19, 1896.)

What we want in this country first and foremost is work for the American workingman. Every man in the country who wants to work ought to have an opportunity to work, and that opportunity is always limited by the extent to which we have our work done in Europe and European workshops by European labor. I am one of those who believe in the doctrine of protecting American factories against foreign factories and the American laborer against the workingmen of the world. * * * * What we want is a chance to work and when we have wages the home market is always improved for every farmer who wants to turn an honest dollar. We want an honest American dollar, too, and you should vote for the Party that you believe is more likely to give you the best chance to work and the best coin in payment, and you must judge for yourselves which party that is.

"WE WANT THE AMERICAN WORKSHOP DEFENDED AGAINST THE FOREIGN WORKSHOP."

(To delegation of citizens of Western New York, Sept. 2, 1896.)

We never had so much work in our history as we had in 1892. What we want is to get back to those good times and the people are only waiting for an opportunity in 1896, to vote back the principles and policies they gave up four years ago. We want no free trade in the United States. We want the American workshop protected and defended against the foreign workshop for the benefit of American workingmen. Suppose the foreign manufacturer could pay customs duties with a fifty-cent dollar, would not that reduce the protection you now have one half? My fellow citizens, do not be deluded. No matter how much money we have or may have in this country, there is but one way to get it and that is to give something for it. What we want just now is somebody who wants what we have to give him. Labor cannot wait. The capital of the workingman is his strong right arm. If he does not use it to-day just that much of his capital is gone and gone forever. The capitalist can wait on his dividends but the workingman cannot wait on his dinner. And there is nothing so well calculated to injure labor in the United States as a depreciated currency. I want you to read what Webster said, March 15, 1837, in your great State: "He who tampers with the currency robs labor of its bread. He panders, indeed, to the greed of capital, which is keen sighted and may shift for itself, but he beggars labor which is honest, unsuspecting, and too busy with the present to calculate for the future. The prosperity of the working classes lives, moves and has its being in established credit and a steady medium of payment. All sudden changes destroy it; honest in-

dustry never comes in for any part of the spoils in that scramble which takes place when the currency of the country is disordered."

"WE WANT NO IDLE MEN IN THE UNITED STATES."

(To citizens of Pennsylvania, at Canton, Sept. 25, 1896.)

We want no idle men in the United States. We want no idle mills in the United States and to the end that we may have neither idle mills nor idle men, we must do our work in the United States and not outside the United States. You may disagree with me, but I believe in a Protective tariff. I have always so believed and I have never felt called upon to make an apology to anybody anywhere for having been devoted to the great principles which promotes and encourages American development and good wages to American workmen. Then, my fellow citizens, having secured a tariff that will defend American interests, we want to continue the use of the good old dollars that we have had since 1879. We want no clipped coins in the United States. We want no debased dollars any more than we want debased labor, and when men have given a full day's work to an American employer, we want that American employer to pay him in dollars as good as any dollars anywhere in the world, and worth one hundred cents each everywhere in the world. Then, my fellow citizens, we want another thing—we want peace and tranquility in the United States. We want it established once for all that this is a Government of law and by law and that now as always we are a law abiding people. There is one thing that we are proud of and that is that the Republican party can submit its principles to the workmen, to the farmer, to the student, to the scholar, to those of every calling or profession, with confidence, because those principles are right and eternal.

"CLASS APPEALS ARE DISHONORABLE AND DISHONEST."

(To citizens of Peoria, Ill., at Canton, Sept. 26, 1896.)

The judgment of the people is swift and terrible against those who mislead and delude them. The people are never led astray by deceit or misrepresentation when they investigate for themselves. This they are doing this year in a marked degree. It is of no avail that party leaders appeal to passion when the people are alive to their own and the public interests. It will not do to say to the men who are poor in this world's goods—you must get off by yourselves, form a class of your own; your interests are opposed to those who employ you. This is not enough this year. The poor man inquires: what good will it do me, how will that better my condition, how will that bring bread to my family or food to my children? Will I be benefited by despoiling my employer? Will it give me more employment and better wages to strike down those whose money is invested in productive enterprises, which give me work and wages? Four years ago it was said that the manufacturer was making too much money. You remember it. But that cannot be said now. And that the robber tariff which was enriching him, must be torn root and branch to the end that he should be deprived of what some people were pleased to call his "ill-gotten profits." The country seemed to share in the suggestion, and the trial was entered upon, with what result every manufacturer, commercial man, traveling man, and workman best knows. It has been discovered to our hurt and sorrow that you cannot injure the manufacturer without injuring the laborer. It has been found, too, that you cannot injure the manufacturer without injuring the whole business of the country. You may close the shops by adverse tariffs, because you imagine the manufacturer is making too much, but with that done you close the door of employment in the face of the laborer whose only capital is his labor. You cannot punish the one without punishing the other and our policy would not inflict the slightest injury upon either. In such a case "getting off together" does not do either any good. Arraying labor against capital is a public calamity and an irreparable injury to both. Class appeals are dishonorable and dishonest. They calculate to separate those who should be united, for our economic interests are common and indivisible. Rather, my fellow citizens, teach the doctrine that it is the duty and privilege of every man to rise; that with honest industry he can advance himself to the best place in the shop, the store, the counting house or in the learned professions. This is the doctrine of equality and opportunity that is woven into every fiber of our National being; a doctrine which has enabled the poorest boy with the humblest surroundings to reach the best place in our great industries and to receive the highest trusts which can be bestowed by a generous people. Gentlemen, and I speak to my countrymen everywhere, if you have not yourselves been among the most fortunate, I pray you think of your boys and girls and place no obstacles in their pathway to the realization of every lofty and honorable ambition which they may have.

"THE WAY TO HAVE PROSPERITY IS TO ENCOURAGE THE AMERICAN WORKSHOP."

(To delegation of Railwaymen, at Canton, Sept. 26, 1896.)

Yours is a most delicate and dangerous employment. I never step off a railroad train, after either a long or short journey, that I do not feel like making personal acknowledgement to every railroad employe for his care for the safety of the passengers. I never step off a railroad train that I do not feel like going to the engineer and taking off my hat to him. * * * I make no appeal to you that is not based upon what I believe to be for the public good. I believe it is the mission of the Government of this country to take care of the industrial people of the country; I believe it is the business of the country to make everything that can be made in the United States which our people consume. I believe it is the business of the country to protect every citizen in his employment from the cheap products made by the cheaper labor of other lands. I believe that the way to have prosperity in the United States is to encourage the American workshop and uphold American labor; and when you uphold American labor and sustain the American workshop, you have given trade and traffic to these great railroad companies, the arteries of commerce, which in turn, give steady employment to the railway employes of the country.

"THERE IS NO MENACE TO LABOR LIKE THAT OF A DEBASED CURRENCY."

(To the tin plate workers of New Kensington, Pa., Sept. 26, 1896.)

To be called by laboring men themselves "the workingman's friend," is the highest honor for which I would strive. To have been in any way connected with National legislation that has furnished employment to the hundreds and thousands of men who stand beside and around me, is worthy the best ambition of any man. I am glad to have it demonstrated here to-day that we can and do make tin plate in the United States. If your factory and other kindred factories are not as prosperous as they were two or three years ago, you know the reason why. If your wages have been reduced in the tin plate factories, you know quite as well as I can tell you the reason it is so; for whenever there is a cut in the rates of tariff upon foreign imports, it is likely to be followed by a cut of rates in American wages. I take it that you are all in favor of a protective tariff. I take it that you know which party stands for a protective tariff. I take it that you know which ticket represents that great American doctrine, and knowing it, I take it you know just what National ticket is best for you. Now what you want after all—after good work and wages—is that you shall be paid in good dollars. You do not want your wages cut and your money too. It is bad enough to suffer a reduction in your pay but it is an added aggravation to have to suffer a cut in the money in which you are paid. I take it that every man who stands before me to-day is not only in favor of National prosperity, but he is in favor of National honor, and a National currency that will be as sound as the Republic and as unsullied as its honor has always been. There is no menace to labor like that of a depreciated and debased currency. * * * We must not lose our moorings; we must not be deluded by false doctrines or by false prophets. We must never by our ballots stigmatize ours either a dishonest or a repudiating Nation. Steady work and good wages are the test of the Nation's prosperity, and the happiness of its citizens. Neither of them will come through free trade or free silver; for while both may benefit somebody else, neither of them can benefit the American citizen.

"I FAVOR THAT POLICY THAT GIVES THE MOST WORK AND BEST WAGES TO EVERY AMERICAN LABORER."

(To delegation of workingmen from Harrisburg, Pa., at Canton, Oct. 3, 1896.)

The cry of distress is going up from every part of our common country. What men want is business activity. What laboring men want is work. We have discovered in the last three years and a half that we cannot increase the output of the mines or the wages of the miner by decreasing manufacturing in the United States. We have discovered that less American coal is required if we do any part of the work in Europe rather than here at home. I favor that policy which will give the largest development to every American interest, that gives the widest opportunity to every American citizen, that gives the most work and best wages to every American laborer, and secures to our people the highest possible prosperity in all their occupations. * * * My fellow citizens, we must defeat by decisive majorities every scheme for the debasement of our currency, whether it be free silver or irredeemable paper money; but while we do this we must also defeat the destructive and dangerous menace of free trade. We have lost enough already in the reduced wages of our labor, and

we do not propose to be further cheated by being paid in depreciated dollars. Let us effectually dispose of both, and restore to the country the great business prosperity which is naturally and properly ours to possess and enjoy.

"NOBODY IS CHEATED BY A DEPRECIATED CURRENCY SO MUCH AS THE MAN WHO LABORS."

(To mechanics and workmen of Alleghany, Pa., and Pennsylvania Railway shops, Oct. 3, 1896.)

I have been pleased to note in the public press and learn from the many delegations that have visited me during the last six weeks, that the employes of our great railroads are deeply interested in the rightful settlement of the questions which are presented in this campaign. We have come to realize, no matter what may be our employment, that we are most prosperous when the country is most prosperous. We have come to realize that the railroads do the most business, pay the best wages and have the most work when the farmers have good crops, good prices and good markets and the manufacturers have plenty of orders and their workmen steady employment. You always build more engines, repair more engines, and do more by way of improving equipments when your railroads do the most business, and when they do the most business you have the steadiest employment and best wages. * * * * * Democrats and Republicans alike, I ask you, do you want a continuance of a policy that has taken work from the American workshop and given it to the foreign workshop, or do you disapprove of that policy? You will have an opportunity to vote directly upon that proposition. We have the best country in the world, and if it does not continue to be the best it will be our own fault. We have the best railroads, and more railroads, and more internal commerce than any other nation, and it is because we have such vast internal commerce that the railroads of this country have been able to extend their lines and give such liberal employment to American labor. You have an opportunity to vote this year on another question—as to whether you want good, full, round, one-hundred cent dollars in payment of your wages, or whether you want to be paid in fifty-two cent dollars. Nobody is cheated by a depreciated currency so much as the man who labors. This is the experience of mankind the world over. It has been our own experience at every period in our history when we have entered upon an era of depreciated currency, and were living under the wild-cat banking system which issued State money. The workingmen of this country are its largest creditors. There is due to the workingmen in prosperous times so vast a sum of money as to make them the greatest creditors of the world, and they are, therefore, more interested or quite as much interested as any other part of our population, in having a sound and stable currency, unvarying in value and good wherever trade goes.

"OUR POLICY SEEKS TO GIVE A SITUATION TO EVERY MAN WHO WANTS WORK."

(To citizens of Ashland County, O., Oct. 7, 1896.)

Eighteen years ago your county was in the Congressional district for which I stood as a candidate for Congress. I remember to have gone to your county, as a young man, almost an entire stranger to your people, but I shall never forget the warm and cordial welcome you gave me, and the splendid support you gave to the Republican Party that year. * * * * * That year, as the older men in the audience will recall, I was contending for two things. In every speech I presented what I regarded as two great overmastering issues. One was the return to specie payments and the other was the continuance of a protective tariff policy that would preserve our own market for the American farmers and our factories for the American workingmen. We are contending this year for the same principles. On the other hand the allied parties of the opposition insist that this country shall take a step backward. Ever since 1879 we have been on a gold basis, on the solid rock of honest finance and of honest payment of debts, public and private. It is proposed now that we shall enter upon an era of not only a depreciated silver dollar, but of depreciated paper money; to that the Republican Party answers, "No, forever, No." Some people seem, sometimes, to despair of the future of the United States. Nobody need have any apprehension on that score. The United States is too great and too resourceful to have its progress impeded for any considerable length of time by any political party. This year we stand, as in 1878, for the restoration of a protective policy. In 1892, a year the most prosperous in our history, we were under such a policy. Every man in this country who wanted work could find it, and every man who worked in this country in 1892 got better wages than he ever received in any other period of our history or in all the world's history. The farmers of this country had the best home market in the world; had more and better paid consumers than

they had ever had before. But that has all changed. The newspaper advertisements in 1892 used to read "Men wanted." The advertisements that run in the newspapers to-day read "Situations wanted." Our policy seeks to give a situation to every man of this country who wants to work. The policy of partial free trade has put the workmen in a situation which entails upon them heavy loss, and upon every farmer of the country great injury.

I BELIEVE THE RIGHT POLICY IS THE ONE WHICH PROTECTS THE AMERICAN WORKSHOP."

(To delegations of Cleveland workmen and coal miners, Oct. 7, 1896.)

I am one of those who believe that we should look after our own people before we look after the people of other lands, who owe no allegiance to the Government of the United States. I believe the right policy is the one which protects the American workshop by putting a tariff upon the products of the foreign workshop. My fellow citizens, I do not believe that we ought to have a tariff policy that will let the products of cheaper lands and of underpaid labor, come into this country and destroy our manufactures and impoverish and degrade our labor. Now, the protective policy is my policy. It is the doctrine I have always believed in and I make no apology to anybody anywhere for holding that view. And if on the third day of November the American people in their sovereign capacity shall decree that a protective policy shall be restored, and sound money continued, I hope and fervently pray that we will enter upon an era of prosperity that will give happiness and comfort to every American home.

LET US EMPLOY EVERY IDLE MAN AND BRING HAPPINESS TO EVERY AMERICAN HOME."

(To delegation of workmen from West Virginia potteries and iron and steel workers, Oct. 7, 1896.)

The thought in every man's mind here, is: How can I better my condition? How can I improve the condition of my family? The answer comes almost with one voice—the way to do it is to protect American industry and defend American labor. Let us do our own manufacturing here in the United States. Let us make our own iron and steel, our own glass—and when we do that we will employ every idle man in the United States and bring hope and happiness to every American home. I believe in the policy of protection to home industries and to energies of the American people. I do not believe anything is cheap to our people that imposes idleness upon a single American citizen. What we want is work and wages. Do you believe free trade will aid you? Do you believe protective tariffs will do it? (Cries of "Yes." "Yes." "Every time.") Then vote that way. Protection never closed an American factory. Protection never shut an American mine. Protection never put American labor out on the streets. I can not say as much for partial free trade, such as we have experienced in the last three years and a half. More than that, my fellow citizens, we not only want an opportunity to work, but when we get that opportunity we want to be paid in honest dollars worth a hundred cents each. We believe neither in free trade nor in free silver. The one debases labor and the other the currency of the country. And more than all, you gentlemen, I know, are in favor of the maintenance of law and order.

VOTED AND SPOKE FOR AN EIGHT-HOUR LAW IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES.

(To employes of Cleveland Rolling Mills, Oct. 7, 1896.)

Nothing touches me more deeply than to have around and about me, assuring me of their support the workmen of the United States. They are the bone and sinew of the country and the mighty conservative force which in every perilous crisis of history must be relied upon to preserve National honor and the supremacy of the law. I am more than glad to meet at my home the workmen of the Cleveland Rolling Mill and the Wire Mill employes. I have met you before. I have addressed thousands of the workmen who stand about me to-day, at their homes in Newburg and Cleveland, and I believe there is not one of you present who would say that I ever sought to deceive or mislead you. I have stood in the past as a public servant striving to benefit my fellow man; to roll the weight off his shoulders and give him a fair and equal chance in the great race and contest of life. I believe in the American home as the corner-stone of liberty and free institutions, and I have always believed that the American home was made best when the head of that home had plenty to do. I have always stood for a Government policy—not one that would prohibit goods from coming into the United States, but for a policy that would protect the products of American labor against the products of the cheaper labor of the old world. I believe it is our duty to guard and defend the American workshop, and when we are doing that we are defending the American home. I stand to-day not only for a protective tariff but an honest dollar, a dollar based upon the best money of the world, recognized in every center of the world. We have had some experiences with short hours in the last four years, and we do not want to experiment with short dollars

now. When I addressed you last, four years ago, in the old tent at Newburg, a committee waited upon me and wanted to know if I was in favor of eight hours for a day's work. They were discussing the wisdom and advisability of shorter hours for their own comfort and for their own advancement and interest. To them I said "yes": I both voted and spoke for an eight hour law in the service of the United States. Since 1893 I haven't heard a word about shorter hours from the American workingmen. They are all too short, as my friends tell us. What you want is steady employment. Whatever will bring you the first in the true Government policy, and when you have that, then you want to be paid in dollars worth one hundred cents, good not only under our flag, but good in every civilized nation of the world.

"RESTORE A POLICY THAT GIVE WORK TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN."

(To delegation of Maryland workingmen, at Canton, Oct. 14, 1896.)

What we want to do in this country is to restore a policy that will encourage American development, American manufacturing, and give work to American workingmen. (Cheers.) This is the policy of the Republican Party, and it has been its uninterrupted policy since 1881. Under this policy, as every workman in my presence well knows, we enjoyed a higher prosperity than we ever enjoyed before or since. Now, having restored that policy, which can only be done by your votes, in connection with the votes of your fellow countrymen everywhere, let it be recorded by the same votes on the third day of November, that the people of this country are in favor of honest dollars with which to measure our exchanges, and not shifting dollars, to be ascertained by consulting the market reports published in the daily newspapers of the country. (Great applause.) When you have performed a good, honest day's work, you want to be paid in good, honest dollars. (Cheering, and cries of "That's right.") You want to be paid in staying dollars that are good, not only when you receive them, but good for all time (applause, and cries of "That's what we want") because they rest upon unextinguishable and inherent value, recognized the world over.

"PROTECTION OPENS BUT NEVER CLOSES AMERICAN WORKSHOPS."

(To delegation from Western New York, October 15, 1896.)

There is one thing the people of this country will not submit to—that the savings of the poor shall be squandered and wasted by a depreciation of the hard earned money which they have laid aside as the results of their thrift and economy. (Great applause and cries of "Good." "Good.") Can the people of Dunkirk, and Chatauga county for one instant favor such a policy? (Loud cries of "No." "Never.") I am glad to know that you do not. Let me tell you what I think is a better, safer and more honorable policy. Let us restore the protective tariff system and pay as we go. (Enthusiastic cheering and cries of "Hurrah for McKinley.") Put your laboring people at work and restore business confidence from one end of the country to the other. (Great applause, and cries of "That's the stuff.") I am a protectionist (cries of "That's right, so are we") because I believe the protective system is best adapted to our conditions and citizenship. (Cries of "You are right.") It does everything that a revenue tariff does and vastly more. It supplies needed revenue. (Great applause.) A revenue tariff can do no more, and the present tariff has not done that much. (Great applause.) It accomplishes this end with equal, if not greater certainty than a revenue tariff, and while doing that it wisely discriminates in favor of American interests, and is ever mindful of the American people. (Cheers, and cries of "Right." "Right.") * * * Protection favors the United States (Great applause and cries of "That's the stuff") and the flag of the United States. (Renewed applause.) It favors the people of the United States (cheers) and is the true friend of every American girl and boy struggling upward. (Great applause.) It builds up; never tears down. (Cries of "That's right.") It opens but never closes American workshops. That is what we want in this distressed country to-day. (Cries of "That's what we want.") This is what will diminish idleness, want any misery and stop deficient revenues.

"SET EVERY WHEEL IN MOTION AND LIGHT THE FIRES OF EVERY FACTORY IN THE LAND."

(To Kentucky Railway Sound Money Club, October 17, 1896.)

Nothing gives me greater honor; nothing brings to me higher distinction; nothing increases my gratitude so much as to feel that I have the warm, earnest, sincere support of the men who toil. (Great applause and cries of "You will have ours.") Labor is at the foundation of all our wealth and prosperity. You might open every mint of the world and coin the silver of all creation, but it would not produce the prosperity that the labor of the United States would produce, had it an opportunity to work (Great cheering.) What we want in this country, my fellow citizens, is constant employment. (Applause and cries of "That's correct" and "That's the stuff.") You get that when the country is prosperous. (Cries of "Correct." "Correct.") We do not get it when the business of the country is depressed. (Cries of "No." "No.") What we want to do now, irrespective of party, is to adopt an industrial policy which will set every wheel in motion (applause) and light the fires in every factory of the land (renewed applause), and then the employes of every railroad will have all they can haul and all the work they can do.

MAJOR MCKINLEY TO THE WORKINGMEN OF HIS OWN HOME.

(To Workingmen of Canton, O., Oct. 15, 1896.)

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: I have witnessed in front of this porch many scenes which have touched my heart, but none which have more deeply moved me than this gathering of the workingmen of Canton. Fringed about this assemblage are the wives and the little ones whom you love so much and for whom you want an opportunity to labor. I bid you all warm, hearty and sincere welcome. I have known most of you almost a lifetime. One of the spokesmen, the last one, was one of the earliest of my friends when I came to the city of Canton, and the other I have known for fifteen or sixteen years; while in this audience there are thousands of well-known and familiar faces to me. I greet you all as my friends. I have been with you in every undertaking to build up our splendid little city, to bring enterprise, thrift and employment to our people, and in all the years of the past there has not been a moment that I have not felt, whether I had their support or not, that I had the respect and confidence of the workingmen of Canton. * * * In 1892 free trade as against protection was the paramount issue of the campaign and free trade

triumphed before the great tribunal of the American people. This year we bring the question to you again. We ask you to review it, and to express your reconsidered, better and more matured judgment upon that issue, after three years of dreadful experience. * * * I bid you, workmen of Canton, use your ballots as your intellects and consciences shall direct, moved by the highest and most honorable considerations which can influence the voter—that of the welfare of the people, and the honor and good name of the government which we love. Use the ballot as will best subserve your own interests and those of your family, whose welfare and happiness you have in your sacred keeping. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for this call. It is a pleasure I shall never forget. It is an honor I shall always cherish, and I can not find words to tell you how this great assemblage of my own fellow citizens, coming from every shop and factory of the town, has given me courage and inspiration. I wish for you all the best in this life. I wish for your homes love, happiness and contentment, and for our common country the greatest glory and highest prosperity.

"A FULL DAY'S WORK SHOULD BE PAID IN FULL UNQUESTIONED DOLLARS."

(To delegations of Maryland Workmen, Oct. 17, 1896.)

It is an unusual honor to any candidate, or cause, to have three thousand wage-earners travel a thousand miles to testify to him their devotion and loyalty, and I appreciate more than I can find words to express the presence here, in Canton, of the potters and wage-earners of the Mt. Vernon mills, the wage earners of the transportation companies, the sound money clubs and the employees of the iron works and shipyards, who have gathered about my home this evening. * * * Nothing in all this campaign has given me so much pleasure and satisfaction as the knowledge that the wage earners of the country are for the most part enlisted in the cause for which we stand. (Prolonged cheering.) I know something of the workmen of the United States. I know something of the potters. (Great applause from the potters.) I know something of the wage earners in the great cotton and woolen mills, and that all they want is an opportunity to work; and to do this all they ask is protection from the products of other lands made by underpaid labor. (Tremendous applause.) * * * The tariff question is a question wholly of labor. We will manufacture with the world, if the rest of the world will pay as good wages as were paid in the United States. But as long as they do not, patriotism, genuine Americanism, and every industrial interest, demands that we should make our tariff high enough to measure the difference between the low cost of labor in foreign countries and the cost of labor in this. (Cheers.) Then, you are interested in honest money. You don't want any short dollars. (Cries of "No," "No," and applause.) You have tried short hours in the last four years and haven't liked them. (Laughter and applause and cries of "you bet we don't.") When you give a full day's work to your employer, you want to be paid in full unquestioned and unalterable dollars. (Great applause.)

THE TOILERS ARE ENTITLED TO LIBERAL CARE AND PROTECTION.

(From Inaugural Address, March 4, 1897.)

The depression of the past four years has fallen with especial severity upon the great body of toilers of the country, and upon none more than the holders of small farms. Agriculture has languished and labor suffered. The revival of manufacturing will be a relief to both. No portion of our population is more devoted to the institutions of free government, nor more loyal in their support, while none bears more cheerfully or fully its proper share in the maintenance of the government, or is better entitled to its wise and liberal care and protection. Legislation helpful to producers is beneficial to all. The depressed condition of industry on the farm and in the mine and factory has lessened the ability of the people to meet the demands upon them; and they rightfully expect that not only a system of revenue shall be established that will secure the largest income with the least burden, but that every means will be taken to decrease, rather than increase, our public expenditures.

WELL-EMPLOYED LABOR MAKES A CONTENTED POPULATION.

(To Manufacturers' Club, Philadelphia, June 2, 1897.)

* * * Philadelphians have in the past shown what busy industries and well-employed labor can do to make a great city and a contented population. (Applause.) They do not mean to accept present conditions as permanent and final. (Cheers.) They will meet embarrassments as they have bravely met them in the past, and in the end will restore industries and labor to their former condition and prosperity. (Great cheering.) And, gentlemen, Philadelphia is but a type of American pluck and purpose everywhere. (Great and prolonged applause.)

THE FURNACE FIRES HAVE BEEN LIGHTED.

(At Joliet, Illinois, October 7, 1899.)

I am glad to know that every one of the fires of all the furnaces and factories and shops in the city of Joliet has been lighted, and that employment waits upon labor in every department of human industry here. The nation is doing a vast business not only at home but abroad. For the first time in our history we send more American manufactured products abroad, made by American workmen, than we buy abroad. (Applause.)

DO NOT DIVIDE THE PEOPLE INTO CLASSES OR BUILD A WALL AGAINST THE AMBITIONS OF YOUR BOY.

(To the Chicago Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' Union, Chicago, Oct. 10, 1899.)

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: It gives me great pleasure to meet with the workmen of the city of Chicago. Of the many receptions that have been tendered me during my three days' stay in your city, none has given me more pleasure or greater satisfaction than the welcome accorded to me in this hall and the kind words spoken in my behalf by you, resident. (Cheers.) I have come not to make an address to you, but rather to give evidence, by my presence, of the great interest I feel in the cause of labor, and to congratulate you and your fellow-workmen everywhere upon the improved condition of the country and upon our general prosperity. (Applause.) When labor is employed at fair wages, homes are made happy. The labor of the United States is better employed, better paid, and commands greater respect than that of any other nation in the world. (Ap-

plause.) What I would leave with you here to-night, in the moment I shall occupy, is the thought that you should improve all the advantages and opportunities of this free government. Your families, your boys and girls, are very close to your heart-strings, and you ought to avail yourselves the opportunity offered your children by the excellent schools of the city of Chicago. Give your children the best education obtainable, and that is the best equipment you can give any American. Integrity wins its way everywhere, and what I do not want the workmen of this country to do is to establish hostile camps and divide the people of the United States into classes. I do not want any wall built against the ambitions of your boy, nor any barrier put in the way of his occupying the highest places in the gift of the people.

WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT NOW WAIT UPON LABOR.

(At Vincennes, Ind., October 11, 1899.)

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: We ought to be a very happy people. We are a very happy people. The blessings which have been showered upon us have been almost boundless, and no nation in the world has more to be thankful for than ours. We have been blessed with good crops at fair prices. Wages and employment have waited upon labor, and, differing from what it was a few years ago labor is not waiting on the outside for wages. Our financial condition was never better than now. We have good money and plenty of it circulating as our medium of exchange. National banks may fail, fluctuation in prices come and go, but the money of the country remains always good; and when you have a dollar of it, you know that dollar is worth one hundred cents. Not only have we prosperity, but we have patriotism; and what more do we want?

"THE EMPLOYER IS LOOKING FOR THE LABORER, NOT THE LABORER FOR

THE EMPLOYER."

(At Iron Foundries, Milwaukee, Wis., Oct. 17, 1899.)

MY FELLOW CITIZENS: As I have been journeying through the country, I have been welcomed with a warm cordiality by my fellow citizens, but at no place have I had a reception that has given me more genuine pleasure, more real satisfaction, than the greetings of the workmen of this great establishment and the other great establishments of this city about the buildings in which they toil. (Great applause.) I congratulate you all upon the prosperity of the country. The employer is looking for the laborer and not the laborer for the employer, and I am glad to note, from one end of the country to the other, a universal demand for labor.

"I HAVE NO SYMPATHY WITH THAT SENTIMENT WHICH WOULD DIVIDE MY COUNTRYMEN INTO CLASSES."

(At Racine, Wis., Oct. 17, 1899.)

I am glad to stand in this city of diversified industries and busy toilers and look into the faces of the people who have made your city what it is. This is a nation of high privilege and great opportunity. We have the free school, the open Bible, freedom of religious worship and conviction. We have the broadest opportunity for advancement, with every door open. The humblest among you may aspire to the highest place in public favor and confidence. As a result of our free institutions the great body of the men who control public affairs in state and nation, who control the great business enterprises of the country, the railroads and other industries, came from the humble American home and from the ranks of the plain people of the United States. (Applause.) I have no sympathy with that sentiment which would divide my countrymen into classes. I have no sympathy with that sentiment which would put the rich man on one side and the poor man on the other (applause), because all of them are equal before the law, all of them have equal power in the conduct of the government.

"FOR LABOR A SHORT DAY IS BETTER THAN A SHORT DOLLAR."

(From Letter of Acceptance, Sept. 8, 1900.)

The best service which can be rendered to labor is to afford it an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment, and give it every encouragement for advancement. The policy that subserves this end is the true American policy. The past three years have been more satisfactory to American workmen than many preceding years. Any change of the present industrial or financial policy of the government would be disastrous to their highest interests. With prosperity at home and an increasing foreign market for American products, employment should continue to wait upon labor, and with the present gold standard the workman is secured against payments for his labor in a depreciated currency. For labor, a short day is better than a short dollar; one will lighten the burdens, the other lessens the rewards of toil. The one will promote contentment and independence, the other penury and want. The wages of labor should be adequate to keep the home in comfort, educate the children and, with thrift and economy, lay something by for the days of infirmity and old age.



INSTRUCTIONS
OF
THE PRESIDENT

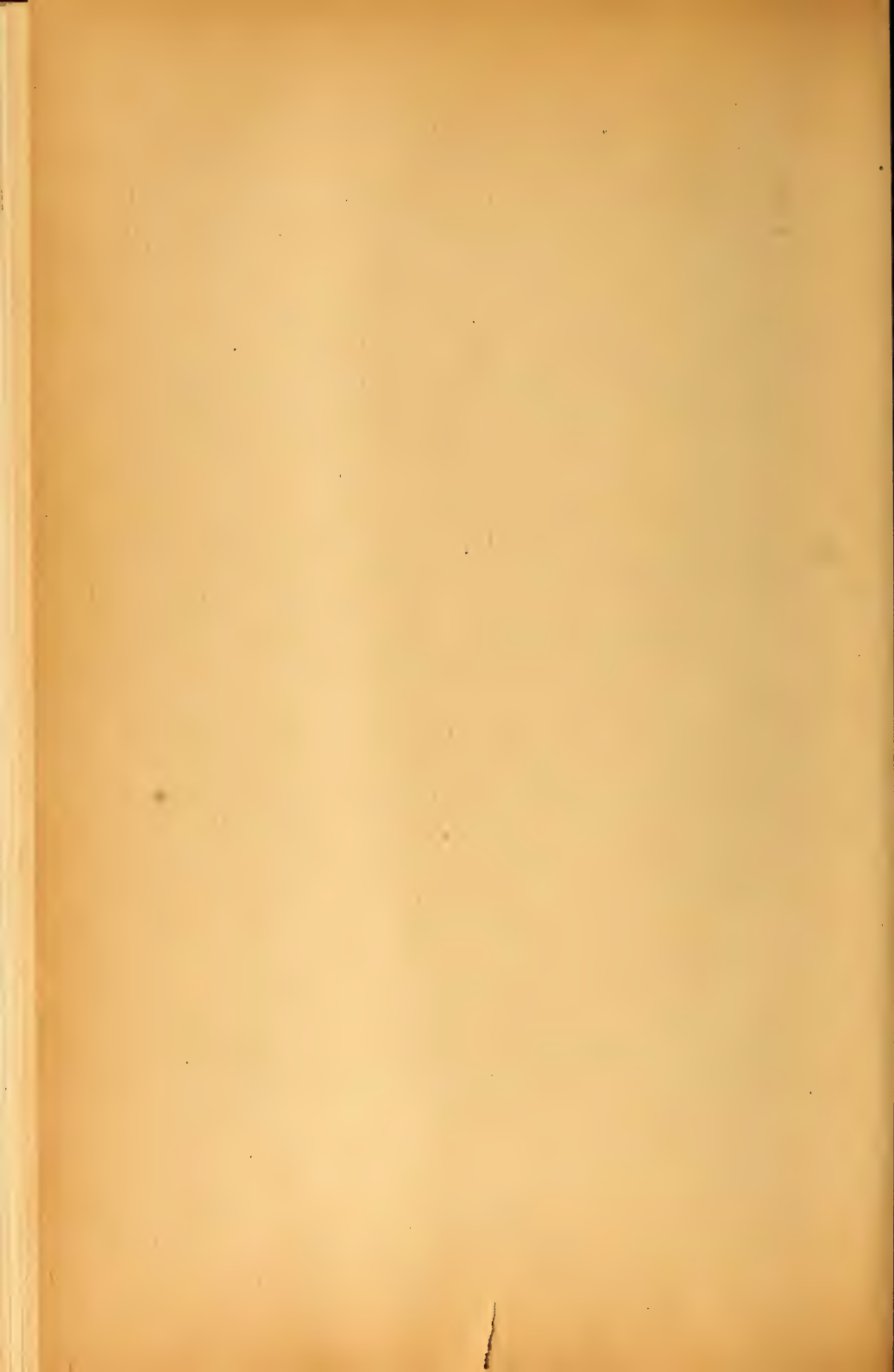
TO
THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION,

APRIL 7, 1900.

COMMISSIONERS.

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT, of Ohio. HON. LUKE I. WRIGHT, of Tennessee.
PROF. DEAN C. WORCESTER, of Michigan. HON. HENRY C. IDE, of Vermont.
PROF. BERNARD MOSES, of California.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
1900.



WAR DEPARTMENT,

Washington, April 7, 1900.

SIR: I transmit to you herewith the instructions of the President for the guidance of yourself and your associates as Commissioners to the Philippine Islands.

Very respectfully,

ELIHU ROOT,

Secretary of War,

HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT,

*President Board of Commissioners
to the Philippine Islands.*

EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 7, 1900.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

Washington.

SIR: In the message transmitted to Congress on the 5th of December, 1899, I said, speaking of the Philippine Islands: "As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops. To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands.

To give effect to the intention thus expressed I have appointed Hon. William H. Taft, of Ohio; Prof. Dean O. Worcester, of Michigan; Hon. Luke I. Wright, of Tennessee; Hon. Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Prof. Bernard Moses, of California, commissioners to the Philippine Islands to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities, subject in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact.

The commissioners named will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as president of the board. It is probable that the transfer of authority from military commanders to civil officers will be gradual and will occupy a considerable period. Its successful accomplishment and the maintenance of peace and order in the meantime will require the most perfect co-operation between the civil and military authorities in the island, and both should be directed during the transition period by the same Executive Department. The commission will therefore report to the Secretary of War, and all their action will be subject to your approval and control.

You will instruct the commission to proceed to the city of Manila, where they will make their principal office, and to communicate with the military governor of the Philippine Islands, whom you will at the same time direct to render to them every assistance within his power in the performance of their duties. Without hampering them by too specific instructions, they should in general be enjoined, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments, in which the natives of the islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall

be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty.

The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions corresponding to counties, departments, or provinces, in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines, or the same natural geographical limits, may best be subserved by a common administration. Whenever the commission is of the opinion that the condition of affairs in the islands is such that the central administration may safely be transferred from military to civil control, they will report that conclusion to you, with their recommendations as to the form of central government to be established for the purpose of taking over the control.

Beginning with the 1st day of September, 1900, the authority to exercise, subject to my approval, through the Secretary of War, that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which is of a legislative nature is to be transferred from the military governor of the islands to this commission, to be thereafter exercised by them in the place and stead of the military governor, under such rules and regulations as you shall prescribe, until the establishment of the civil central government for the islands contemplated in the last foregoing paragraph, or until Congress shall otherwise provide. Exercise of this legislative authority will include the making of rules and orders, having the effect of law, for the raising of revenue by taxes, customs duties, and imposts; the appropriation and expenditure of public funds of the islands; the establishment of an educational system throughout the islands; the establishment of a system to secure an efficient civil service; the organization and establishment of courts; the organization and establishment of municipal and departmental governments, and all other matters of a civil nature for which the military governor is now competent to provide by rules or orders of a legislative character.

The commission will also have power during the same period to appoint to office such officers under the judicial, educational, and civil-service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for. Until the complete transfer of control the military governor will remain the chief executive head of the government of the islands, and will exercise the executive authority now possessed by him and not herein expressly assigned to the commission, subject, however, to the rules and orders enacted by the commission in the exercise of the legislative powers conferred upon them. In the meantime the municipal and departmental governments will continue to report to the military governor and be subject to his administrative supervision and control, under your direction, but that supervision and control will be confined within the narrowest limits consistent with the requirement that the powers of government in the municipalities and departments shall be honestly and effectively exercised and that law and order and individual freedom shall be maintained.

All legislative rules and orders, establishments of government, and appointments to office by the commission will take effect immediately, or at such time as they shall designate, subject to your approval and action upon

the coming in of the commission's reports, which are to be made from time to time as their action is taken. Wherever civil governments are constituted under the direction of the commission, such military posts, garrisons, and forces will be continued for the suppression of insurrection and brigandage, and the maintenance of law and order, as the military commander shall deem requisite, and the military forces shall be at all times subject under his orders to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order and the enforcement of their authority.

In the establishment of municipal governments the commission will take as the basis of their work the governments established by the military governor under his order of August 8, 1899, and under the report of the board constituted by the military governor by his order of January 29, 1900, to formulate and report a plan of municipal government, of which his honor Cayetano Arellano, president of the audiencia, was chairman, and they will give to the conclusions of that board the weight and consideration which the high character and distinguished abilities of its members justify.

In the constitution of departmental or provincial governments, they will give especial attention to the existing government of the island of Negros, constituted, with the approval of the people of that island, under the order of the military governor of July 22, 1899, and after verifying, so far as may be practicable, the reports of the successful working of that government, they will be guided by the experience thus acquired, so far as it may be applicable to the condition existing in other portions of the Philippines. They will avail themselves, to the fullest degree practicable, of the conclusions reached by the previous commission to the Philippines.

In the distribution of powers among the governments organized by the commission, the presumption is always to be in favor of the smaller subdivision, so that all the powers which can properly be exercised by the municipal government shall be vested in that government, and all the powers of a more general character which can be exercised by the departmental government shall be vested in that government, and so that in the governmental system, which is the result of the process, the central government of the islands, following the example of the distribution of the powers between the States and the National Government of the United States, shall have no direct administration except of matters of purely general concern, and shall have only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers.

The many different degrees of civilization and varieties of custom and capacity among the people of the different islands preclude very definite instruction as to the part which the people shall take in the selection of their own officers; but these general rules are to be observed: That in all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others.

It will be necessary to fill some offices for the present with Americans which after a time may well be filled by natives of the islands. As soon as practicable a system for ascertaining the merit and fitness of candidates for civil office should be put in force. An indispensable qualification for

all offices and positions of trust and authority in the islands must be absolute and unconditional loyalty to the United States, and absolute and unhampered authority and power to remove and punish any officer deviating from that standard must at all times be retained in the hands of the central authority of the islands.

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction, or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government.

At the same time the commission should bear in mind, and the people of the islands should be made plainly to understand, that there are certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar.

It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably within a short time command universal assent. Upon every division and branch of the government of the Philippines, therefore, must be imposed these inviolable rules:

That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense, or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizure shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder, or ex-post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed.

It will be the duty of the commission to make a thorough investigation into the titles to the large tracts of land held or claimed by individuals or by religious orders; into the justice of their claims and complaints made against such landholders by the people of the island or any part of the people, and to seek by wise and peaceable measures a just settlement of the controversies and redress of wrongs which have caused strife and bloodshed in the past. In the performance of this duty the commission is enjoined to see that no injustice is done; to have regard for substantial rights and equity, disregarding technicalities so far as substantial right permits, and to observe the following rules:

That the provision of the Treaty of Paris, pledging the United States to the protection of all rights of property in the islands, and as well the principle of our own Government which prohibits the taking of private property without due process of law, shall not be violated; that the welfare of the people of the islands, which should be a paramount consideration, shall be attained consistently with this rule of property right; that if it becomes necessary for the public interest of the people of the islands to dispose of claims to property which the commission finds to be not lawfully acquired and held disposition shall be made thereof by due legal procedure, in which there shall be full opportunity for fair and impartial hearing and judgment; that if the same public interests require the extinguishment of property rights lawfully acquired and held due compensation shall be made out of the public treasury therefor; that no form of religion and no minister of religion shall be forced upon any community or upon any citizen of the islands; that upon the other hand no minister of religion shall be interfered with or molested in following his calling, and that the separation between state and church shall be real, entire, and absolute.

It will be the duty of the commission to promote and extend, and, as they find occasion, to improve, the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. This instruction should be given in the first instance in every part of the islands in the language of the people. In view of the great number of languages spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the islands to acquire the use of the English language.

It may be well that the main changes which should be made in the system of taxation and in the body of the laws under which the people are governed, except such changes as have already been made by the military government, should be relegated to the civil government which is to be established under the auspices of the commission. It will, however, be the duty of the commission to inquire diligently as to whether there are any further changes which ought not to be delayed; and if so, they are authorized to make such changes, subject to your approval. In doing so they are to bear in mind that taxes which tend to penalize or repress industry and enterprise are to be avoided; that provisions for taxation should be simple, so that they may be understood by the people; that they should affect the

fewest practicable subjects of taxation which will serve for the general distribution of the burden.

The main body of the laws which regulate the rights and obligations of the people should be maintained with as little interference as possible. Changes made should be mainly in procedure, and in the criminal laws to secure speedy and impartial trials, and at the same time effective administration and respect for individual rights.

In dealing with the uncivilized tribes of the islands the commission should adopt the same course followed by Congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government, and under which many of those tribes are now living in peace and contentment, surrounded by a civilization to which they are unable or unwilling to conform. Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to wise and firm regulation; and, without undue or petty interference, constant and active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs.

Upon all officers and employes of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

The articles of capitulation of the city of Manila on the 13th of August, 1898, concluded with these words:

"This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all descriptions, are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army."

I believe that this pledge has been faithfully kept. As high and sacred an obligation rests upon the Government of the United States to give protection for property and life, civil and religious freedom, and wise, firm, and unselfish guidance in the paths of peace and prosperity to all the people of the Philippine Islands. I charge this commission to labor for the full performance of this obligation, which concerns the honor and conscience of their country, in the firm hope that through their labors all the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands may come to look back with gratitude to the day when God gave victory to American arms at Manila and set their land under the sovereignty and the protection of the people of the United States.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.



The



World.

"Circulation Books Open to All."

"Circulation Books Open to All."

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1896.

Proposed Purchase of the Presidency

For WILLIAM J. BRYAN

By the Silver Trust.

Documentary and Statistical History of the Attempt to Sell and Buy the Presidency, Made in 1896.

A Circular Issued on Behalf of the Silver Trust Offering Thirty-five Millions of Dollars a Year, all Clean Profit—Perfect Velvet.

Clear Gain on Silver, if Bryan Should Be Elected, About Three Million Dollars A Month.

This According to Bryan's Speeches and the Statistics of Silver Production, and the Prices in the Markets.

The Silver Trust is Substantially a British Organization.

The Stock of Silver Mining Corporations Operating Profitable Mines in This Country, Chiefly Owned in London.

Floods of Money from This British Trust for Bryan in a Silver Speculation.

IT IS THE BID OF THE SILVER MINES

For the Presidency of the United States.

The Subscriptions to Be Paid in British Gold out of American Labor.

The Scheme of Four Years Ago Reorganized and Made More Ambitious.

Mr. W. J. Bryan, in the course of four years' public speaking, in favor of the Belittlement of his country, the destruction of the credit of the Government, and the Honor of the People, appeals to Repudiation, Active and Retroactive—stirring with demagoguery of the grossest nature, the elements of disorder, whose instigation and organization have been the overthrow of republics—Mr. Bryan, who has lent his powers of public persuasion to the encouragement of the enemies of the republic, anarchists at home, and assassins serving impostors abroad, and is aiding, comforting and sus-

taining those who have taken up arms against us, upon the false pretenses of traitors to the people we have liberated, and conspirators against the United States, for the reason that we have maintained the principles of the Fathers of the Republic, when walking in their footsteps; asserting and expanding the greatness of our country—after doing all this evil work, Mr. Bryan, exercising his own will in the midst of weaklings and standing on supreme selfishness and vanity, among the selfish and the vain, has been accepted by the unprincipled, the unpatriotic and the unscrupulous, as the leader of those who find fault with prosperity, and ill-fame in glory, and go with him in the constructions of the Constitution of the United States that eliminate American Nationality and disregard “the faith and honor of the army of the United States,” pledged as it was—written, sealed and subscribed, in the capitulation of Manila. He has forced upon his party, in spite of the lessons of our history, never so luminous as in the years since 1896, the dogma of the free coinage of silver at the ratio with gold, at the mint, of 16 to 1, when the market ratio is 33 to 1, and this he has done while making outcries against “trusts,” and he has done it for the greatest and most sordid and scandalous TRUST ever organized in the world. We refer to the British Silver Trust. Investigations on the spot, by Mr. Edward Atkinson, who is competent for that statistical and monetary and financial work, though the leading Filipino Democrat in Massachusetts, prove that the majority of the stock in our profitable silver mines is owned by the capitalists of London. The trust of silver mine owners and operators is solidly organized. IT ATTEMPTED FOUR YEARS AGO TO BUY THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR WILLIAM J. BRYAN, and he is in the field now to give the British brethren another chance to purchase the great office for Mr. William J. Bryan. It is the same trust and the same man.

The Bryan campaign, “The Second Battle” campaign which is now open, was organized simply to procure money from the Silver Trust for the uses and abuses of the Democratic party, Bryanized. It is a policy of selling the Presidency of the United States for cash, to be paid by the controlling the American silver mine stockholders who live in London. What they are asked to do is precisely to pay the assessments of the silver politicians of the United States in order to have the value of the product of their mines DOUBLED IN THE MARKET. That is according to the orations of the candidate. Mr. Bryan appropriately sets forth in this connection, and insists with peremptory imperialism upon his old folly, that because we have as good money as England, and better credit than she has under the gold standard, which she has also, we are subordinate to her because she had that standard before we elevated ours, and with it our credit. The combination of the gold standard and the highest credit in the world being coincident and identical with the unparalleled prosperity of the people of the United States, there couldn't be any plainer proposition than this Silver Trust Scheme. It seems like a tremendous fairy story, but the silver trust is equal to all the proportions of the plans. In the hurly-burly of four years ago, the proof of the proposed and organized purchase of the Presidency of the United States did not receive the attention so threatening, momentous and portentous a matter deserved. We proceed to offer documentary matter that appeared in this country October the 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1896, and was not carefully and searchingly considered and weighed and measured on either side of the Atlantic or of the political world in this country, because the papers in the case were laid late in the season before our countrymen in the columns of a protesting Democratic newspaper, the newspaper to which we refer being the New York World. We give the papers in the order in which the World presented them.

THE SILVER TRUST'S APPEAL.

(Editorial in the New York World, October 1st, 1896.)

The silver mines of this country produced in 1893, 27,600,000 ounces of fine silver. The copper and lead mines produced as a by-product—all profit—32,300,000 ounces of fine silver. About this proportion is maintained year by year. All of this silver is produced at a profit. Most of it is all profit.

ONE MINE, THE ONTARIO, HAS PAID 197 SUCCESSIVE MONTHLY DIVIDENDS AMOUNTING TO \$13,190,000, OR \$823,125 A YEAR. OTHER MINES HAVE PAID DIVIDENDS IN LIKE PROPORTION.

These silver-ring people plead poverty. They have reduced miners' wages from \$3.50 per day to \$3 and in most cases to \$2.50 per day, while declaring dividends by scores of millions. Yet THEY ASK THE WORKINGMEN OF THE COUNTRY TO HELP THEM



THE ONLY THING HE ASKS.

SILVER-MINE PLUTOCRAT:—"Let me make the money of the nation, and I care not who makes the laws.

WITH VOTES TO DOUBLE THEIR DIVIDENDS AND TAKE THE DIFFERENCE OUT OF THE WAGES OF ALL THE PEOPLE WHO WORK.

For this is precisely what their present free-coinage demand amounts to. These

multi-millionaire monopolists have already forced the Government to pay them \$464,000,000 for silver bullion now worth in the market only \$318,000,000—in other words, to pay them a bonus of \$146,000,000 on a business already enormously profitable. Every dollar of this exaction has been taken out of the earnings of the people, for every dollar of it has been paid out of the proceeds of taxation.

They now ask that the Government shall take all their product—60,000,000 ounces a year—at \$1.29 an ounce when it is worth only about 66 cents an ounce. That is to say, they ask the workingmen of America to give them, out of hard-earned wages, a bonus of about \$38,000,000 a year for continuing their already enormously profitable business.

This is the programme of the Silver Trust, composed as it is of men most of whom are already rich beyond the dreams of avarice. THEY HAVE CUT DOWN THE WAGES OF THEIR OWN WORKMEN TO THE SMALLEST LIMIT, WHILE PAYING ENORMOUS DIVIDENDS, AND NOW THEY ASK ALL OTHER WAGE-EARNERS OF THE COUNTRY TO CONTRIBUTE ENOUGH OUT OF THEIR EARNINGS TO GIVE THEM—THE MULTI-MILLIONAIRES—THIRTY-FIVE OR FORTY MILLIONS MORE EACH YEAR WITHOUT ANY RETURN WHATEVER.

THESE ARE THE COLD, OFFICIAL, STATISTICAL FACTS OF THE SITUATION.

Why should any wage-earner vote for such a proposal? Why should any workingman vote to compel himself to contribute to the already fat fortunes of men who grind the faces of the poor and oppress labor to the point of degradation in their own enormously profitable mines?

THE SILVER TRUST CONSPIRACY.

THE SECRETARY OF THE SILVER STATES BIMETALLIC LEAGUE OFFICIALLY STATES ITS OBJECT AND ITS PROSPECTIVE PROFITS—AN ASSESSMENT EQUAL TO ONE MONTH'S PROFITS CALLED FOR FROM SILVER MINE OWNERS TO ELECT THE SILVER TICKET.

Thomas S. Merrill, Secretary of the Bimetallic League of the Silver States, has let the cat out of the bag as to the conspiracy of the silver mine owners to unload their bullion on the United States Government in a letter he sent to the Salt Lake Herald. Mr. Merrill says in his letter:

"If Bryan is defeated we must expect to see silver sold at a price that will be given it simply by its demand for use in the arts, which will certainly be not more than 40 cents an ounce. In view of these facts, the owners of silver-producing properties can afford to contribute at least the additional profits they receive from their own silver product for one month to the Bryanite campaign." He closes with a direct appeal to well-known silver mine owners as follows:

"I appeal to Messrs. McIntyre and Cunningham, of the Mammoth; Keith and Kearns, of the Silver King; Chisholm and others, of the Centennial and Eureka; Ryan and Knox, of the Ajax; Packard, of the Eureka Hill; Daly, of the Daly; West, Beck and associates, of the Bullion-Beck; Farnsworth & Sharp, of the Horn Silver, and the owners of the Sioux, Ontario (W. R. Hearst, Vice-President), and other silver mines of this State, who can well afford to assist in this cause, to figure up the average monthly silver product from their mines and multiply the product of one month in ounces by 64 cents, which is the additional price they will receive for their product—all of which will be profit—and at once have that amount contributed and placed in the hands of the treasurer of the bimetallic parties to assist Mr. Bryan in the wonderful campaign he is making almost unaided. If we can secure the additional profits of one month's product of the Western silver-producing mines it will insure success at the election on November 3."

This circular of the Secretary of the Bimetallic League of the silver States declares officially, and with the utmost simplicity, the objects of the Silver Trust. SECRETARY MERRILL DECLARES THAT FREE COINAGE OF SILVER MEANS AN ADDITION OF 64 CENTS AN OUNCE—"ALL OF WHICH WILL BE CLEAR PROFIT" TO THE SILVER TRUST—ON EVERY OUNCE OF SILVER MINED!

The production of silver last year in the United States was 55,727,000 fine ounces. Under free coinage the additional profit to the mine owners would have been \$35,755,280. The Government of the United States, the people, not even the miners who dug the silver out of the mines, would have received one penny of this additional profit. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PURE VELVET TO THE MINE OWNERS!

The Utah mine owners organized last Friday night and formed themselves into a strong alliance for mutual profit. A call had been issued September 28, and last Tuesday night a liberal representation of the leading business men of Salt Lake City responded, and several of the silver mine owners to whom Mr. Merrill had appealed were present.

The meeting created what will be known as the Bryan Campaign Financial Committee, which will be a general committee to have charge of collecting funds in Utah to assist the silver campaign. The committee is composed of thirty-three members, including those mine owners whom Mr. Merrill directly addressed—Messrs. Daly, Packard, Beck, Knox, McIntyre, Kearns, Farnsworth, Cunningham, Chisholm and Merrill himself. This committee organized at once, with R. C. Chambers, president of the Salt Lake Herald Company, a prominent free silver organ, as chairman. Mr. Chambers, Mr. Hearst and Mr. Tevis are the principal owners of the Ontario and the Daly Silver Mines, WHICH TOGETHER HAVE ALREADY PAID OVER \$16,000,000 IN DIVIDENDS IN RECENT YEARS.

GREAT SILVER TRUST.

(From the New York World, Friday, October 2d, 1896.)

UTAH COMMITTEE ASKS FOR A \$500,000 ELECTION FUND QUICK.—THE OFFICIAL CIRCULAR.—EXPOSURE OF THE CONSPIRACY OF THE MINE-OWNERS CAUSES MUCH ANGER.—FULL NAMES OF NEW COMMITTEE.—THEY TRY TO BELITTLE THE EXPOSURE, BUT ITS OFFICIAL CHARACTER AND ITS PURPOSE NOT DENIED.—COLOSSAL GAIN IF IT CAN BE GOT.—THE MINE-OWNERS' LETTER, INTENDED TO BE PRIVATE, ADMITS THAT EVERY PENNY OF PROFIT UNDER FREE-COINAGE WOULD GO TO THEM.

(Special to The World.)

Salt Lake City, Utah, October 1.—Telegraphic inquiries have been pouring into Salt Lake City all day asking if it could possibly be true that the official secretary of the Silver States Bimetallic League had actually revealed the real game of the Silver Trust and the enormous profits which it is sure to reap if the free-silver ticket is elected.

The publication in The World to-day of Secretary Thomas G. Merrill's circular seemed to have set all the Eastern States aflame. Its publication seems to have been a revelation to the East. Many persons apparently refused to believe that the members of the Silver Trust could brazenly admit that the triumph of free silver meant a clear profit to them as individuals of sixty-four cents an ounce upon the sixty million ounces of silver mined annually.

THE LANGUAGE OF SECRETARY MERRILL'S CIRCULAR, TAKEN FROM THE WORLD, WAS TELEGRAPHED BACK HERE FROM NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, WASHINGTON AND OTHER PLACES, WITH INQUIRIES WHETHER SECRETARY MERRILL REALLY REPRESENTED THE BIG SILVER INTERESTS.

THE CIRCULAR TRUE AND OFFICIAL.

There is no doubt whatever either of the authenticity of the circular, its official character or the statements which it makes. It was not intended originally for publication, but was written to be mailed to about two hundred prominent silver-mine owners, who were expected to contribute \$500,000 in a hurry. But the arguments in the letter were so familiar, and of such pressing importance to the silver-ruled States, that THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE SALT LAKE HERALD, WHICH IS OWNED BY MR. CHAMBERS, WHO IS HIMSELF ONE OF THE SILVER KINGS, PRINTED THE CIRCULAR IN HIS PAPER. The most striking passage in the letter is here repeated verbatim:

"The election of Mr. Bryan at this time means the immediate restoration of silver to its full legal-tender money. In view of this fact, cannot the owners of such silver-producing properties as the Ontario, the Silver King, the Daly, the Daly West, the Mammoth, the Centennial Eureka, the Bullion-Beck, the Eureka Hill, the Ajax and others well afford, or, rather can they afford not to contribute at least the ad-

ditional profit they would receive for their own silver product for one month to the educational work of the present campaign?

"I appeal to Messrs. McIntyre and Cunningham, of the Mammoth; Keith and Kearns, of the Silver King; Chisholm and others, of the Centennial Eureka; Ryan and Knox, of the Ajax; Packard, of the Eureka Hill; Daly, of the Daly West; Beck and associates, of the Bullion Beck; Furnsworth and Sharp, of the Horn Silver, and the owners of the Sioux, Ontario, Daly and other silver mines of this State who can well afford to assist in this cause, to figure up the average monthly silver product from their mines and multiply the product of one month in ounces by 64 cents, which



WORKING ON SHARES.

is the additional price they will receive for their product, all of which will be profit, and at once have the amount contributed and placed in the hands of the treasurer of the bimetallic forces to assist Mr. Bryan in the wonderful campaign he is making almost unaided."

MONEY WILL MAKE VICTORY SURE.

"IF WE CAN SECURE THE ADDITIONAL PROFITS OF ONE MONTH'S PRODUCT OF THE WESTERN SILVER-PRODUCING MINES IT WILL INSURE SUCCESS IN THE ELECTION ON NOVEMBER 3. If we cannot get this, and for want of it fail in this election, I BELIEVE THE GENTLEMEN TO WHOM THIS APPEAL IS MADE WILL SINCERELY REGRET IN THE COMING YEARS THEIR FAILURE TO RENDER THIS ASSISTANCE.*

* They have regretted it.

THOMAS G. MERRILL."

The Ontario and the Daly Silver Mines, which are put at the head of the above list, are both owned by men made rich by the Government's purchases of silver. Mr. Chambers is president of both mines. W. R. Hearst, who conducts the only organ shouting for free silver in New York City and San Francisco, is the vice-president. These two mines have alone paid over \$16,000,000 in dividends.

\$480,000 A MONTH CLEAR PROFIT.

The total output of silver from the mines named in this Silver King's circular, figured on the most conservative estimates, are not less than 750,000 ounces per month. At 64 cents an ounce "clear profit" which, the circular says, the election of the free-silver ticket means to these mine-owners, their increased dividends would be \$480,000 per month.

MILLIONS IN IT.

If these mines have been able to pay \$16,000,000 in dividends within a few years under limited silver coinage it would be difficult to estimate how much they would make if the Government is compelled to buy every ounce of silver which they can mine at \$1.29 cents an ounce—twice the market value—and if every American citizen is forced to accept this 51 cents' worth of silver as one dollar.

TO-DAY THE MINE-OWNERS TOOK THE CIRCULATION OF APPEALS ENTIRELY OUT OF SECRETARY MERRILL'S HANDS. They are discomfited that arguments which are heard every day in these mining-camp States, facts which pass without comment because of their obvious truth, should have made such a prodigious sensation in the East.

SILVER FUND FOR ELECTION.

The silver-mine owners have forwarded this week their first contribution to the Financial Committee of the National Democratic Committee. It is small—less than \$50,000. They prefer to spend their money in their own way, through their own committees, for their own interests. The silver-mine owners are using the Democratic organization for self-interest, but they have no idea of subordinating their interests to the Democratic party, to which nine-tenths of them have been for years opposed. The Populists are still more distrusted by the silver-mine owners because the real creed of the Populists is to have almost unlimited paper money issued by the Government, and so make money "less scarce." Such a policy would of course do away with silver altogether, and the silver-mine owners regard this cardinal doctrine of the Populist faith with almost frantic fear.

The silver-mine owners have maintained their organization for twenty-two years, incessantly fanning the flames of discontent in years of bad crops or hard times, making bargains with the Republican party for protective tariffs and bargains with the Democrats in the South to defeat force bills. They have passed three acts in twenty-four years compelling the Government to buy their silver at a fancy price and have actually succeeded in unloading 460,000,000 ounces of it on the Government at a price which has caused the Government a net loss of \$146,000,000.

SILVER TRUST LIKE JAY GOULD.

They have followed in politics the simple principle of Jay Gould when he was corrupting legislators and watering Erie Railway stock. He said that he had to be a Republican in Republican counties, a Democrat in Democratic counties, but that he was an Erie Railway man everywhere.

In the same manner the Silver Trust has been Republican in these Republican mining-camp States; it has been Democratic in Democratic States in the South, and it has been Populist in the Middle Western States; but it has been for free silver everywhere; and its sole object has been to secure for itself a monopoly of the United States mints.

Here are the names of the Finance Committee of the Silver Trust, which now has charge of raising funds to be expended on election day in the interest of free silver:

R. C. Chambers, Joseph L. Rawlins, Thomas G. Merrill, Committee on Address; R. Chambers, Ontario Mine; J. J. Daly, Daly West; Joseph L. Rawlins, mine owner; J. Q. Packard, Eureka Hill, Keystone and Gemini; W. S. McCormick, Bullion Beck Mine, banker; John Beck, Bullion Beck; C. A. Cohn, manager Delamars Gold Mines; Frank Knox, bank president, owner of Ajax; H. W. Lawrence, owner of silver mines in Utah and Nevada; Samuel McIntyre, Mammoth Mine; James McGregor,

Crescent; Thomas Kearns, Silver King; Dr. Hough, dentist and politician; Simon Balberger, Bullion Beck; J. R. Walker, Alice Mine, Montana; George L. Scott, Crystal Mine; O. J. Salisbury, owner of silver mines in Utah and Idaho; George A. Snow, implement dealer; E. A. Wall, Ophir Silver Mine; J. E. Banberger, Centennial Eureka; P. T. Farnsworth, Horn Silver; A. G. Campbell, Cave Mine; Thomas G. Merrill, Secretary Bimetallic League; D. C. Dunbar, politician; J. A. Cunningham, Mammoth; W. H. Dickson, attorney-at-law and mine owner; C. C. Goodwin, editor Tribune; A. F. Holden, Old Jordan and Galena; W. M. Bradley, Centennial Eureka Mine and attorney-at-law; C. S. Varian, attorney-at-law and mine owner; J. W. Donnellan, bank president; W. W. Chisholm, Centennial Eureka.

The Treasurer, G. R. Walker, signs himself "Treasurer of the Non-Partisan Campaign Committee"—a correct title, as not a single member of the committee cares a fig either for the Republican or Democratic party or for Mr. Bryan. They are all working for their own private interests, definitely stated in their own official circular "as 64 cents an ounce, all of which is profit," on all the silver that can be mined.

A mining expert expresses the opinion that under free silver coinage the production of the silver States would within two years reach the stupendous product of 100,000,000 ounces per year. The coining value of this money would be \$129,000,000, and the Silver Trust, which is controlled by less than two hundred monopolistic mine-owners, would reap a clear profit of \$64,000,000 per annum in addition to the profits which they now receive.

Do these figures make Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's bond syndicate look poor and weak—like an infant industry needing protection?

THE PROPOSED SILVER MONOPOLY.

The letter published yesterday of Thomas G. Merrill, Secretary of the Bimetallic League of the Silver States, and CONFIRMED AND FURTHER EXPLAINED IN OUR SPECIAL DESPATCH FROM SALT LAKE CITY TO-DAY, IS AN EXTRAORDINARY DOCUMENT IN MANY WAYS.

It is specially so in its candor.

Mr. Merrill proposes without a blush that the silver-mine owners shall contribute one month's profits and buy the Presidency of the United States as a speculation.

With all the calm assurance of a promoter offering a new trust stock, he explains to the silver-mine owners that this will be an unusually good investment. It will enable them, he says, to convert their bullion into legal-tender coin at \$1.29 per ounce, thus giving them a clear profit of 64 cents an ounce in addition to the profits they make now.

That is to say, he shows them that by contributing a month's profits each they can probably buy the exclusive privilege of furnishing money to this country and compelling the people to give them one dollar for every 51 cents' worth of silver they produce.

Mr. Merrill is entirely right. It is a good gamble. For such a monopoly, or even for a reasonable prospect of it, the mine-owners could well afford to pay not one but many months' profits.

It looks very much like a Presidential auction sale, but a little matter like that will not seriously trouble speculators for scores of millions.

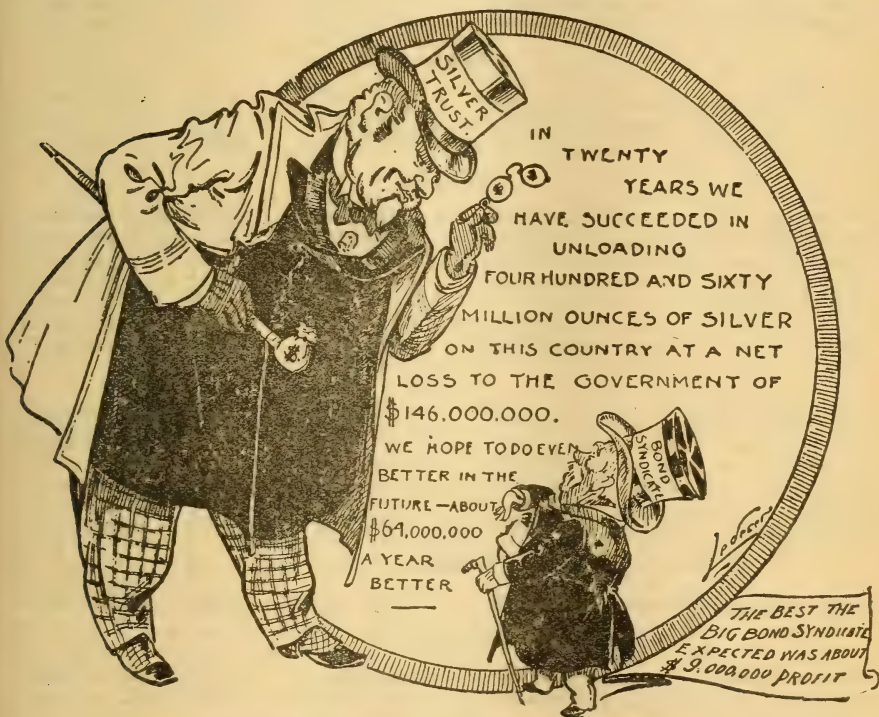
If it is accomplished every dollar of the enormous profits anticipated must be taken in one form or another from the earnings of those who work for their living.

What do workingmen think of the proposal? How will they vote concerning it? Will they use their ballots thus to turn over a large part of their wages to multi-millionaire mine-owners, or will they prefer to regard their wives and children as having the first claim upon their wages?

BILLIONS IN SILVER.

RECENT DIVIDENDS PAID BY THE BIG MINES; THE GREATEST MILLIONAIRE-MILL IN THE WIDE WORLD.—"16 TO 1" WOULD DOUBLE THE PROFITS.—THE MINE-OWNERS HAVE PROVED TO BE OMNIPOTENT IN CONGRESS; WILL THEY BE SO AT THE POLLS?—THEIR PAST DIVIDENDS AND THEIR FUTURE HOPES.—NINE-TENTHS OF ALL THE SILVER MINED IN THREE STATES.—THEY HAVE, TOGETHER, LESS THAN HALF THE POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY ALONE.

The system of book-keeping practiced by the Silver Trust for public inspection is a most wonderful system. On its face it bears all the marks of the most rigid honesty. It is a most simple system, for the lawmaking powers of the silver States are so entirely within the control of the trust that no laws are enacted that would in any way embarrass it. Occasionally it happens that the profits of some particular



A BIG TRUST AND A LITTLE ONE—BOTH BAD.

fragment of the trust reach such tremendous proportions that something is done to cover up its success. Two instances of this character will suffice. In the last returns sent to this city and published last Saturday is this item:

"Cons. Cal. & Va. g. s., Nev.; capital stock, \$21,600,000; total dividends paid, \$3,898,800; last dividend, Feb., 1895; amount, 25 per cent."

In other words, the item conveys the information that the Consolidated California and Virginia Company, of Nevada, which produces both gold and silver, was capitalized at \$21,600,000, and that it has only paid \$3,898,800 in dividends, and that its last dividend was 25 per cent. paid in 1895. The fact is, however, that previous to the consolidation, which took place in August, 1884, the California had paid \$31,320,000 in dividends, and the Virginia had paid \$42,390,000. So, instead of the dividends amounting to only \$3,898,800, they actually amounted to \$77,608,800.

COLORADO.

Mine.	Capital Stock.	Dividends Paid.	Date and Amount of Last Dividend.	
Aspen	\$2,000,000	\$900,000	1894	10 per cent.
Enterprise	2,500,000	825,000	1893	25 per cent.
Evening Star.....	500,000	1,437,000	1889	25 per cent.
Gold Coin.....	1,000,000	80,000	1896	10 per cent.
Iron Silver.....	10,000,000	2,500,000	1889	20 per cent.
Morning Star.....	1,000,000	1,025,000	1891	25 per cent.
New Guston.....	550,000	1,198,120	1892	25 per cent.
Small Hopes.....	5,000,000	3,275,000	1896	10 per cent.
Smuggler Union.....	5,000,000	100,000	1896	100 per cent.

CALIFORNIA.

Bodie	10,000,000	1,677,572	1894	25 per cent.
Standard.....	10,000,000	3,771,160	1895	10 per cent.

NEVADA.

Consolidated	21,600,000	77,618,800	1895	25 per cent.
Dexter	1,000,000	100,000	1893	33 per cent.
Eureka	1,000,000	5,112,500	1892	25 per cent.

MONTANA.

Anaconda.....	30,000,000	750,000	1896	62½ per cent.
Bald Butte.....	250,000	437,500	1895	3 per cent.
Boston	3,750,000	4,475,000	1896	300 per cent.
Elkhorn.....	1,000,000	1,212,000	1895	6 per cent.
Granite Mountain.....	10,000,000	12,120,000	1892	20 per cent.
Hecla.....	1,500,000	2,130,000	1896	50 per cent.
Hope.....	1,000,000	592,252	1895	10 per cent.

UTAH.

Centennial Eureka.....	1,500,000	1,800,000	1896	100 per cent.
Daly	3,000,000	2,887,500	1896	25 per cent.
Horn-Silver.....	10,000,000	5,130,000	1896	12½ per cent.
Ontario.....	15,000,000	13,310,000	1896	10 per cent.
Petro.....	1,000,000	17,500	1891	75 per cent.
Silver King.....	3,000,000	750,000	1896	25 per cent.

IDAHO.

De Lamar.....	2,000,000	2,094,100	1896	25 per cent.
---------------	-----------	-----------	------	--------------

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Deadwood-Terra.....	5,000,000	1,590,000	1896	50 per cent.
Homestake.....	12,500,000	5,962,500	1896	25 per cent.

In studying the profits of these mines it should be remembered that more than half the silver product of the country last year came from lead, copper and gold mines. Many so-called lead and copper mines derive their big profits from silver extracted from their lead and copper ores in process of refining.

Here is the other case:

According to the returns the Deadwood-Terra Company, of South Dakota, is capitalized at \$5,000,000. It has only paid \$1,240,000 in dividends, and its last dividend of 50 per cent. was paid in August last. Before these two interests were joined the Deadwood paid \$275,000 in eleven dividends and the Terra had paid \$75,000. Instead of these properties yielding only \$1,240,000 in dividends, they have yielded \$1,590,000.

The accompanying table shows the profits of some of the great mines which produce silver ore exclusively and silver mixed with copper and lead.

Here are thirty mining properties that are capitalized for \$171,650,000 and that have already yielded a profit of \$154,868,504. Nearly all of them are running with

silver selling at 66 cents an ounce and are yielding an average dividend of about 33 per cent.

What would the profits be under a free and unlimited coinage law which compelled the Government to pay \$1.29 an ounce for every ounce of silver mined?

The silver kings are professing great love for the laboring man. Here is an extract from the last issue of the Engineering and Mining Journal: "The Coronado is one of the mines owned by the Small Hopes Consolidation, which had secured some men willing to work at the lower wage."

The Small Hopes is a silver mine located in Colorado. It is capitalized at \$5,000,000 and has paid \$3,275,000 in dividends. In March last it declared a dividend of 10 per cent. It could not have been poverty, therefore, that caused this company to lower the wages of its employees.

"Silver mining," said Dr. S. A. Robinson, who has given thorough investigation to the subject, "is the greatest millionaire-mill the world has ever known, and its successful pursuit requires less brain power, less intellect, less of the better and refined qualities of human nature than any other important calling. And the enormous profits of silver-mining in the past are not to be taken as a guide to the possible profits under free silver coinage in the future. Recent inventions, and especially the development of electricity, have made it possible to operate mines far more easily and cheaply than by the old methods. A turbine water-wheel can be put in a canyon twenty miles away and the power carried to a mine of higher altitude by an electric wire. Should free coinage compel the American people to accept the miner's output as standard money the world would be astonished at the flood of silver that would roll from the mines to the mints."

The United States Mint Director's report for 1894 estimates that 145 mines produce more than half the world's product of silver—\$226,000,000 worth last year—and that the average cost of mining it, exclusive of interest on capital, is 52 cents per ounce fine. The present market price is 63 cents. The free-coinage campaign is to force the people to pay \$1.29.

MEANS \$400,000 A YEAR TO HEARST.

SUBSTANTIAL REASONS FOR HIS FREE-SILVER ORGAN'S ADVOCACY OF UNLIMITED SILVER COINAGE.

(From the San Francisco Call.)

If the free-coinage of silver is adopted as the policy of the Government it will be worth to William R. Hearst, proprietor of the free-silver organs of New York City and San Francisco, not less than \$400,000 a year. This is the estimate placed on Mr. Hearst's "winnings," as they say, on the appreciation of the value of the product of his silver mines.

Mr. Hearst owns a third of the stock of the Ontario Mining Company, 32,281 shares, appraised at the time of his father's death as worth \$1,226,678. He owns of the Daly Mining Company stock 27,633 1-5 shares, appraised at the same time as worth \$525,030.80.

The Daly mine is a sister vein of the Ontario mine—practically the same mine. The Ontario mine is rated among mining properties as just the best silver mine in the long list of silver mines in this country, if not in the world. It has paid in dividends alone no less than \$9,000,000. When the price of silver was at its best the Ontario mine was yielding to its stockholders \$75,000 a month. It is now yielding but \$10,000 a month. That is to say, the value of the product—not the quantity—has depreciated to less than one-seventh what it was when the price of silver was up.

The whole argument of the free-silver men is that the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 would not only lift, but would maintain, the price of silver at that ratio to gold. That is to say, it would cause silver to be worth \$1.29 an ounce, and the product of the Ontario mine would leap from \$10,000 a month to \$75,000 in net value.

To account for this difference in the value of the product, as compared with the anticipated advance in the price of silver, it must be remembered that the expenses of working the mine remain the same, whether the price is up or down. The fact is that if silver were to go up to \$1.29 it would be worth just \$65,000 a month,

or \$780,000 a year, to the stockholders of the Ontario mine. As Mr. Hearst owns a third of the stock of that mine you can figure out his share yourself. It would be \$260,000—it would be worth that much more, you understand, than he is getting out of the property now. The same increases in values would result on the Daly mine, which is a sister vein equally rich, and of which Mr. Hearst owns considerably over \$500,000 worth of stock.

Mr. Hearst is the owner of the only paper in San Francisco that advocates this free coinage. He is the owner of the only paper in New York City that advocates it. They have both been advocating it loudly and clamorously.

A CAMPAIGN OF CHAOS AND CUPIDITY.

(Editorial, New York World, October 3d, 1896.)

The character of the free-silver campaign is now fully revealed. The Merrill circular calling upon silver-mine owners to contribute a month's earnings each, upon the direct plea that success would give them an unearned profit of 64 cents an ounce on their product, leaves no shadow of doubt as to what this campaign means.

It is a campaign for "boodle." It is sustained by the millionaire owners of silver mines for the express purpose of compelling the people to coin their product at about double its market value, every dollar of the tribute to be taken, directly or indirectly, from the earnings of those who toil.

Behind the movement stand these mine-owners. They are already rich through their monopoly of one of nature's supply sources and through their ability to cut down the wages of the miners, as they have recently done. They propose by the election of a free-coinage President and Congress to double the price of their product and quadruple the value of their property.

To that end they appeal to cupidity and all the other base passions without reserve. They promise the mortgaged farm-owner that he shall be allowed to cheat the savings bank or life-insurance company that lent him money of half its loan.

THEY APPEAL TO CLASS PREJUDICE AND TELL THE POOR THAT THIS IS A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE RICH.

THEY SEEK TO MARSHALL ALL THE FORCES OF DISCONTENT ON THEIR SIDE, GOING EVEN SO FAR AS TO REPROACH COLLEGE STUDENTS FOR RECEIVING AN EDUCATION AT THEIR FATHERS' EXPENSE.

They appeal to ignorant sectional prejudice and seek to stir up jealousy and strife between the West and South on the one hand and the North and East on the other hand.

THEY APPEAL EVEN TO ORGANIZED DISORDER AND PROMISE RIOTERS AND LAWBREAKERS IMMUNITY FROM INTERFERENCE BY FEDERAL AUTHORITY WHENEVER THEY CHOOSE TO STOP THE MAILS AND BLOCKADE THE COMMERCE OF THE COUNTRY BY VIOLENCE.

What do honest and orderly citizens think of such a programme? What do intelligent workingmen think of the proposal to take half their wages for the enrichment of mine-owners? What do savings-bank depositors and life-insurance policy-holders think of a plan to rob them of half the money they have lent upon security? What do honest men, law-abiding men, patriotic men, order-loving and country-loving men, think of this campaign for "boodle," this organization of the forces of chaos?

(The Washington correspondent of the New York Evening Post, a crazy sheet about imperialism, but good authority in money matters.)

MONEY FOR BRYAN CANVASS.

MORE THIS YEAR THAN FOUR YEARS AGO.

W. A. CLARK OF MONTANA ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES—HIS AMBITION IN NATIONAL POLITICS.

(Special dispatch to The Evening Post.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 14, 1900.—The Democrats will have much more money for their coming campaign than they had four years ago. SO MARKED HAS BEEN THE CHANGE IN THIS PARTICULAR THAT MANY ENTHUSIASTS PREDICT VICTORY ON ACCOUNT

OF IT. The chief sources of funds this time will probably be William A. Clark of Montana and the Anti-Imperialists. No man in the United States is more likely to distinguish himself by the size of his campaign contributions than Mr. Clark. He wants to be the national character; politics seems to be the remaining field in which he desires distinction. HIS EJECTION FROM THE UNITED STATES SENATE AFTER HAVING PAID SO HEAVILY, ACCORDING TO THE TESTIMONY SUBMITTED BEFORE THE INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE, HAS ONLY WHETTED HIS APPETITE FOR MORE SUCCESSFUL CONQUESTS. What is more, the Kansas City Convention "recognized" him by seating his delegates instead of those supposed to be controlled by Mr. Daly. This committed the national organization to the Clark side of the fight in Montana, just as the Republican national organization has been committed to Addicks in Delaware. The report promptly spread that Mr. Clark intended to give a million dollars to the Bryan campaign fund. When questioned on this point, he simply said, in that heroic spirit of self-sacrifice which characterizes all his utterances: "I will do my duty." Inasmuch as he is the owner of large mining properties in which silver is to some extent a by-product, it is quite likely that he might see "duty" in the proposed opening of the American mints to the free coinage of silver, as well as finding in the Bryan cause an opportunity to become a national character. At all events, Mr. Clark's contribution will be a large one. He is exceedingly close on money matters except in those things in which his personal pride and ambition are aroused, but this is evidently one of them.

The Anti-Imperialists who go to the extreme for supporting Bryan are in many cases so intense in their convictions that they purpose to contribute in cash towards the cause. Among the old-line Democrats who for one reason or another have made their way back into the party this year, there is also a disposition to lay down some cash by way of penance and as a guarantee of their sincere allegiance to the party now. This is said to be, by Democratic collectors now in the field, not a bad source of revenue. Then, agencies have been at work for the last four years to collect money in small sums for the free-silver cause, and in one way or another a goodly fund is in prospect, so that it is commonly considered an even race between the parties so far as financial sources are concerned; for the Republicans, it is generally believed, will not be able to raise so much as they did four years ago.

This change in the condition of the Democratic cash-box will have a notable effect upon the methods of campaign management. In 1896 a great deal of the Democratic work was done "on shares," so to speak, of the harvest which it was proposed to reap in the event of Bryan's election. Many persons did clerical work at headquarters with practically no compensation other than the enrolment of their names among those who had so assisted, this testimony being supposed to be good for a Federal position if Bryan were elected. The spoils plank of 1896, reaffirmed at Kansas City with the rest of the Chicago platform, made such a tacit understanding easy, and secured a great deal of clerical aid without financial cost. While this will also figure in the pending campaign the Democrats will have the money to pay for printing and advertising and the other things which a prospect of office could not well secure.

The British owners of the American silver mines were not moved to contribute the modest three millions asked for to elect Bryan, the exact and urgent request being that one month's profits—profits—were specifically and strenuously requested—to elect Bryan with; and the statement has been largely circulated on apparently excellent authority, and generally believed, that the whole sum given by the members of the Silver Trust for Bryan's canvassing expenses in the year 1896 was only about \$800,000.00. Even that is a tolerably tidy sum for revenue reformers to employ, and it is supposed this was largely spent in abusing the Honorable Marcus A. Hanna for his "plutocratic" principles and his alleged pecuniary methods in politics. The reason why the Silver Trust didn't give more than the moderate but somewhat considerable sum of \$800,000.00, is that they (the Trust) did not believe in the rise of silver Mr. Bryan proclaimed, prophesied, and reduced several thousand times to

positive phrase, while he apparently assiduously neglected simple arithmetic. According to Mr. Bryan's speeches, from his Madison Square Garden speech all the way down to the last gasp before the returns were in, his orations all offered the Silver Trust something, from thirty-five to thirty-eight millions of dollars a year, if they would buy the office of President of the United States for him, as in that case, and Congress to go along with him, having the power to reorganize the Supreme Court of the United States, he could, according to his methods or presentation (and he was very plain about it), double the price in the market of all the silver in the world. The truth is, the British thought this proposition so big, that they didn't believe the rise in silver would be so great; and they excused themselves from excessive contribution because in their untutored understanding, as silver rose the production would be stimulated by the move, because lower grades of ore could be worked to advantage, unprofitable mines could be made profitable, and the increase of silver on the market (according to the British capitalists), would prevent the rise in silver; and at that time Mr. Bryan hadn't got so far along as to talk about the fall of gold with sufficient force and profusion to make an impression. If Mr. Bryan's argument in America could have been credited in London, where the owners of the silver properties reside—that is, the owners of a majority of the stock in the silver properties that are profitable, reside there—why no doubt they would have contributed several millions. They could have afforded to have given a year's profit; and with the increase of the product of silver and of the price; and as all advances were going to be pure velvet, it would have been worth forty millions of dollars at least per annum, to the Trust, to have had Mr. Bryan elected. Was ever before so grand a game spread out for the people? And this was done by the very fellows whose bellowings about trusts have gone on increasing year after year.

We have stated that the appeal to the Silver Trust was for one month's profits only. The figures given above need not be repeated; as to the price of silver and the quantity of it mined, and the difference between the mint value and market value of the white metal, the statistics have not been questioned. The New York World, after giving the documents and cartoons and editorials we reproduce, somewhat suddenly and singularly dropped the subject, omitted further attentions to the Tremendous Theme and did not persevere to the bitter end in the indictment of the trust, so that the whole subject passed without the analytical attention that would and surely should have given the people the measurement of the scheme to buy the Presidency of the United States by an organized trust abroad of silver mine owners and speculators. There was a reason why in this country there was not as much said on this subject as one would naturally suppose. IT WAS REGARDED AS A PERSONAL ATTACK BY MR. JOSEPH PULITZER, PROPRIETOR OF THE NEW YORK WORLD, UPON MR. WILLIAM R. HEARST, THE PROPRIETOR OF THE NEW YORK JOURNAL, AND WAS DISCOUNTED THEREFORE, AS RATHER A PERSONAL MATTER. SO IT WAS, IN A SENSE, A PERSONAL MATTER, BUT THE FACTS IN THE CASE WERE NOT EXAGGERATED; THEY WERE GIVEN TO THE COUNTRY WITH ALL THAT POWER OF WHICH RALPH WALDO EMERSON SPEAKS, OF UNDERSTATEMENT OF THE TRUTH; the truth was a bigger thing than was told, and there is no doubt as to the general facts. No denial of them has been made or is likely to be presented to the public. The idea is to be dead quiet about it.

It is probable nothing could be done to double the market price of all the silver in the world, but free coinage of silver would cause a rise, and a large one, if made on the terms that Mr. Bryan presents with such a facile and fascinating overflow of language. His free silver means silver forced upon the nations. If that rise should be ONLY ONE-FOURTH what the Democratic and Disorderly candidate, now for the second time before the country, claims, the net profit—the pure velvet of it would exceed eight millions of dollars annually. That would be a considerable donation by the American people from their own industries to the capitalists at the seat of the British Empire, and the money center of the world, where the awful gold standard rears its yellow head and the Silver Trust basks in the golden rays, and turns silver to gold by the magic of the market.

It was not known in 1896 that the owners of our most profitable silver mines were capitalists in London. That very interesting circumstance was revealed two years later.

Mr. Bryan was peremptory that the silver 16 to 1 plank of 1896 should be enthusiastically, peremptorily, and in exaggerated form inserted in the Kansas City platform, and it is there, but he does not propose to say so much about silver as in the "First Battle." There is, however, to be great goings-on about imperialism, and an awful and insistent row, even by the Ice Trust itself, of Tammany, the citadel of American Democracy, about trusts; and we, the people, are to be told all the time, of the subordination the gold standard imposes upon our country—subordination to England. That is what Mr. Bryan is most particular and powerful about. He feels the necessity of appealing somewhere to the vanity of the American people, and his way of doing it is to tell Americans if they use gold just the same as the British do, and have rather more of it than the British have, that they are in a state of servility to the money power in London! He wouldn't mind that, however, if his interest in the white metal would cause the contribution of some millions of dollars by the Silver Trust of London to elect him president of the United States. When Mr. Bryan was running for the Presidency four years ago—we publish the full story from the New York World—which is rantankerously Democratic, we believe, to-day—has had a horrid time in its mind about imperialism and is suffering pangs when Carl Schurz denounces imperialism, and thinks the thing the Americans should have done when they conquered the Philippines was to run away and hide themselves and allow the Spanish gunboats that were left of the Spanish squadron to destroy American commerce in Asiatic waters—that would have prevented our being in a position to go to the help of Americans who are in the hands of persecutors in China—this conservative sheet, the New York World, told the country four years ago all about this Silver Trust, told them how Mr. Hearst of the Journal, now the great leader of the Democratic party press, and maker of Democratic doctrine day by day, was making monstrous sums out of his various mines, and if Mr. Bryan were elected, would heap money mountain upon money mountain, piling his riches to the clouds, converting red copper and white silver to yellow gold. There is to be a care this year that the operations of the Silver Trust shall not be made known. The leak in 1896 was through the indiscretion that presented the appeal to the silver men who were in this country, to the columns of the Salt Lake newspaper instead of sending Bryan men to find money in England. An intelligent and enterprising young man telegraphed it to

the New York World, and we give it above. It is not probable there will be such a give-away this time, but there has been a noise like a roll of drums and the blasting sounds of brass instruments, going on among the silver cohorts of the Reverberator Bryan, to the effect that this year there would be an ample supply of money for him. They pretend that they will get it from capitalists who object to imperialism, but the place where they are going for it is to that British Silver Trust in London.

It should be taken into account that American silver is counted in British gold when it gets to London, and the bids of the Silver Trust for the Presidency of Bryan are in gold coin, British sovereigns. The silver promoters four years ago, appealed to the Silver Trust to buy the great office for that remarkable political economist, W. J. Bryan, and they are at it again, with all the advantages of experience, including London as a hiding place. The Trust is a foreign organization; it would be difficult for us to inquire into it if we should want to do so, and the repeated effort to purchase the Presidency by the Silver Trust, with British gold gained in mining American silver, is precisely the picturesque logic of the downfall into hideous degeneracy of the Democratic party, which appears in the abandonment of the old pride of the party that it expanded the country, and the boast of Thomas H. Benon favoring the presence of gold in the pockets of American farmers, and goes in for all that is belittling, fraudulent and scandalous in national life, proposing again, unquestionably to bring to bear upon the capitalists of England, who own the silver mines of the United States that pay the best and the most, and holding up to them for sale the office of chief magistrate of the American republic for cash in hand and beforehand.

MURAT HALSTEAD.



This means work and wages: and work and wages mean happy homes and happy firesides.
—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

AN ERA OF *Progress and Prosperity*

UNDER

President McKinley's Administration.

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

Increase in our Foreign and Domestic
Trade, and in Manufacturing.

It is an interesting fact that twice in the recent history of the United States the declared intention to maintain the integrity of its currency has been followed promptly by a pronounced revival in industrial and commercial activity, and the speedy restoration of a prosperity that had long been delayed. The opening up of two of the most prosperous periods in our history has attended the efforts of the American people to make every dollar of their circulating medium the equivalent of a gold dollar. No mere coincidence was this concurrence of events, or else the axioms of political economy are meaningless dogmas.

On January 1, 1879, the Government undertook to make good its solemn pledge to return to specie payments. To many the task seemed impossible. There was a scarcity of both gold and silver, and the "farce" of resuming was ridiculed in press and platforms. But the Government resumed, and specie payments have continued during the twenty years since. In the year of resumption, gold to the amount of \$75,000,000 was received from abroad, and in the three years following January 1, 1879, the country gained by import more than \$200,000,000 of gold. The predicted gold famine did not occur. For nearly four years the country rejoiced in the utmost prosperity. The depression which followed the panic of 1873 was forgotten, and from 1879 to 1882 industry thrived and wealth accumulated.

And now we find history repeating itself, but with more vigorous arguments than those of the "resumption" era. As to causes that have brought about a condition of prosperity unparalleled in the records of the past history of the country, there will be honest differences of opinion. One cause, however, must be acknowledged as potent wherever good faith is recognized as the touchstone of credit. The decision of the American people four years ago to raise their currency to the very highest standard of value, undoubtedly has had very much to do with stimulating confidence, which in business becomes credit. Without an expansion in credit there would have been no such awakening into activity of industries, dormant in stagnation a few years ago, as that which we now behold.

SUBSTANTIAL EVIDENCE OF PROSPERITY.

Is the country really prosperous? Are its business and industrial and financial interests thriving? It is doubted if ever before an affirmative to such a question could be given with so little mental reservation as now. The first answer to this question will be taken from the records of the clearing houses of the country. It was about the middle of 1897 that these first began to show substantial gains.

The clearing houses in fifty cities, located in thirty-one different States, in the three and a half years from January 1, 1893, to July 1, 1896, had exchanges aggregating about \$176,000,000,000.

In the corresponding period ending July 1, 1900, they amounted to nearly \$259,000,000,000, an increase of \$83,000,000,000 or 47.2 per cent.

Only one city of the fifty, New Orleans, shows a decrease, and it has made gains during the latter part of the period. The percentages of gain range from four per cent for Milwaukee, to 144.2 per cent for Seattle. Among the cities showing extraordinary gains are: New York, 58.8 per cent; Pittsburgh, 70.5 per cent; Baltimore, 69.8 per cent; Cleveland, 55.9 per cent; Indianapolis, 86.9 per cent; Chicago, 45.5 per cent; Minneapolis, 41.5 per cent; St. Joseph, 72.2 per cent; Savannah, 31.8 per cent; Birmingham, 54 per cent; Los Angeles, 56.6 per cent; Salt Lake City, 59.7 per cent; Portland, Ore., 41.5 per cent; Spokane, 130.7 per cent, and Tacoma, 33.8 per cent.

The clearing house records speak for all classes of business. They reflect the activity of all lines of trade and industry and testify of general conditions. The reports of the banks throughout the country also furnish an index of the situation. The latest returns for all classes of banks come down no further than 1899, and, from the following, comparative summary of deposits, loans and resources is made:

BANK DEPOSITS, LOANS AND RESOURCES

BANK	DEPOSITS		LOANS		RESOURCES	
	1896	1899	1896	1899	1896	1899
State	\$ 695 700,000	\$1,164,000,000	\$ 647,200 000	\$ 909,000,000	\$1,107,200 000	\$1,636,000,000
Loan & Trust Co. .	586,500,000	835 500,000	462,000,000	599,000,000	855,300,000	1,071,500,000
Savings	1,935,500,000	2,182,000,000	1,054 8 0 000	1,098 600 000	2,143,300 000	2,400 800,000
Private	59,100,000	65,000,000	58,700,000	53,300,000	94,300 000	87,800 000
National	1,668,400,000	2,532 20,000	1,971,600,000	2,492,200,000	3,353,800,000	4,708 800 000
Total	\$4,945 200,000	\$6,768,700,000	\$4,244,300,000	\$5 152,100,000	\$7,553,900,000	\$9,904,900,000

The returns of 9,469 banks in 1896 and 9,732 banks in 1899 are included in the foregoing table. The deposits increased in three years \$1,823,000,000, or more than 37 per cent. These are individual deposits, and do not include deposits made by one bank with another, or the deposits made by the Government. The increase indicates in part a growth in the wealth of the country. The deposits average about \$90 per capita. Loans increased in the three years \$908,000,000, or more than 21 per cent, and bank resources increased \$2,351,000,000—over 31 per cent. The prosperity of the banks has depended upon the prosperity of the country.

GAINS IN THE IRON TRADE.

For many years it has been a maxim that as the iron trade is, so is the general trade of the country. A reading of this barometer confirms the most optimistic views concerning the prosperity of the country. The output of pig iron has reached proportions far exceeding all previous records.

In the six months ended June 30 this year, the production was 7,642,569 tons, exceeding by more than 2,000,000 tons the largest total for any six months' period prior to 1898. The output for the year ended June 30, 1900, was 14,974,105 tons—the largest ever known. For three successive years the output of pig iron has exceeded the total of all previous years, the aggregate being 38,286,410 tons as compared with 23,641,516 tons in the three years ended June 30, 1896. The following table shows the production of pig iron yearly for the past eleven years:

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30		YEAR ENDED JUNE 30		YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	
	Tons		Tons		Tons
1890	8,502,552	1894	5 278,567	1898	11,118,907
1891	8,010,297	1895	8,026,963	1899	12,193,398
1892	9 641,446	1896	10,334,986	1900	14,974,105
1893	8,950,235	1897	8,050,367		
Four years	35,144,530	Four years	31 691,883	Three years	38,286,410

The production of pig iron for the last three years exceeded that of the previous four years by nearly 6,600,000 tons. Since October 1, 1896, there has been almost a continuous increase in the output. On that date there were 130 furnaces in blast with a weekly capacity of 112,782 tons. On February 1, 1900, there were 296 furnaces in blast, producing 298,014 tons weekly, which were reduced on July 1 to 284 furnaces, with a capacity of 283,413 tons, making the present rate of production nearly 15,000,000 tons a year.

NUMBER AND COMPENSATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

Iron and steel enter so largely into structural building that the iron trade is less dependent upon railroad construction than it was a number of years ago. Increased building of railroads has, however, had a favorable influence upon the iron industry, while it also indicates that the railroads and the business of the country generally have been experiencing a revival in activity. It is estimated that over 2,100 miles of new railroad were built in the United States in the first six months of 1900, and that the total for the calendar year will probably approximate 6,000 miles. Such an addition to the railroad mileage of the country will exceed the total for any previous year since 1888. The railroad mileage in operation and increase each year since 1888 are shown in the following table:

MILEAGE OF AMERICAN RAILROADS.

YEAR	Miles in Operation	Increase in Miles	YEAR	Miles in Operation	Increase in Miles	YEAR	Miles in Operation	Increase in Miles
1889.....	161,276	5,162	1893.....	177,516	2,346	1897.....	184,591	1,822
1890.....	166,654	5,378	1894.....	179,415	1,899	1898.....	186,810	2,219
1891.....	170,729	4,075	1895.....	181,065	1,650	1899.....	191,310	4,500
1892.....	175,170	4,441	1896.....	182,769	1,704	1900*.....	193,410	2,100
Total 4 years.....	19,056		Total 4 yrs.....	7,599		Incr. 3½ yrs.....		10,641

* First six months.

During the year and a half—January 1, 1899, to July 1, 1900—the mileage of new railroad constructed falls but little below the total for the four years, 1893 to 1896, inclusive. A more convincing evidence of general improvement as regards the condition of the railroads need not be sought.

The increased prosperity of the railroads is reflected in the larger number of employes engaged in the service of the railways and the larger compensation that they are receiving. The latest complete statistics are for the year ended June 30, 1899, only recently published by the Inter-State Commerce Commission. These show that on that date there were 928,924 persons in the employ of the railways, an average of 495 per 100 miles of line. Their aggregate annual compensation was \$522,967,896. The share railway employes obtained in prosperity is suggested in the following comparative statement:

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	TOTAL NUMBER	PER 100 MILES OF LINE	TOTAL YEARLY COMPENSATION
1895.....	785,634	441	\$445,578,261
1896.....	826,620	454	468,824,531
1897.....	823,475	449	465,601,581
1898.....	874,558	474	495,055,618
1899.....	928,924	495	522,967,896

Comparing 1899 with 1895 there has been an increase of 143,890 in the number of persons employed, while the number per 100 miles of line has increased fifty four. The yearly compensation has increased \$77,000,000 since 1895. When the results of the year ended June 30, 1900, shall have been compiled, the employes will be found to number very nearly 1,000,000, and their annual compensation to exceed \$550,000,000.

SILVER AND THE PRICE OF COMMODITIES.

The theory that the price of silver influenced the price of commodities, which had many advocates four years ago, has been demonstrated to be not infallible, even if not an out-and-out fallacy. Since 1896 there has been a decided parting of the ways between silver and other commodities. The price of silver has gone lower, while the prices of general merchandise and of labor have moved upward. The yearly range of silver in the London market during the past eight years was as follows:

LONDON PRICES OF SILVER

YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	HIGHEST	LOWEST	PRICE JUNE 30	YEAR ENDED JUNE 30	HIGHEST	LOWEST	PRICE JUNE 30
	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Pence</i>		<i>Pence</i>	<i>Pence</i>	<i>Pence</i>
1893.....	40 ¹ / ₄	30 ¹ / ₂	23 ¹ / ₂	1897.....	31 ¹ / ₂	27 ¹ / ₂	27 ¹ / ₂
1894.....	37 ³ / ₄	27	28 ³ / ₄	1898.....	27 ¹ / ₂	23 ¹ / ₂	27 ¹ / ₂
1895.....	30 ³ / ₈	27 ³ / ₁₆	30 ¹ / ₂	1899.....	28 ¹ / ₂	27	27 ¹ / ₂
1896.....	31 ¹ / ₁₆	30	31 ¹ / ₂	1900.....	28 ¹ / ₁₆	26 ¹ / ₂	28 ¹ / ₄

Although silver had fallen from 44^d per ounce in July, 1892, to 27^d in March, 1894, and was as low as 3^d in December, 1895, it went still lower until, in August, 1897, it touched the lowest price ever reached, 23^d.

At no time in the last three years and a half has the price of silver been as high as the lowest price recorded in 1896. If then the price of commodities were in fact dependent upon the price of silver, general market values should be nearly the lowest ever known. That such is not the case is plain to everyone. The following table gives Bradstreet's review of that period:

SILVER AND AVERAGE PRICES

	PRICE OF SILVER	AVERAGE PRICES		PRICE OF SILVER	AVERAGE PRICES		PRICE OF SILVER	AVERAGE PRICES
	<i>Per Ounce Pence</i>	<i>Index No.</i>		<i>Per Ounce Pence</i>	<i>Index No.</i>		<i>Per Ounce Pence</i>	<i>Index No.</i>
Jan. 1, 1891.....	48 ¹ / ₈	54.2 6	Apr. 1, 1891.....	2 ¹ / ₈	73.100	July 1, 1897.....	27 9-16	66.937
Apr. 1, 1891.....	45	95.9 0	July 1, 1891.....	2 ¹ / ₄	72.27 1	Oct. 1, 1897.....	26	75.277
July 1, 1891.....	46 ³ / ₈	9. 6 33	Oct. 1, 1891.....	29 3-16	72.306	Jan. 1, 1898.....	26 ¹ / ₂	74.184
Oct. 1, 1891.....	45	88.826	Jan. 1, 1895.....	27 7-16	75.570	Apr. 1, 1898.....	25 11-16	75.566
Jan. 1, 1892.....	43 ¹ / ₂	87.782	Apr. 1, 1895.....	30 ¹ / ₄	66.872	July 1, 1898.....	27 ¹ / ₂	75.570
Apr. 1, 1892.....	39 ⁷ / ₈	81.675	July 1, 1895.....	30 ¹ / ₂	71.304	Oct. 1, 1898.....	28 3-16	76.502
July 1, 1892.....	40 3-16	10.6 29	Oct. 1, 1895.....	30 ¹ / ₂	72.941	Jan. 1, 1899.....	27 ¹ / ₂	77.849
Oct. 1, 1892.....	48 ¹ / ₈	82.8 9	Jan. 1, 1896.....	30 ¹ / ₂	70.576	Apr. 1, 1899.....	27 7-16	79.086
Jan. 1, 1893.....	38 ¹ / ₂	85.217	Apr. 1, 1896.....	31 ¹ / ₂	66.191	July 1, 1899.....	27 ¹ / ₂	80.818
Apr. 1, 1893.....	38 ¹ / ₂	85.995	July 1, 1896.....	31 ¹ / ₂	65.9 2	Oct. 1, 1899.....	26 15-16	86.736
July 1, 1893.....	33 ¹ / ₂	79.6 9	Oct. 1, 1896.....	30 5-16	66.012	Jan. 1, 1900.....	27 3-16	90.971
Oct. 1, 1893.....	34 ¹ / ₈	78.6 7	Jan. 1, 1897.....	29 13-16	69. 64	Apr. 1, 1900.....	27 ¹ / ₂	91.175
Jan. 1, 1894.....	31 ¹ / ₂	75.991	Apr. 1, 1897.....	24 7- 6	68.760	July 1, 1900.....	28 ¹ / ₂	86.815

ADVANCE IN PRICES OF FARM PRODUCTS.

A complete list of the commodities which have advanced in price since 1896 would include about all of the articles produced in the United States. Wheat which sold in New York on July 1, 1896, at 64¹/₂ cents per bushel, sold at considerably above \$1.00 per bushel during several months of 1898, and at 88¹/₂ on July 1, 1900. Corn which sold at 26 cents per bushel in 1896, sold above 48 cents in 1900. Cotton, for a long time under the handicap of over-production, failed to advance, and was quoted at 4¹/₂ per pound in New Orleans in November, 1-98, as against 6¹/₂ on July 1, 1896. It began to advance in the autumn of 1899, and the New Orleans price was close to 9¹/₂ cents in June, 1900. The advance that has occurred in some of the leading products is shown in the following statement of wholesale prices at New York on or about July 1, in the last six years:

WHOLESALE PRICES AT NEW YORK

	Wheat per Bushel	Corn per Bushel	Oats per Bushel	Lard per Pound	Beef per Barrel	Pork per Barrel	*Cotton, per Pound	Wool, Washed Ohio Fleeces, per Pound
<i>July 1</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Cents</i>	<i>Cents</i>
1895.....	73 ¹ / ₄ @ 73 ¹ / ₂	49 ¹ / ₂ @ 50 ³ / ₄	28 @ 28 ¹ / ₂	6 65 @ 6.70	10 50 @ 11.50	13 25 @ 14.00	7 ¹ / ₂	18
1896.....	64 ¹ / ₂ @ 65 ¹ / ₂	33 ¹ / ₄ @ 33 ¹ / ₂	21 @ 21 ¹ / ₄	4.20 @ 4.25	7.50 @ 8.50	8.00 @ 8.75	7 7-16	17
1897.....	81 ¹ / ₂ @ 82	28 ¹ / ₄ @ 28 ¹ / ₂	21 ¹ / ₂ @ 21 ¹ / ₄	4.25 @ 4.30	8.50 @ 9.50	8.25 @ 8.75	7 ¹ / ₂	21 ¹ / ₂
1898.....	89 @ 90	36 ¹ / ₄ @ 36 ¹ / ₂	27 ¹ / ₄ @ 27 ¹ / ₂	5.70 @ 5.75	11.50 @ 12.00	10.00 @ 10.50	6 ¹ / ₂	28
1899.....	79 @ 80 ¹ / ₂	39 @ 39 ¹ / ₂	30 ¹ / ₄ @ 30 ¹ / ₂	5.20 @ 5.25	9.50 @ 10.50	8.75 @ 9.00	5 5-16	29
1900.....	88 ¹ / ₂ @ 92 ¹ / ₈	46 ¹ / ₂ @ 47 ¹ / ₂	28 ¹ / ₂ @ 28 ¹ / ₂	6.90 @ 6.92 ¹ / ₂	10.50 @ 12.00	11.75 @ 12.50	9 ¹ / ₄	29

*Price at New Orleans.

FARMERS SHARE IN THE PROSPERITY.

The farmer has had good reason to rejoice because of the change which has occurred since 1896. The difference to him in dollars has been very great indeed. He has been receiving more for his wheat and for his corn and other products, and his material condition has been greatly improved. The farm value of wheat and corn produced in the last six years is shown as follows:

FARM VALUES OF WHEAT AND CORN

	WHEAT			CORN		
	<i>Yield in Bushels</i>	<i>Farm Values</i>	<i>Average Price per Bushel</i>	<i>Yield in Bushels</i>	<i>Farm Values</i>	<i>Average Price per Bushel</i>
			CTS.			CTS.
1894.....	460,267,416	\$ 225,902,025	49.1	1,212,770,052	\$ 554,719,162	45.7
1895.....	467,102,947	237,938,998	50.9	2,151,138,580	544,985,534	25.3
1896.....	427,684,346	310,602,539	72.6	2,283,875,165	491,006,967	21.5
3 Years.....	1,355,054,709	\$ 774,443,562	57.1	5,647,783,797	\$1,590,711,663	28.1
1897.....	539,149,168	\$ 428,527,121	80.8	1,902,967,933	\$ 501,072,952	26.3
1898.....	675,148,705	392,770,320	58.2	1,924,184,660	552,023,428	28.7
1899.....	547,303,846	319,545,259	58.4	2,078,143,933	629,210,110	30.3
3 Years.....	1,752,601,719	\$1,140,862,700	65.1	5,905,296,526	\$1,682,306,490	28.5

The aggregate value of wheat increased \$366,000,000 in the three years, and of corn, \$91,000,000. Similarly the value of the oats crop increased nearly \$22,000,000. The gain on the three crops was nearly \$480,000,000.

With the exception of 1892, the exports of wheat and wheat flour in each of the years 1898 and 1899 were the largest reported for any year. The exports of corn in each of the last four years were larger than in any year prior to 1897. The greatest cotton export years in the history of the country were 1898 and 1899. Wheat exports, in the three years ending June 30, 1900, exceeded in value those of the three years ending June 30, 1897, by \$180,000,000; wheat flour exports by \$50,000,000; corn exports by \$121,000,000, and cotton exports by \$56,000,000—a total of \$407,000,000 for these four products alone. It is a showing which may well bring content to the American farmer.

DECREASE IN BUSINESS FAILURES.

Evidence of the improved condition of business is afforded in the record of failures as reported by "Dun's Review." Not in years have the failures been so few in number or involved so small liabilities as in each of the last two years. The following table shows the failures yearly in the last nine fiscal years:

FAILURES IN THE UNITED STATES

YEAR	NUMBER	LIABILITIES	YEAR	NUMBER	LIABILITIES	YEAR	NUMBER	LIABILITIES
1892.....	11,702	\$159,726,051	1895.....	13,504	\$160,099,494	1898...	13,248	\$130,083,923
1893.....	11,242	220,650,026	1896.....	13,566	182,225,798	1899...	10,321	105,241,191
1894.....	15,879	79,633,656	1897.....	14,883	219,919,939	1900...	9,816	123,564,408
3 Years...	38,823	\$660,009,033	3 Years...	41,953	\$562,245,231	3 Years...	33,385	\$358,949,521

Years ago it was observed that one of the surest signs of prosperity was a large immigration, while a falling off in number of immigrants indicated depression. Read by that index the conclusion as to the conditions now existing must be favorable. There were 448,551 immigrants brought to our ports in the year ended June 30, 1900, as compared with 230,832 in 1897, and 229,233 in 1898.

IMPROVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT FINANCES.

A most favorable change is to be noted in the finances of the Government, and one which evidences the splendid resources of the country.

It is not difficult to recall the depressing conditions which existed a few years ago. The United States Treasury was rapidly reaching a condition of bankruptcy. Not only was the gold reserve almost exhausted—twice it went below \$50,000,000, reaching \$44,700,000 in January, 1895, and \$49,800,000 in January, 1896—but the total cash balance dropped to \$84,000,000 in January, 1894.

Two loans of \$50,000,000 each were raised in February and November, 1894, another of \$62,315,000 in February, 1895, and a fourth of \$100,000,000 in February,

1896. Notwithstanding the sale of \$262,000,000 bonds, realizing to the Government \$293,000,000, the cash balance in the Treasury on January 31, 1897, was only \$215,000,000, only \$93,000,000 more than in June, 1893.

In the three years from July 1, 1893, to June 30, 1896, the Government revenues were nearly \$138,000,000 less than the expenditures, while the entire cash balance in the Treasury on July 1, 1893, was only \$122,000,000, not enough to offset the deficit of the three succeeding years. The Government was forced to borrow in order to meet its current expenditures.

A very different and more gratifying showing is made for the last three years, a period during which the expenditures of the government were increased for war purposes nearly \$400,000,000. The Government revenues in that period were within \$98,000,000 of enough to meet all expenditures, excluding the amount paid to extinguish the Pacific railroad bonds, and the \$20,000,000 paid to Spain for the Philippine Islands.

GOVERNMENT REVENUES AND DISBURSEMENTS

REVENUES	3 Years Ended July 1, 1896	3 Years Ended July 1, 1900	DISBURSEMENTS	3 Years Ended July 1, 1896	3 Years Ended July 1, 1900
Customs	\$443,998,900	\$589,561,503	Civil and Miscel..	\$282,439,849	\$296,959,146
Internal Revenue ..	437,295,769	740,637,192	War	157,203,610	426,487,254
Miscellaneous	56,793,625	83,522,671	Navy	87,646,822	178,856,071
			Indians	32,398,764	33,966,511
Total receipts	\$938,088,294	\$1,413,721,366	Pensions	422,006,515	427,723,290
Deficit	137,811,730	97,929,200	Interest	94,204,464	117,658,295
			Total Disb'm'ts,	\$1,075,900,024	\$1,511,650,566

The deficit of the last three years was nearly \$10,000,000 less than in the three years ended June 30, 1896, although the expenditures for war and navy purposes were \$635,000,000, as against less than \$245,000,000 in the earlier period.

In the fiscal year 1899-1900 there was a surplus of \$31,000,000 as compared with a deficit in 1895-1896 of \$25,000,000.

The only issue of bonds for the purpose of raising money since 1896 was that of August, 1898, when \$198,792,640 of three per cent bonds were sold. This issue was to prosecute the war with Spain. Another issue of bonds was issued this year for the purpose of refunding the debt at two per cent, and \$307,000,000 of these bonds had been issued on June 30, 1900. The effect of that issue is not to increase the debt, but to reduce the annual interest charge. The changes in the public debt since 1893 are indicated in the following statement:

THE PUBLIC DEBT AND INTEREST CHARGE

	JUNE 30, 1893	JUNE 30, 1896	JUNE 30, 1900
Twos of 1891	\$ 25,364,500	\$ 25,364,500	\$ 21,979,850
Fours of 1907	559,672,600	559,683,990	355,583,820
Fives of 1904 .....	.....	100,000,000	47,651,200
Fours of 1925 .....	.....	162,315,400	162,315,400
Threes of 1908 .....	.....	.....	128,843,240
Twos of 1930 .....	.....	.....	307,125,350
Total bonded debt	\$555,037,100	\$847,393,890	\$1,023,478,860
Annual interest charge	22,894,194	34,387,265	33,545,130

While the bonded debt was increased \$262,000,000 between June 30, 1893, and June 30, 1896, it was increased only \$176,000,000 since 1896. The annual interest charge was increased \$11,500,000 prior to 1896 and was reduced nearly \$1,000,000 since 1896. The improved condition of the Government finances is further indicated in the following comparison:

NET DEBT AND TREASURY BALANCES.

June 30	1893	1896	1897	1900
Total debt	\$961,431,766	\$1,222,729,350	\$1,226,793,712	\$1,413,416,912
Cash balance	122,462,290	267,432,096	240,137,626	305,705,654
Net debt	\$838,969,476	\$955,297,254	\$986,656,086	\$1,107,711,258
Gold balance	95,485,414	101,699,605	110,790,738	220,557,185

From 1893 to 1896 the net public debt, after deducting cash in the Treasury, was increased \$116,000,000. That was in time of peace, when the current revenues should have provided for current expenses. In the corresponding three years from

1897 to 1900, the net debt was increased \$121,000,000, an amount far less than a single year's increase in war expenditures, made necessary by our conflict with Spain. The improved position of the Treasury is shown in the large increase in the cash balance and in the proportion that is in gold. The balance now is nearly \$306,000,000, and more than 70 per cent is in gold.

INCREASE OF MONEY IN CIRCULATION.

Coming to the changes that have occurred in the circulating medium of the country since 18'6, it does not seem possible that the same arguments which were urged in entire good faith four years ago in support of the free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one can be brought forward now.

The money supply instead of diminishing has increased at a rate far in excess of that recorded in any corresponding period. From \$1,509,000,000 on July 1, 1896, the circulation increased to \$2,062,000,000 on July 1, 1900, a gain of \$553,000,000. In these four years, while the population of the country increased nearly 6,500,000, the circulation per capita increased from \$21.10 to \$26.50, an increase of \$5.40 for each man, woman and child in the country.

The fear of a gold famine, which disturbed many people four years ago, has been pretty well dissipated by this time. The supply of gold for monetary uses never was as great as it is now. It is \$317,000,000 more than on July 1, 1896, \$211,000,000 more than on January 31, 1894, and \$310,000,000 more than on July 1, 1890.

Nearly forty per cent of the total circulation is now in gold as compared with only thirty-three per cent. in 1896, and about thirty-five per cent in 1890 and 1894.

The gold in our currency now exceeds silver and treasury notes of 1890 by \$189,000,000. In 1896 the latter exceeded gold by \$40,000,000.

Not only has our circulating medium increased in volume, but it has been put on a sounder basis.—*From The Bankers' Magazine.*

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

INCREASE IN OUR FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC TRADE UNDER THE McKINLEY ADMINISTRATION.

No administration since that of Lincoln has been so fruitful of great events as that of William McKinley, and no feature of the administration of William McKinley has been more remarkable than the expansion of our commerce which has accompanied it.

In products of the field, the factory, the mine, the forest, the fisheries—in every branch of production and industry the development of our commerce, national and international, has been phenomenal. Never before have our manufacturers demanded such supplies of raw material from abroad, and this is an evidence that they were never before so busy, and that their army of employes was never before so well able to buy the products of the farm, the forest or the mine.

INCREASE IN MANUFACTURES AND CONSUMPTION.

The consuming power of the population of the United States varies greatly with the activity or silence of its mills and workshops. When manufacturers are busy and the millions dependent upon them are occupied at profitable rates of wages the consumption of goods almost doubles.

The consumption of wheat, for instance, runs three and a fraction bushels per capita in times of depression such as existed from 1893 to 1897; in times of prosperity and activity in manufacturing it runs above six bushels per capita.

GROWTH IN INTERNAL COMMERCE.

In internal commerce there has been an enormous increase during the three prosperous years under President McKinley. This is evidenced by the fact that railway freights carried in 1898 amounted to 912,973,853 tons, against 674,714,747 in 1894, the year in which the Wilson low tariff was enacted; and that coal production in 1899 was fifty per cent more than in 1894.

EXPANSION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE.

Three distinct features characterize the commerce of the United States under the McKinley administration, *First*, a reduction in imports of manufactures; *Second*, an increase in importations of manufacturers' materials; and *Third*, an enormous increase in exportations of finished manufactures.

For the first time in our history we are exporting more manufactures than we import.

In 1896, under the Wilson free trade tariff, imports of manufactures exceeded exports of manufactures by more than \$100,000,000. In 1898, the first year under the Dingley tariff, exports of manufactures for the first time exceeded imports of manufactures, the excess of exports over imports in manufactures alone being in that year more than \$60,000,000. In the fiscal year of 1900 exports of manufactures exceeded imports of manufactures by more than \$100,000,000.

IN THE THREE YEARS' OPERATIONS OF THE WILSON TARIFF LAW IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURES EXCEEDED EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES BY \$284,067,912; IN THREE YEARS' OPERATIONS OF THE DINGLEY LAW EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES EXCEEDED IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURES BY \$247,489,551.

Notwithstanding the increased prosperity of the United States and consequent increased purchasing power of the people, the importations of manufactures in the three years under the Dingley law fell \$158,435,915 below those under the Wilson law in the corresponding number of years, while the exports of manufactures during the three years under the Dingley law exceeded those of the corresponding years under the Wilson law by the enormous sum of \$373,121,554.

MANUFACTURERS' OUTPUT INCREASED.

Thus our manufacturers, under the three years' operations of the Dingley law, supplied to the consumers of the United States the \$158,435,915 worth of manufactures excluded by the operations of the Dingley Act, and exported \$373,121,554 worth of manufactures in excess of the amount exported in the corresponding years under the Wilson law, showing that their product in these two directions was \$531,557,469 greater in the first three years under the Dingley law than in the three years under the Wilson law. In addition to this, it must be remembered that the home market, with the general increase in prosperity and consequent increased purchasing power, enlarged greatly, and it is safe to estimate that the value of the output of American manufactures during the three years' operations of the Dingley law has exceeded by more than one billion dollars that during the three years' operations of the Wilson law.

MORE MATERIAL FOR MANUFACTURERS.

Another evidence of the activity of the manufacturers under the Dingley law is found in the importations of raw materials. Many of the articles required for use in manufacturing are not produced in the United States, such, for instance, as fibers, silk, India rubber, tin for use in manufacturing tin plate, and certain chemicals; while in hides and skins, cabinet woods, furs and fur skins and Egyptian cotton, there is a rapidly increasing importation.

Notwithstanding the claims of the friends of the Wilson law that its chief object was to furnish free raw materials to manufacturers, the fact that this privilege was accompanied by heavy reductions in the duties on manufactured goods so reduced the field for American manufacturers that their imports of raw materials during its operations were far less than under the Dingley law.

The average importation of raw materials under the Wilson law was about \$200,000,000 per annum. In the fiscal year, just ended, it was \$302,264,106, an increase of 50 per cent over the average under the Wilson law.

During the three years' operation of the Wilson law, raw materials for use of manufacturers formed but 27 per cent of the total importations. In the three years' operation of the Dingley law they formed more than 33 per cent, and in the year 1900 more than 35 per cent.

In the three years under the Wilson law imports of fibers for use in manufacturing averaged less than \$13,000,000 per annum. In 1899, under the Dingley law, they exceeded \$20,000,000, and in 1900 were more than \$26,000,000.

Imports of raw silk averaged but \$23,000,000 per annum under the Wilson law, but increased to \$32,000,000 in 1898, the first year under the Dingley law, and in 1900 amounted to over \$45,000,000, or double the average under the Wilson law.

Imports of India rubber and gutta percha averaged \$17,000,000 per annum during the three years' operation of the Wilson law, and increased to \$25,000,000 in 1898, the first year under the Dingley law, and to \$31,000,000 in 1899 and 1900.

Imports of chemicals, which are largely used in manufacturing, averaged \$45,000,000 per annum under the Wilson law, and in the year 1900 amounted to over \$53,000,000.

Imports of pig tin for use in manufacturing tin plate averaged \$6,500,000 per annum in the three years under the Wilson law, and increased to \$8,500,000 in 1898, the first year under the Dingley law, to more than \$11,500,000 in 1899, and to \$19,098,005 in 1900.

The President's Position in Regard to "TRUSTS."

[FROM PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS, DECEMBER 5, 1899.]

Combinations of capital organized into trusts to control the conditions of trade among our citizens, to stifle competition, limit production, and determine the prices of products used and consumed by the people, are justly provoking public discussion, and should early claim the attention of the Congress.

The Industrial Commission, created by the act of the Congress of June 18, 1898, has been engaged in extended hearings upon the disputed questions involved in the subject of combinations in restraint of trade and competition. They have not yet completed their investigation of this subject, and the conclusions and recommendations at which they may arrive are undetermined.

The subject is one giving rise to many divergent views as to the nature and variety or cause and extent of the injuries to the public which may result from large combinations concentrating more or less numerous enterprises and establishments, which previously to the formation of the combination were carried on separately.

It is universally conceded that combinations which engross or control the market of any particular kind of merchandise or commodity necessary to the general community, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, whereby prices are unduly enhanced to the general consumer, are obnoxious not only to the common law but also to the public welfare. There must be a remedy for the evils involved in such organizations. If the present law can be extended more certainly to control or check these monopolies or trusts, it should be done without delay. Whatever power the Congress possesses over this most important subject should be promptly ascertained and asserted.

President Harrison, in his Annual Message of December 3, 1889, says:

Earnest attention should be given by Congress to a consideration of the question how far the restraint of those combinations of capital commonly called "trusts" is matter of Federal jurisdiction. When organized, as they often are, to crush out all healthy competition and to monopolize the production or sale of an article of commerce and general necessity, they are dangerous conspiracies against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory and even penal legislation.

An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies was passed by Congress on the 2d of July, 1890. The provisions of this statute are comprehensive and stringent. It declares every contract or combination, in the form of a trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in the restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, to be unlawful. It denominates as a criminal every person who makes any such contract or engages in any such combination or conspiracy, and provides a punishment by fine or imprisonment. It invests the several Circuit Courts of the United States with jurisdiction to prevent and restrain violations of the act, and makes it the duty of the several United States district attorneys, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. It further confers upon any person who shall be injured in his business or property by any other person or corporation by reason of any-

thing forbidden or declared to be unlawful by the act the power to sue therefor in any Circuit Court of the United States without respect to the amount in controversy, and to recover threefold the damages by him sustained and the costs of the suit, including reasonable attorney fees. It will be perceived that the act is aimed at every kind of combination in the nature of a trust or monopoly in restraint of interstate or international commerce.

The prosecution by the United States of offenses under the act of 1890 has been frequently resorted to in the Federal courts, and notable efforts in the restraint of interstate commerce, such as the Trans-Missouri Freight Association and the Joint Traffic Association, have been successfully opposed and suppressed.

President Cleveland in his Annual Message of December 7, 1896—more than six years subsequent to the enactment of this law—after stating the evils of these trust combinations, says:

Though Congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiencies of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized, however, that all Federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles, and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making the Federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds which can not be transgressed. The decision of our highest court on this precise question renders it quite doubtful whether the evils of trusts and monopolies can be adequately treated through Federal action, unless they seek directly and purposely to include in their objects transportation or intercourse between States or between the United States and foreign countries.

It does not follow, however, that this is the limit of the remedy that may be applied. Even though it may be found that Federal authority is not broad enough to fully reach the case, there can be no doubt of the power of the several States to act effectively in the premises, and there should be no reason to doubt their willingness to judiciously exercise such power.

The State legislation to which President Cleveland looked for relief from the evils of trusts has failed to accomplish fully that object. This is probably due to a great extent to the fact that different States take different views as to the proper way to discriminate between evil and injurious combinations and those associations which are beneficial and necessary to the business prosperity of the country. The great diversity of treatment in different States arising from this cause and the intimate relations of all parts of the country to each other without regarding State lines in the conduct of business have made the enforcement of State laws difficult.

It is apparent that uniformity of legislation upon this subject in the several States is much to be desired. It is to be hoped that such uniformity founded in a wise and just discrimination between what is injurious and what is useful and necessary in business operations may be obtained and that means may be found for the Congress within the limitations of its constitutional power so to supplement an effective code of State legislation as to make a complete system of laws throughout the United States adequate to compel a general observance of the salutary rules to which I have referred.

The whole question is so important and far-reaching that I am sure no part of it will be lightly considered, but every phase of it will have the studied deliberation of the Congress, resulting in wise and judicious action.



GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT

Accepts the Nomination of the Republican Party to the Office of Vice-President

Gov. Theodore Roosevelt completed the formal acceptance of the republican nomination for vice-president in a letter directed to Senator Edward O. Wolcott of the notification committee. It reads:

"Oyster Bay, New York, Sept. 15, 1900.

"To Edward O. Wolcott, Chairman Committee on Notification of Vice-President—Sir: I accept the nomination as vice-president of the United States, tendered me by the republican national convention, with a very deep sense of the honor conferred upon me and with an infinitely deeper sense of the vital importance to the whole country of securing the re-election of President McKinley.

"The nation's welfare is at stake. We must continue the work which has been so well begun during the present administration. We must show in fashion incapable of being misunderstood that the American people, at the beginning of the twentieth century, face their duties in a calm and serious spirit; that they have no intention of permitting folly or lawlessness to mar the extraordinary material well-being which they have attained at home, nor yet of permitting their flag to be dishonored abroad.

FEARS DISASTER IF THE DEMOCRATS WIN.

"I feel that this contest is by no means one merely between republicans and democrats. We have a right to appeal to all good citizens who are far-sighted enough to see what the honor and the interest of the nation demand.

"To put into practice the principles embodied in the Kansas City platform would mean grave disaster to the nation; for that platform stands for reaction and disorder; for an upsetting of our financial system which would mean not only great suffering but the abandonment of the nation's good faith; and for a policy abroad which would imply the dishonor of the flag and unworthy surrender of our national rights. Its success would mean unspeakable humiliation to men proud of their country, jealous of their country's good name, and desirous of securing the welfare of their fellow-citizens. Therefore, we have a right to appeal to all good men,

north and south, east and west, whatever their politics may have been in the past, to stand with us, because we stand for the prosperity of the country and for the renown of the American flag.

PROSPERITY IS THE GREAT ISSUE.

"The most important of all problems is, of course, that of securing good government and moral and material well-being within our own borders. Great though the need is that the nation should do its work well abroad, even this comes second to the thorough performance of duty at home. Under the administration of President McKinley this country has been blessed with a degree of prosperity absolutely unparalleled, even in its previous prosperous history.

"While it is, of course, true that no legislation and no administration can bring success to those who are not stout of heart, cool of head and ready of hand, yet it is no less true that the individual capacity of each man to get good results for himself can be absolutely destroyed by bad legislation or bad administration, while under the reverse conditions the power of the individual to do good work is assured and stimulated. This is what has been done under the administration of President McKinley. Thanks to his actions and to the wise legislation of congress on the tariff and finance, the conditions of our industrial life have been rendered more favorable than ever before, and they have been taken advantage of to the full by American thrift, industry and enterprise. Order has been observed, the courts upheld and the fullest liberty secured to all citizens. The merchant and manufacturer, but above all the farmer and the wage-worker have profited by this state of things.

DEPENDENT ON THE FINANCIAL QUESTION.

"Fundamentally and primarily the present contest is a contest for the continuance of the conditions which have told in favor of our material welfare and of our civil and political integrity. If this nation is to retain either its well-being or its self-respect it cannot afford to plunge into financial and economic chaos; it cannot afford to indorse governmental theories which would unsettle the standard of national honesty and destroy the integrity of our system of justice.

"The policy of the free-coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1 is a policy fraught with destruction to every home in the land. It means untold misery to the head of every household, and, above all, to the women and children of every home.

THE DEMOCRATIC VIEW ON SILVER.

"When our opponents champion free silver at 16 to 1 they are either insincere or sincere in their attitude. If insincere in their championship they, of course, forfeit all right to belief or support on any ground. If sincere, then they are a menace to the welfare of the country. Whether they shout their sinister purpose or merely whisper it makes but little difference, save as it reflects their own honesty. No issue can be paramount to the issue they thus make, for the paramountcy of such an issue is to be determined not by the dictum of any man or body of men, but by the fact that it vitally affects the well-being of every home in the land.

"The financial question is always of such far-reaching and tremendous importance to the national welfare that it can never be raised in good faith unless this tremendous importance is not merely conceded but insisted on. Men who are not willing to make such an issue paramount have no possible justification for raising it at all, for under such circumstances their act cannot under any conceivable circumstances do aught but grave harm.

SAYS THE GOLD BASIS MUST STAND.

"The success of the party representing the principles embodied in the Kansas City platform would bring about the destruction of all the conditions necessary to the continuance of our prosperity. It would also unsettle our whole governmental system, and would therefore disarrange all the vast and delicate machinery of our complex industrial life. Above all, the effect would be ruinous to our finances. If we are to prosper, the currency of this country must be based upon the gold dollar worth 100 cents.

"The stability of our currency has been greatly increased by the excellent financial act passed by the last congress. But no law can secure our finances against the effect of unwise and disastrous management in the hands of unfriendly administrators. No party can safely be intrusted with the management of our national affairs unless it accepts as axiomatic the truths recognized in all progressive countries as essential to a sound and proper system of finance. In their essence these must be the same for all great civilized people.

A VITAL QUESTION FOR WAGE-EARNERS.

"In different stages of development different countries face varying economic conditions, but at every stage and under all circumstances the most important element in securing their economic well-being is sound finance, honest money. So intimate is the connection between industrial prosperity and a sound currency that the former is jeopardized not merely by unsound finance, but by the very threat of unsound finance.

"The business man and the farmer are vitally interested in this question; but no man's interest is so great as that of the wage-worker. A depreciated currency means loss and disaster to the business man; but it means grim suffering to the wage-worker. The capitalist will lose much of his capital and will suffer wearing anxiety and the loss of many comforts; but the wage-worker who loses his wages must suffer and see his wife and children suffer for the actual necessities of life. The one absolutely vital need of our whole industrial system is sound money.

"One of the serious problems with which we are confronted under the conditions of our modern industrial civilization is that presented by the great business combinations which are generally known under the name of trusts.

ATTACKS ON OUR INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM.

"The problem is an exceedingly difficult one and the difficulty is immensely aggravated both by honest but wrong-headed attacks on our whole industrial system in the effort to remove some of the evils connected with it, and by the mischievous advice of men who either think crookedly or

who advance remedies knowing them to be ineffective, but deeming that they may, by darkening counsel, achieve for themselves a spurious reputation for wisdom.

"No good whatever is subserved by indiscriminate denunciation of corporations generally and of all forms of industrial combination in particular; and when this public denunciation is accompanied by private membership in the great corporations denounced, the effect is, of course, to give an air of insincerity to the whole movement. Nevertheless, there are real abuses, and there is ample reason for striving to remedy these abuses. A crude or ill-considered effort to remedy them would either be absolutely without effect or else would simply do damage.

PLAN FOR FEDERAL INTERFERENCE.

"The first thing to do is to find out the facts; and for this purpose publicity as to capitalization, profits and all else of importance to the public, is the most useful measure. The mere fact of this publicity would in itself remedy certain evils, and, as to the others, it would in some cases point out the remedies, and would at least enable us to tell whether or not certain proposed remedies would be useful. The state acting in its collective capacity would thus first find out the facts and then be able to take such measures as wisdom dictated. Much can be done by taxation. Even more can be done by regulation, by close supervision and the unsparing excision of all unhealthy, destructive and anti-social elements.

"The separate state governments can do a great deal; and where they decline to co-operate the national government must step in.

HOW HE DEALS WITH EXPANSION.

"While paying heed to the necessity of keeping our house in order at home, the American people cannot, if they wish to retain their self-respect, refrain from doing their duty as a great nation in the world.

"The history of the nation is in large part the history of the nation's expansion. When the first continental congress met in Liberty hall and the thirteen original states declared themselves a nation, the westward limit of the country was marked by the Alleghany mountains. Even during the revolutionary war the work of expansion went on. Kentucky, Tennessee and the great northwest, then known as the Illinois country, were conquered from our white and Indian foes during the revolutionary struggle, and were confirmed to us by the treaty of peace in 1783.

"Yet the land thus confirmed was not then given to us. It was held by an alien foe until the army under Gen. Anthony Wayne freed Ohio from the red man, while the treaties of Jay and Pinckney secured from the Spanish and British Natchez and Detroit.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE PHILIPPINES.

"In 1803, under President Jefferson, the greatest single stride in expansion that we ever took was taken by the purchase of the Louisiana territory. This so-called Louisiana, which included what are now the states of Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Idaho, Montana and a large part of Colorado and Utah, was acquired by treaty and purchase under President Jefferson exactly and precisely as the Philippines have been acquired by treaty and purchase under President McKinley.

"The doctrine of 'the consent of the governed,' the doctrine previously enunciated by Jefferson in the declaration of independence, was not held by him or by any other sane man to apply to the Indian tribes in the Louisiana territory which he thus acquired, and there was no vote taken even of the white inhabitants, not to speak of the negroes and Indians, as to whether they were willing that their territory should be annexed. The great majority of the inhabitants, white and colored alike, were bitterly opposed to the transfer.

SAYS JEFFERSON FORCED SUBJUGATION.

"An armed force of United States soldiers had to be hastily sent into the territory to prevent insurrection, President Jefferson sending these troops to Louisiana for exactly the same reasons and with exactly the same purpose that President McKinley has sent troops to the Philippines.

"Jefferson distinctly stated that the Louisianians were 'not fit or ready for self-government,' and years elapsed before they were given self-government, Jefferson appointing the governor and other officials, without any consultation with the inhabitants of the newly acquired territory. The doctrine that the 'constitution follows the flag' was not then even considered either by Jefferson or by any other serious party leader, for it never entered their heads that a new territory should be governed other than in the way in which the territories of Ohio and Illinois had already been governed under Washington and the elder Adams; the theory known by this utterly false and misleading phrase was only struck out in political controversy at a much later date for the sole purpose of justifying the extension of slavery into the territories.

CONSENT NOT HELD NECESSARY.

"The parallel between what Jefferson did with Louisiana and what is now being done in the Philippines is exact. Jefferson, the author of the declaration of independence, and of the 'consent of the governed' doctrine, saw no incongruity between this and the establishment of a government on common-sense grounds in the new territory; and he railed at the sticklers for an impossible application of his principle, saying in language which at the present day applies to the situation in the Philippines without the change of a word, 'though it is acknowledged that our new fellow-citizens are as yet as incapable of self-government as children, yet some cannot bring themselves to suspend its principles for a single moment.' He intended that ultimately self-government should be introduced throughout the territory, but only as the different parts became fit for it and no sooner. This is just the policy that has been pursued.

FILIPINOS ON THE BASIS OF INDIANS.

"In no part of the Louisiana purchase was complete self-government introduced for a number of years; in one part of it, the Indian territory, it has not yet been introduced, although nearly a century has elapsed. Over enormous tracts of it, including the various Indian reservations, with a territory in the aggregate as large as that of the Philippines, the constitution has never yet 'followed the flag'; the army officer and the civilian agent still exercise authority, without asking the 'consent of the governed.' We must proceed in the Philippines with the same wise caution, taking each successive step as it becomes desirable, and accommodating the details of our policy to the peculiar needs of the situation. But as soon as the present revolt is put down and order established, it will undoubtedly be possible to give to the islands a larger measure of self-government than Jefferson originally gave Louisiana.

FLORIDA ACQUIRED LIKE THE PHILIPPINES.

"The next great step in expansion was the acquisition of Florida. This was partly acquired by conquest and partly by purchase, Andrew Jackson being the most prominent figure in the acquisition. It was taken under President Monroe, the aftertime President John Quincy Adams being active in securing the purchase. As in the case of the Philippines, Florida was acquired by purchase from Spain, and in Florida the Seminoles, who had not been consulted in the sale, rebelled and waged war exactly as some of the Tagals have rebelled and waged war in the Philippines. The Seminole

war lasted for many years, but Presidents Monroe, Adams and Jackson declined for a moment to consider the question of abandoning Florida to the Seminoles, or to treat their non-consent to the government of the United States as a valid reason for turning over the territory to them.

HOW TEXAS AND ALASKA WERE ACQUIRED.

"Our next acquisition of territory was that of Texas, secured by treaty after it had been wrested from the Mexicans by the Texans themselves. Then came the acquisition of California, New Mexico, Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Utah as the result of the Mexican war, completed five years later by the Gadsden purchase.

"The next acquisition was that of Alaska, secured from Russia by treaty and purchase. Alaska was full of natives, some of them advanced well beyond the stage of savagery and were Christians. It was not consulted about the purchase nor was their acquiescence required. The purchase was made by the men who had just put through a triumphant war to restore the union and free the slave; but none of them was necessary to push the doctrine of the 'consent of the governed' to the farthest as to necessitate the turning over of Alaska to the Indians and the Aleut. For thirty years the United States military and civil, exercised the supreme authority in a territory three times larger than the Philippines, in which it did not seem likely that there would ever be any considerable body of white inhabitants.

SAYS HAWAII DISPROVES THE DANGER THEORY.

"Nearly thirty years passed before the next instance occurred, which was over the island of Hawaii. An effort was made at the end of President Harrison's administration to secure the annexation of Hawaii. The effort was unsuccessful.

"The debate in congress on Feb. 2, 1898, was a long one. The leaders of the opposition of the islands stated: 'The Hawaiian Islands are more than 2,000 miles distant from our extreme western boundary. We have a serious problem now in our country and I am not in favor of adding to our domestic fabric a mongrel population (of this character). Our constitution makes no provisions for a colonial establishment. Any territorial government we might establish would necessarily, because of the population, be an oligarchy, which would have to be supported by armed soldiers.'

"Yet Hawaii has now been annexed and her delegates have sat in the national conventions of the two great parties. The fears then expressed in relation to an 'oligarchy' and 'armed soldiers' are not now seriously entertained by any human being; yet they are precisely the objections urged against the acquisition of the Philippines at this very moment.

DENIES THAT MILITARISM IS INVOLVED.

"We are making no new departure. We are not taking a single step which in any way affects our institutions or our traditional policies. From the beginning we have given widely varying degrees of self-government to the different territories, according to their needs.

"The simple truth is that there is nothing even remotely resembling 'imperialism' or 'militarism' involved in the present development of that policy of expansion which has been part of the history of America from the day when she became a nation. The words mean absolutely nothing as applied to our present policy in the Philippines; for this policy is only imperialistic in the sense that Jefferson's policy in Louisiana was imperialistic; only military in the sense that Jackson's policy toward the Seminoles or Custer's toward the Sioux embodied militarism; and there is no more danger of its producing evil results at home now than there was of its interfering with freedom under Jefferson or Jackson, or in the days of the

Indian wars on the plains. Our army is relatively not as large as it was in the days of Wayne; we have not one regular for every 1,000 inhabitants. There is no more danger of a draft than there is of the re-introduction of slavery.

OUR RIGHT TO SUPPRESS THE REBELS.

"When we expanded over New Mexico and California we secured free government to these territories and prevented their falling under the 'militarism' of a dictatorship like that of Santa Ana, or the 'imperialism' of a empire in the days of Maximilian. We put a stop to imperialism in as soon as the civil war closed. We made a great anti-imperialistic when we drove the Spaniards from Porto Rico and the Philippines thereby made ready the ground in these islands for gradually in measure of self-government for which their population are severally Cuba is being helped along the path to independence as rapidly and citizens are content that she should go. The presence of troops in the Philippines during the Tagal a much more to do with militarism or imperialism than had into the the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wyoming during the many

the final outbreaks of the Sioux were definite. There is no more militarism or imperialism in governing if it is restored than there was imperialism in sending soldiers to the Dakota in 1890, during the Ogallalla outbreak. The reason now being given for having made war against Sitting Bull also justifies declaring the outbreaks of Aguinaldo and his followers, dissatisfied with the war, against Filipino and American alike.

on conclusion of the war, the argument for withdrawal.

only certain way of rendering it necessary for our republic to are a career of 'militarism' would be to abandon the Philippines to the tribes, and at the same time either to guarantee a stable government to these tribes or to guarantee them against outside interference. Our army would be required to carry out any such policy than required to secure order under the American flag; while the presence of this flag on the islands is really the only possible security against aggression.

The whole argument against President McKinley's policy in the Philippines becomes absurd when it is conceded that we should, to quote the language of the Kansas City platform, 'give to the Philippines first a stable form of government.' If they are now entitled to independence, they are also entitled to decide for themselves whether their government shall be stable or unstable, civilized or savage, or whether they shall have any government at all; while it is, of course, equally evident that under such conditions we have no right whatever to guarantee them against outside interference any more than we have to make such a guaranty in the case of the Boxers (who are merely the Chinese analogues of Aguinaldo's followers).

"If we have a right to establish a stable government in the islands it necessarily follows that it is not only our right but our duty to support that government until the natives gradually grow fit to sustain it themselves. How else will it be stable? The minute we leave it, it ceases to be stable.

NOW A QUESTION OF CONTRACTION.

"Properly speaking, the question is now not whether we shall expand—for we have already expanded—but whether we shall contract. The Philippines are now part of American territory. To surrender them would be to surrender American territory. They must, of course, be governed primarily in the interests of their own citizens. Our first care must be for the people of the islands which have come under our guardianship as a result of the

most righteous foreign war that has been waged within the memory of the present generation. They must be administered in the interests of their inhabitants, and that necessarily means that any question of personal or partisan politics in their administration must be entirely eliminated.

"We must continue to put at the heads of affairs in the different islands such men as General Wood, Governor Allen and Judge Taft; and it is a most fortunate thing that we are able to illustrate what ought to be done in the way of sending officers thither by pointing out what actually has been done. The minor places in their administration, where it is impossible to fill them by natives, must be filled by the strictest application of the merit system.

EQUAL CHANCES AND FAIR PLAY FOR ALL.

"It is very important that in our own home administration the merely ministerial and administrative offices, where the duties are entirely non-political, shall be filled absolutely without reference to partisan affiliations; but this is many times more important in the newly acquired islands. The merit system is in its essence as democratic as our common-school system, for it simply means equal chances and fair play for all.

"It must be remembered always that governing these islands in the interest of the inhabitants may not necessarily be to govern them as the inhabitants at the moment prefer. To grant self-government to Luzon under Aguinaldo would be like granting self-government to an Apache reservation under some local chief; and this is no more altered by the fact that the Filipinos fought the Spaniards than it would be by the fact that Apaches have long been trained and employed in the United States army and have rendered signal service therein; just as the Pawnees did under the administration of President Grant; just as the Stockbridge Indians did in the days of General Washington, and the friendly tribes of the six nations in the days of President Madison.

"There are now in the United States communities of Indians which have advanced so far that it has been possible to embody them as a whole in our political system, all the members of the tribe becoming United States citizens. There are other communities where the bulk of the tribe are still too wild for it to be possible to take such a step. There are individuals among the Apaches, Pawnees, Iroquois, Sioux and other tribes who are now United States citizens and who are entitled to stand, and do stand, on an absolute equality with all our citizens of pure white blood. Men of Indian blood are now serving in the army and navy and in congress and occupy high position both in the business and the political world.

FILIPINO'S HOPE OF LIBERTY.

"There is every reason why as rapidly as an Indian, or any body of Indians, becomes fit for self-government, he or it should be granted the fullest equality with the whites; but there would be no justification whatever in treating this fact as a reason for abandoning the wild tribes to work out their own destruction. Exactly the same reasoning applies in the case of the Philippines. To turn over the islands to Aguinaldo and his followers would not be to give self-government to the islanders; under no circumstances would the majority thus gain self-government. They would simply be put at the mercy of a syndicate of Chinese half-breeds, under whom corruption would flourish far more freely than ever it flourished under Tweed, while tyrannical oppression would obtain to a degree only possible under such an oligarchy. Yours truly,

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

BY JACOB A. RIIS.

I am asked to tell what I know of Theodore Roosevelt, being his friend, and why he should be elected to the high office his countrymen have thrust upon him. But before I do that, let me, as a citizen of his State, record my protest against his being taken from us before he was half done with his work as governor of New York, and get my mind freed on the subject. We cannot spare him at all. Whatever we shall do with the factory law, which was just from a dead-letter becoming an active force; with the tenement-house problem, which means life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to a million wage-earners; with the franchises and the trusts, whom he gave the cold shivers by proposing to deal *justly* by them—whatever the bosses will do with us when he is gone who dealt justly by them also, I don't know. I know what happened in the police department when he was gone. May it help us to understand that the Roosevelts and the Warings of our day are sent to set the rest of us to work, and that for us to stand by and see *them* do it, merely applauding and calling them good fellows, is not the meaning of it and not sense. Only when we grasp that is their real work done, and we need have no further fear of the bosses. There! I have said it; and, having said it, shall do what it is the business of every good New Yorker and every good citizen anywhere to do: take of my coat and help put Theodore Roosevelt where the mass of his countrymen want him, even though I have to give him up. As I understand it, that is the American plan.

I remember well when we first ran across each other. Seen him I had before, heading an investigation committee that came down from Albany with true instinct to poke up the police department. I had followed his trial in the legislature, always exposing jobbery, fighting boss rule, much to the amazement of the politicians who beheld this silk-stocking youngster, barely out of college, rattling dry bones they had thought safely buried out of the reach of even old hands at that business. They comforted themselves with the belief that it was a fad and would blow over. It did not blow over. They lived to rue the day, some of them, when they "picked him up" as a handy man in a faction fight. They got rather more fight out of him than they bargained for. But they might have

spared themselves their self-reproaches. They were not to blame.

He came to the *Evening Sun* office one day looking for me. I was out, but he left his card with the simple message that he had read my book, "How the Other Half Lives," and "had come to help." That was the introduction. It seems only a little while ago, and measured by years it is not long; but what has he not helped with in New York since? We needed to have the police made decent, and he pulled it out of the slough of blackmail it was in. It did not stay out, but that was not his fault. He showed that it could be done with honest purpose. While he was there it was decent; and, by the way, let me say right here that there is a much larger percentage of policemen than many imagine who look back to that time as the golden age of the department, when every man had a show on his merits, and whose votes are quietly cast on election day for the things "Teddy" stands for.

We had been trying for forty years to achieve a system of dealing decently with our homeless poor. Twoscore years before the surgeons of the police department had pointed out that herding them in the cellars or over the prison of police stations in festering heaps, and turning them out hungry at daybreak to beg their way from door to door, was indecent and inhuman. Since then grand juries, academies of medicine, committees of philanthropic citizens, had attacked the foul disgrace, but to no purpose. Pestilence ravaged the prison lodgings, but still they stayed. I know what that fight meant; for I was one of a committee that waged it year after year, and suffered defeat every time, until Teddy Roosevelt came and destroyed the nuisance in a night. I remember the caricatures of tramps shivering in the cold with which the yellow newspapers pursued him at the time, labelling him the "poor man's foe."

The poor man's foe! Why the poor man never had a better friend than Theodore Roosevelt. We had gone through a season of excitement over our tenement-houses. The awful exhibits of the Gilder Committee had crowded remedial laws through the legislature—laws that permitted the destruction of tenement-house property on the showing that it was bad. Bad meant murderous. The death records showed that the worst rear-tenements killed one in five of the

babies born in them. The Tenement-House Committee called them "infant slaughter-houses." They stood condemned, but still they stood. A whole year was the law a dead-letter, until, as president of the police board, Roosevelt became also a member of the health board that was charged with the enforcement of the statute. Then they went, and quickly. A hundred of them were seized, and most of them destroyed. In the June number of the *Review of Reviews* I gave the result in the case of a single row, the Barracks in Mott street, which Mr. Roosevelt and I personally inspected and marked for seizure.* The death-rate came down from 39.56 in the thousand of the living to 16.28—less than the general death-rate of the whole city!

That work stopped too. They are seizing no more rear-tenements since Tammany came back. It has been too busy putting up the price of ice, that means life in these hot summer months to the poor man's babies, whether in front or rear-tenement. I should have liked to see Theodore Roosevelt run on his record in our State this fall against the ice-trust conspiracy—the man who saved the poor man's babies against the villains who would see them perish with indifference, so long as it paid them a profit. It would have been instructive—mightily!

It was human that some of the labor men should misinterpret Mr. Roosevelt's motives when, as president of the police board, he sent word that he wanted to meet them and talk strike troubles over with them. They got it into their heads, I suppose, that he had come to crawl; but they were speedily undeceived. I can see his face now, as he checked the first one who hinted at trouble. I fancy that man can see it, too—in his dreams.

"Gentlemen," said Mr. Roosevelt, "I have come to get your point of view, and see if we can't agree to help each other out. But we want to make it clear to ourselves at the start that the greatest damage any working man can do to his cause is to counsel violence. Order must be maintained; and, make no mistake, I will maintain it."

I tingled with pride when they cheered him to the echo. They had come to meet a politician. They met a man, and they knew him at sight.

It was after midnight when we plodded home from that meeting through snow two feet deep. Mr. Roosevelt was pleased and proud—proud of his fellow-citizens. "They are all right," he said. "We understand each other, and we shall get along." And they did get along, with perfect confidence on both sides.

I read a story when I was a boy about a man who, pursued by relentless enemy, dwelt in security because of his belief that his plotting

could not hurt an honest man. Mr. Roosevelt constantly made me think of him. He spoke of it only once, but I saw him act out that belief a hundred times. Mulberry street could never have been made to take any stock in it. When it failed to awe Roosevelt, it tried to catch him. Jobs innumerable were put up to discredit the president of the board and inveigle him into awkward positions. Probably he never knew of one-tenth of them. I often made them out long after they were scattered to the winds. Mr. Roosevelt walked through them with perfect unconcern, kicking aside the snares that were set so elaborately to catch him. The politicians who saw him walk apparently blindly into a trap and beheld him emerge with damage to the trap only, could not understand it. They concluded it was his luck. It was not. It was his sense. He told me once after such a time that it was a matter of conviction with him that no frank and honest man could be in the long run entangled by the snares of plotters, whatever appearances might for the moment indicate. So he walked unharmed in it all. Bismarck co-founded the councils of Europe at times by practising Roosevelt's plan as a trick. He spoke the truth bluntly when the plotters expected him to lie, and rounded them up easily.

One charge his enemies made against him in which there was truth. It summed itself all up in that with a heat that was virtual acknowledgment of its being the whole arraignment: that there was always a fight where he was. "Always trouble," said the peace-at-any-price men, who counseled surrender when Roosevelt was fighting for a decent Sunday through the enforcement of the law compelling the saloons to close. "Never any rest." No! There was never any rest for the lawbreakers when he was around, nor for those who would avoid "trouble" by weakly surrendering to them. Roosevelt gauged New York exactly right when he set about his turbulent programme of enforcement of law. The scandal was not that we were being robbed by political cutthroats, but that we submitted tamely. The formula we heard so often from his lips in the years that followed—honesty, manhood, courage—was the exact prescription we needed. We in the metropolis are abundantly able to run the robbers out of town and keep them out by just following the road he made for us when he ran them out of the police department. But he made it, fighting. It was true that there never was any rest while he was at it, night or day. When he had battled all day in Mulberry street, he would sometimes get up at two o'clock in the morning and go out on patrol to find out the policemen who were stealing the city's time. It became suddenly possible to find a policeman anywhere at any hour of the night in New York. Within a year after the old Tammany regime had come back, an epidemic of night fires

*I was, at that time, executive officer of the Good-Government Clubs.

that cost many lives brought from the firemen the loud protest that policemen were not awake, and the chief found it necessary to transfer half the force of a precinct for sleeping on post.

No; there was never any rest when Roosevelt was around. There was none in Congress during the six years he was a civil-service commissioner under Harrison and Cleveland; and as a result, where there had been 14,000 places under the merit and capacity rules of the commission when he came in, there were 40,000 when he went out. To that extent spoils politics had been robbed of its sting. There was even less repose in the navy department when he went there as assistant secretary, fresh from the fight in Mulberry street, to sharpen the tools of war. It had a familiar sound to us in New York, when we heard the cry go up that Roosevelt wanted a row, and didn't care what it cost. He was asking, if I remember rightly, for something less than \$1,000,000 for target practice on the big ships. The only notice he took of it was to demand another \$500,000 about the time he got Dewey sent to the East. I was in Washington at the time, and I remember asking him about that. Commodore Dewey was sometimes spoken of in those days as if he were a kind of fashion plate. And I remember his answer, as we were walking up Connecticut avenue:

"Dewey is all right," he said. "He has a lion heart. He is the man for that place."

Not many of us will quarrel with him about that now, or about the wisdom of shooting away that million in target practice. It made "the man behind the gun," of whom we are all so proud. The fact is that Roosevelt, so far from being a hasty man given to snap judgments, is one of the most far-sighted statesmen of any day. He has shown it in everything he has taken hold of. It was in Washington as it was in New York. The thing that beclouds the judgment of his critics is the man's amazing capacity for work. He can weigh the pros and cons of a case and get at the meat of it in less time than it takes most of us to state the mere proposition. And he is surprisingly thorough. Nothing escapes him. His judgment comes sometimes as a shock to the man of slower ways. He does not stop at conventionalities. If a thing is right, it is to be done—and right away. It was notably so with the round-robin in Cuba asking the Government to recall the perishing army when it had won the fight. People shook their heads, and talked of precedents. Precedents! It has been Roosevelt's business to make them most of his time. But is there any one to-day who thinks he set that one wrong? Certainly no one who with me saw the army come home. It did not come a day too soon.

When he had done his work for the ships and resigned his office to take the field, the croakers shouted that at last he had made the mistake of

his life;—all to get into a scrap. His men didn't think so when he lay with them in the trenches before Santiago, sharing his last biscuit with them. They got to know him there, and to love him. I know what it cost him to leave his sick wife and his babies. I wanted to keep him at home, but I saw him go with pride, because I knew he went at the call of duty. He thought the war just and right. He had done what he could to bring it on as the only means of stopping the murder in Cuba, and he went to do his share of the fighting as a matter of right and of example to the young men to whom he was a type of the citizen and the patriot. As that type when he came home, we made him our governor in New York State. We ran him on the pledge of his record—the pledge of honesty, manhood, and courage; and he kept the pledge. I shall let some one else tell the story of that. Just let me recall the last trip we took together, because it was so much like the old days in Mulberry street. There had arisen a contention as to whether the factory inspector did his duty by the sweat-shops or not, and from the testimony he was unable to decide. So he came down from Albany to see for himself. It was a sweltering hot day when we made a tour of the stewing tenements on the down-town east side. I doubt if any other governor that ever was would attempt it. I know that none ever did. But he never shirked one of the twenty houses we had marked out for exploration. He examined the evidence in each, while the tenants wondered who the stranger was who took so much interest in their affairs; and as the result he was able to mark out a course for the factory inspector that ought to double and treble the efficiency of his office and bring untold relief to a hundred thousand tenement-house workers—if it is followed when Roosevelt is no longer in Albany. That will be our end of it: to see to it that he did not labor in vain.

That is Roosevelt as I saw him daily during those good years when things we had hoped for were *done*. There stands upon my shelves a row of books, more than a dozen in number, beginning with the "Naval War of 1812," written when he was scarcely out of college, and yet ranking as an authority, both here and abroad, including the four stout volumes of "The Winning of the West," and ending with his "Rough-riders," the picturesque account of that picturesque regiment in the last war, which testify to his untiring energy as a recorder as well as a maker of history. The secret of that is the story of the police force and the sweat-shops over again: his enjoyment of the work. If I were to sum the man and his achievements up in a sentence, I think I should put it that way. But that would not mean an accident of the Dutch and Huguenot and Irish blood that go to make up his heredity. It would mean of itself an achieve-

ment. Theodore Roosevelt was born a puny child. He could not keep up with the play of other children, or learn so easily as they. He had to make himself what he is, and with the indomitable will that characterized the boy as it does the man, he set about it. He became at once an athlete and a student. When he joins the two, he is at his best. His accounts of life on the Western plains, of hunting in the Bad Lands of Dakota, where he built his ranch on the banks of the Little Missouri, are written out of the man's heart.

Mr. Roosevelt's recent protest against the impertinent intrusion of the camera fiend upon the seclusion of his home life at Oyster Bay was perfectly characteristic of him, and of his way of saying the right thing at the right time. The whole country applauded it. In his home Mr. Roosevelt ceases to be governor of the Empire State, and becomes husband and father, the companion of his children, who treat him like their big, overgrown brother. His love for children, especially for those who have not so good a time as some others, is as instinctive as his championship of all that needs a lift. I doubt if he is aware of it himself. He does not recognize as real sympathy what he feels rather as a sense of duty. Yet I have seen him, when school children crowded around the rear platform of the train from which he had been making campaign speeches, to shake hands, catch the eye of a poor little crippled girl in a patched frock, who was making frantic but hopeless efforts to reach him in the outskirts of the crowd, and, pushing aside all the rest, make a way for her to the great amazement of the curled darlings in the front row. And on the trip home, on the last night of the canvass of 1898, when we were at dinner in his private car, busy reckoning up majorities, I saw him get up to greet the engineer of the train, who came in his overalls and blouse to shake hands, with such pleasure as I had not seen him show in the biggest meeting we had had. It was a coincidence and an omen that the name of the engineer of that victorious trip was Dewey.

That bent of his is easily enough explained. There hangs in his study at Oyster Bay, apart from the many trophies of the chase, the picture of a man with a strong, bearded face.

"That is my father," said Mr. Roosevelt. "He was the finest man I ever knew. He was a merchant, well-to-do, drove his four-in-hand through the park, and enjoyed life immensely. He had such a good time, and with cause, for he was a good man. I remember seeing him going down Broadway, staid and respectable business man

that he was, with a poor little sick kitten in his coat-pocket, which he had picked up in the street."

The elder Theodore Roosevelt was a man with the same sane and practical interest in his fellow-man that his son has shown. He was the backer of Charles Loring Brace in his work of gathering the forgotten waifs from the city's streets, and of every other sensible charity in his day. Dr. Henry Field told me once that he always, occupied as he was with the management of a successful business, on principle gave one day of the six to visiting the poor in their homes. Apparently the analogy between father and son might be carried farther, to include even the famous round-robin; for, upon the same authority, it was the elder Theodore Roosevelt who went to Washington after the first Bull Run and warned President Lincoln that he must get rid of Simon Cameron as secretary of war, with the result that Mr. Stanton, the "Organizer of Victory," took his place. When the war was fairly under way, it was Theodore Roosevelt who organized the allotment plan, which saved to the families of 80,000 soldiers of New York State more than \$5,000,000 of their pay; and when the war was over he protected the soldiers against the sharks that lay in wait for them, and saw to it that they got employment.

That was the father. I have told you what the son is like. A man with red blood in his veins; a healthy patriot, with no clap-trap jingoism about him, but a rugged belief in America and its mission; an intense lover of country and flag, a vigorous optimist, a believer in men, who looks for the good in them and finds it. Practical in partisanship; loyal, trusting, and gentle as a friend; unselfish, modest as a woman, clean-handed and clean-hearted, and honest to the core. In the splendid vigor of his young manhood he is the knightliest figure in American politics to-day, the fittest exponent of his country's idea, and the model for its young sons who are coming to take up the task he set them. For their sake I am willing to give him up and set him where they can all see and strive to be like him. So we shall have little need of bothering about boss rule and misrule hereafter. We shall farm out the job of running the machine no longer; we shall be able to run it ourselves.

When it comes to that, the Vice-Presidency is not going to kill Theodore Roosevelt. It will take a good deal more than that to do it.—*Reprinted by permission from the American Monthly Review of Reviews for August, 1900. Copyright by the Review of Reviews Co., 1900.*

PUBLISHED BY
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
NEW YORK.



GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. SPOONER,
OF WISCONSIN,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

May 2, 23 and 24, 1900.

WASHINGTON,
1900.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN C. SPOONER,

May 22, 23, and 24, 1900.

Tuesday, May 22, 1900.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (S. 2355) in relation to the suppression of insurrection in, and to the government of, the Philippine Islands, ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898—

Mr. SPOONER said:

Mr. President: I have not recovered from the ailment which detained me from the Senate yesterday, and I am anxious to be through at the earliest possible moment. I ask leave of the Senate to have incorporated, without reading, in my remarks, some extracts from official documents, which will save me and save the Senate time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin asks permission, as he proceeds with his speech, to incorporate in it, without reading, extracts from official documents, which will be stated by him at the time. Is there objection? The Chair hears none.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I am impelled to address the Senate upon this measure, which is the unfinished business, partly because I took the responsibility of introducing it, and owe it to myself to state with frankness the reasons which led me to do so.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] has addressed the Senate upon it in a speech which was very masterful and very eloquent and beautiful, with most of which I agree. I wish to consider the subject upon somewhat different and in some respects less radical lines.

I suppose, Mr. President, it will be admitted that had there been no war with Spain and she had tendered to us "without money and without price" a cession of the Philippine Archipelago and a treaty accepting that cession had been transmitted to the Senate for its action, it would have received hardly a vote in this body and would have proved entirely unattractive to the great body of our people. The suggestion in advocacy of it that we are "Trustee" to lead the nations of the earth in the work of civilization would not have been at all persuasive.

The quick and sufficient answer to that would have been that, while this is a missionary people, this is not and cannot become a missionary Government, and that it is not our function, philanthropic as we may be and as this people is, that their Government shall police the world, seeking for people oppressed, living in the darkness of ignorance and half civilization in order to uplift them.

It would have been said that we have problems of our own to solve, some of them complicated, all of them important, and that the first duty of this Government, trustee of our people, is to subserve the interests of our people, to develop the illimitable resources of this continent, to spread the blessings of education among the people, to give to the country equal laws, and to lift up as far as may be all here who are oppressed. If it had been said that the islands are full

of mineral wealth, of untold richness in soil, and of unspeakable beauty, that would have produced no effect in this Chamber.

Our people would not have harbored the thought of going into distant seas and taking archipelagoes of alien people because of the richness of the islands. I can conceive of no argument in favor of the acceptance of such a proposition which would have found much, if any, favor here or in the country.

There would have been found no lust of empire among us; nor is there now, in my opinion, in the sense in which that term is now used in this body and in the country by certain distinguished gentlemen.

But, Mr. President, when the treaty of Paris was sent to the Senate, containing, as it did, a cession of the Philippine Archipelago to us, it came, not as a simple proposition of purchase in time of peace, but it came to us environed by the complications of war and as one of the fruits of war. The debate did not ignore that. We had gone to war with Spain, a war the like of which in its inspiration the whole world never before saw.

No people ever can give to the world higher evidence, Mr. President, of devotion to liberty than the people of the United States gave when they demanded the withdrawal of Spain from Cuba, and resorted to war to enforce that demand. Admiral Dewey, long before that treaty of cession came to us, had destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, and had made for himself in a day a fame which can never fade. Our troops in Cuba, bearing themselves with the utmost heroism, had forced the capitulation of Santiago, and Sampson and Schley had sent to the bottom the prize fleet of Spain under command of Cervera.

Something more had happened, Mr. President. Admiral Dewey had called for troops to be sent to Manila, and they had been sent. They were not sent to defend the fleet and everyone knew it. They were sent to capture and hold Manila, and everyone knew it. Admiral Dewey could have forced in a day the surrender of Manila, but he had not the troops with which to hold it. There are men who have regretted that troops were sent to Manila. Was any voice raised in this Chamber or in this country against the sending of soldiers to Manila?

I remember very well some criticism of the President that they were not sent with sufficient alacrity; but I never heard a lisp of objection to their being sent to Manila. When the Paris treaty came before us for ratification, Manila had been captured with 13,000 Spanish troops and their arms, and the soldiers of the United States held that city and its suburbs.

I did not myself take at all kindly to the acquisition under its provisions of the Philippine Archipelago. There was a time when, if it had come to a vote, I would not have been willing to vote for it.

I stated to the Senate while that treaty was pending, and I restate it now, in a word, that, facing each of the alternatives which presented themselves to the President, I could not see how he could have done any other thing than to demand the incorporation in that treaty of a cession to us of the Philippine Archipelago. Several alternatives were open to us. I shall not spend much time upon this. One was to leave the Philippine Archipelago with Spain; to omit it from the treaty. I felt obliged to reject that alternative.

I could not see then, nor have I ever been able to see since, how the President could have concluded, under the circumstances, a treaty of peace with Spain which did not contain a cession of the Philippine Archipelago. All with whom I have spoken upon the subject

have said to me—and it was the sentiment of our country, and it had no lust of empire in it—whatever else is done about the Philippine Archipelago, that people must not be left under the tyranny of Spain. That sentiment pervaded this entire people. Am I wrong about that?

Mr. President, our people had been inexpressibly shocked by the unspeakable cruelties perpetrated by Spain in Cuba. No one will soon forget the black days of the reconcentrado period. No one will soon forget the stories, not overtold—impossible to overtell—of the tyranny, the wickedness, and the awful savagery of Spain in Cuba. Our people, not choosing to consider a cause of war existing in their own behalf, sustained the Congress and sustained the President in going into a war to snatch the island of Cuba and her people from that thralldom.

It was hardly to be expected, Mr. President, after our Navy had broken the power of Spain in both seas, and after Spain had applied for a suspension of hostilities with a view to a treaty of peace, that a people who, without cause of war which it chose to enforce on its own behalf, had poured out its treasure and the blood of its sons for the liberty of another people alien to them, because of cruelty and oppression which could not longer be tolerated, would be willing that in the end of that struggle another people, vastly greater in number, who had also been subject to the same tyranny, should be left in the hands of Spain. *By the fortunes of war we were there.*

It would have seemed to the world, many of us thought, that we had carried our flag of liberty to the mountain top, where all the world could see it, and then, afraid to meet responsibility, shuddering from duty, had incontinently run with it into the valley below, where no man could see it or would wish to see it.

It has been thought that if all mention of the Philippines had been omitted from the treaty, Spain never could have retaken those islands. Mr. President, I have never believed that. I have had no doubt myself that Spain would have resumed her sway in the Philippine Archipelago. I have never seen any reason to doubt it. First, it must be remembered that we had sent back to Spain 142,000 soldiers, with their arms. Spain, no longer involved in Cuba or in Porto Rico; Spain, vanquished by us, but proud and haughty, would not have been willing to abandon the last of her possessions—that one in the Pacific seas.

We would have been obliged in honor to march our troops out of Manila and to allow the troops of Spain, in such numbers as she chose, to occupy the city. Spain then had a navy free. Many of the nations of the world sympathized with her. They all would have preferred her retention of the Philippines to strife among themselves for their possession, as there would have been.

The holders of Spanish bonds all over Europe, based upon a hypothecation of the revenues of Cuba, Porto Rico, and possibly the Philippines, would have been eager to furnish the money, for obvious reasons, to enable Spain to retain her great Pacific possessions, and with her fleet and her troops she would, with comparative ease, have resumed her sway in the Philippines.

We could not do that, we thought; and there was not a man in the Senate then, nor is there one here now, I take it, who would have been willing that all mention of the Philippines should have been omitted from that treaty.

Even Aguinaldo contemplated the possibility that the treaty might leave the Philippines with Spain, and the certainty that Spain would attempt to resume her sovereignty there. In his letter of August 21, 1898, to the commanding officer of our forces, in reply

to the demand that he withdraw his forces from Manila, he stated thus one of the conditions of such withdrawal:

They also (referring to the Filipinos) desire that if in consequence of the treaty of peace which may be concluded between the United States of America and Spain the Philippines should continue under the domination of the latter, the American forces should give up all the suburbs to the Filipinos, in consideration of the cooperation lent by the latter in the capture of Manila.

In reply to this he was informed that in the event of the United States withdrawing from these islands care would be taken to leave him in as advantageous position as he *was found by the forces of the Government*.

It has been said that we should have demanded of Spain that she relinquish sovereignty over the Philippines, as she did over Cuba. That could not be expected of her. It would have been a demand to which Spain, even in her overthrow and in her poverty, could not have yielded.

Spain might very well say to us, "We relinquish our title to Cuba; that was the cause of the war; that was your demand at the outset, coupled with a declaration that you would not acquire Cuba; we will cede to you Porto Rico; and while we will, if it is exacted, cede to you the Philippines, you have no right to demand of us, you not wanting them, you not willing to take the burden of them, you not willing to safeguard them, that we quitclaim them to the world, purely in the interest of your philanthropy and of your vaunted love of liberty."

She would have said to us, "You have no interest in the Philippines; you have never been in the Philippines except during this war; Philippines or their people had no relation to the inception of the war; you are there only by the accident of war; you have no property interests there; you allege no violated treaties with reference to the Philippines, and you have no foundation upon which a nation, victorious in war, dealing justly with a defeated antagonist, can demand, simply for reasons of sentimentality, our relinquishment of title and sovereignty over this last great possession, as we agreed in the protocol and agree in the treaty to do as to Cuba."

Mr. President, it was thought by many, too, that that would have left them, if Spain had been willing to relinquish the Philippines, we not taking them, to a strife among the nations for their possession; and, more than that, to an internecine strife among the many tribes of different characteristics, of different grades of civilization, which would have shocked the world.

So I thought that the treaty ought to be ratified. I voted for its ratification, containing, as it did, the cession of Porto Rico and of the Philippine Archipelago to the United States. I said at the time, Mr. President, that if, in my judgment, it committed the country to permanent dominion in the Philippines, I would not vote for its ratification.

Mr. President, it was, and is still, insisted and eloquently argued that the treaty should have been so amended that by its terms we should sustain the same relation to the Philippines which we do as to Cuba. If Spain could have been brought to consent to it, which there is no good reason to believe, subsequent events have made plain the absolute impossibility of our successfully sustaining the same relation to the Filipinos that we sustain as to Cuba.

Cuba is near at hand, with a small population, comparatively, who knew us, believed in us, and were grateful to us. Spain had surrendered Cuba and her cities to us, and we were military occupants.

The Philippines are 7,000 miles away, with a population of eight or ten millions of many tribes, strangers to us, easily prejudiced against us, with an alleged government really hostile to us, as I

will show. *Even under cession of title and sovereignty we have not been able to avert attack and hostility begun before ratification of the treaty.*

It is idle now to suppose that Aguinaldo would have consented to our doing in the Philippines what we are doing and will do in Cuba in the way of establishing a stable government. With no cession of the archipelago, and with the hostility of the Tagalos, we should have been obliged to use force, *without even claim of title or sovereignty*; remain only in Manila, or withdraw from the islands. What many of us thought then has been abundantly demonstrated since.

We had taken Manila. That was a complication not to be overlooked. The Spaniards had gone back to the mother country, and when we drove the Spaniards out of Manila, when our soldiers marched into that city and the flag of the United States floated over it, what did it mean? It meant that we had driven out the power which protected the inhabitants of that city, and had taken upon ourselves the duty of protecting its inhabitants; and there has never been a day since the 13th day of August, when Manila was captured—and I say it without fear of successful contradiction—when the United States, without cowardice, and absolute dishonor, could have withdrawn her troops from Manila and sailed away.

Many of us thought so when we voted upon the treaty. We know it now, Mr. President. The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] referred to it in his speech. Aguinaldo's secretary of the interior, who was also a member of his staff, issued a proclamation or order calling on the Filipinos in Manila and elsewhere to join in the massacre of every foreigner. It was dated February 15, 1899.

Here is the second clause of the order, Mr. President. Men who talk about civilization over there, who draw parallels between the greatest leaders for liberty in history and some of the half-caste leaders in the Philippines, who have seemed to exult sometimes in coupling with the name of Aguinaldo the name of Washington, can find no comfort in this production:

2. Philippine families only will be respected. They should not be molested; but all other individuals of whatever race they may be will be exterminated without any compassion after the extermination of the army of occupation.

That is not simply the father. It is the mother, the wife, the sons, and the daughters. It is those of mature years and the little ones—the family.

Was ever anything worse than that? And who made this order? Teodoro Sandico. Who was he? One of the men closest to Aguinaldo; a member of the junta in Hongkong, present at the meeting of the junta on May 5, and largely governing its deliberations by his ability and his will; one of the thirteen chosen by Aguinaldo to accompany him to Manila; secretary of the interior, and a staff officer; one of the three men whom one of our consuls mentioned in his correspondence—Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and Sandico—as men of great ability who would be leaders anywhere, in any affair.

And when Senators introduce the proposition to withdraw our army now from Manila, with Englishmen there, with Germans there, with Spaniards there, with Hollanders there, with Frenchmen there, and Americans there, with their wives and their children, and their property, and with friendly Filipinos there, against whom vengeance has been sworn, Mr. President, they make a proposition which in the end they themselves would hesitate to adopt.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to ask the Senator what proof he has of the verity of this order?

Mr. SPOONER. What proof has the Senator of the verity of

the immense number of things he has uttered on the floor of the Senate? I have the same. It was sent here. Where did the Senator from Massachusetts get this?

Mr. LODGE. It is in the official report of General Otis. It was published.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I say now that Sandico never issued the order, and that they can not produce any proof of it, and that it was got up for the purpose of influencing the people of this country.

Mr. DAVIS. I should like to say that I applied to the War Department six months ago for a copy of that order, having read about it in the papers, and received that as an authenticated verity.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I say to the Senate Sandico never issued it.

Mr. DAVIS. How do you know?

Mr. SPOONER. Did Sandico tell you?

Mr. PETTIGREW. When an order of that sort is produced here, some proof of it ought to be produced. What I say is this: My proof is good as to that. That order was issued by the parties in Manila who are in the habit of issuing orders of that sort, even under Spanish rule, for the purpose of prejudicing the case of the insurgents, and that no proof of it can be produced that it emanated from Sandico. The simple fact that it was sent here from the War Department is no evidence.

Mr. SPOONER. I have seen a cablegram to Manila asking who issued this order and one replying that it was Teodoro Sandico.

Mr. PETTIGREW. That is no proof that Sandico issued it. I deny it and I dispute it, and you can not bring the proof.

Mr. SPOONER. The trouble with the Senator is that everybody is a liar who does not help make a case against this Government. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. PETTIGREW. That will not answer. Until the proof is produced that Sandico issued that order it has no business here, and there is no such proof.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, it is here and it will stay here. [Applause in the galleries.]

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin will suspend for a moment. There must not be applause in the galleries.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask that the rules of the Senate be enforced, and that if manifestations of approval or disapproval are repeated, the galleries be cleared.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The rules of the Senate require that there shall be no applause in the galleries, and if it is insisted on the galleries must be cleared. The Chair trusts that the rules will be observed.

Mr. SPOONER. I shall read extracts from a number of papers. If the Senator calls upon me for what in court would be evidence of authenticity, I can not give it, any more than I suppose the Senator can make original proof of many of the statements which he has made here and which undoubtedly he believes.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will say that so far as the statements I made are concerned I brought the proof from the official record.

Mr. SPOONER. What record?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Document 62, transmitted to us by the President.

Mr. SPOONER. What proof?

Mr. PETTIGREW. That was good proof as against the Administration, but it is not good proof as against the insurgents, where there is no other evidence. Simply the transmission of the statement is not good proof.

Mr. SPOONER. I had supposed until now that an official report of General Otis was an official document. Am I wrong about that?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Does the Senator ask me the question?

Mr. SPOONER. Any way.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It would be Otis's official report, but then when Otis undertakes to say that somebody else did something, he may believe it, but that is not proof that the other person did it.

Mr. SPOONER. No?

Mr. PETTIGREW. That is the point.

Mr. SPOONER. That is on the basis of the man——

Mr. PETTIGREW. But further than that, in General Otis's reports we get fragments of the truth, a censored press, withheld information, which gives a false coloring to the facts; and for proof of that I refer to the statement signed by the Associated Press correspondents and the correspondents of all the newspapers last year, which is conclusive. It has not been denied.

Mr. SPOONER. Conclusive of what?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Conclusive that Otis did not give us the full facts; that the reports do not cover the whole ground, and that they are garbled statements of the truth.

Mr. SPOONER. That was a very interesting observation the first time I heard it, for I have heard the Senator say that a great many times.

I think that Gen. Otis in command over there would have very much better facilities for ascertaining accurately the truth than the Senator from South Dakota, and, so far as I am concerned in this discussion, I take as prima facie established statements in the official documents of this Government, and when Gen. Otis embodies this order in a report of his and when upon a cablegram he furnishes the name of its author, I take the liberty of believing it and of asserting it. The fact that this is official puts the burden of proof upon the Senator. His facilities for obtaining accurate information over there may be better than those of Gen. Otis, but I think not.

All I read that order for is to show that when men glibly talk about withdrawing our army from the Philippines they forget that we have a solemn duty to discharge there in the protection of the people of that city, and they make a proposition which even in the heat of a Presidential election can never meet the commendation of the American people when they stop to consider it.

Mr. President, I do not intend to spend time in discussing the power of this Government to accept the cession of the Philippines. I discussed that in the speech which I submitted upon the treaty. That we have the power to make war and to make peace is admitted. That we have the power in making a treaty of peace, to accept as indemnity from a conquered government territory, inhabited or uninhabited, has been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States and has been established by the practice of the Government from the beginning.

If it were otherwise, if there were no such provision in the Constitution as the war-making, the treaty-making power, the fact that the framers of this Government created a nation carries with it all the elements of sovereignty and all of the elements of national power which inhere in national sovereignty anywhere, unless by some part of our Constitution it is apparent that those powers were intended not to exist. I certainly do not find the limitations contended for.

It has been said that this was not a conquest, and a letter from Judge Day, written to some person last fall, was cited by one Sen-

ator, in which it was stated that it was not a conquest, but was a purchase. Mr. President, if anything could be plain in the use of the English language it is plain from the protocols, printed and laid before the Senate, that the United States demanded a cession of the Philippines, and that it was yielded to by Spain under protest as a conquered power.

I have the profoundest respect for Judge Day. He is a man of very great ability, a man whose opportunities for accurate knowledge upon the subject are better than mine, of course, but I can read the protocols; I know the history so far as the world knows it; I know the attitude of some of his confreres; and I am not willing to accept the proposition that the acquisition of the Philippines was a mere purchase, just as if we had not emerged from a war, and as if this were a treaty of purchase instead of being a treaty of peace. Spain did not willingly part with that last jewel in her crown which had shone there for three hundred and fifty years. It was exacted as indemnity, as California was, and became a "ceded conquest."

Mr. President, it has been said and argued with much of spirit and elaboration that we had no power to take the Philippine Archipelago without the consent of the inhabitants. If anything is settled in international law, I think it is settled and must be settled that the doctrine of "the consent of the governed" can not be made applicable to inhabited territory exacted from a conquered power at the end of a war.

Mr. Hall, who is one of the ablest writers on international law, says:

The principle that the wishes of the population are to be consulted when the territory which they inhabit is ceded has not yet been adopted into international law, and can not be adopted into it until title by conquest has disappeared.

If that were not true, no Territorial indemnity could ever be exacted at the end of a war, if it were inhabited, without first obtaining the consent of the inhabitants, subjects of the conquered power, bound to them by association and ties of different kinds. It would be very easy to defeat the demand for indemnity if the inhabitants were induced to object. No other government ever has held to that doctrine, nor has ours; and I maintain that the founders of this Government did not intend that in the essential matter of national and international power it should be below the other governments of the earth.

Much has been said about the Declaration of Independence, especial reference being had to these phrases:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Veneration for the Declaration is universal in this country. Our people have been taught from boyhood to revere it. I am not willing that those of us who do not find in anything there written obstruction to the performance of what we consider a national duty should be charged, without denial, with abandonment of its principles. I can not spend much time upon it. Certainly no phrase in it is of more importance than the assertion that "All men are created equal."

That this is abstractly true I do not deny. That it ever has been capable in any country, under any government, of literal application or fulfillment no one will assert. That it were universally true all good men wish. That it ever will be universally true under government conducted by men the most optimistic dare not hope. In few countries has it been less true than in this Republic. In some

countries it is quite as true in the practical affairs of life and government as it is in our own.

It is not easy to forget that the man who penned those words was at the time he wrote them himself the owner of men and women and children. True, his mind revolted against the ownership of human beings by human beings, and later he transmitted his slaves. By his own conduct he construed this declaration as we all believe it, but he could not enforce his construction of it among his countrymen.

Some of the men who adopted the Declaration of Independence with that clause in it framed the Constitution of the United States, and in that Constitution was a recognition of human slavery; not only that, but a clause the purpose of which was solely to protect human slavery, a clause which the Supreme Court of the United States held to sustain the fugitive-slave law, making slave hunters of men whose souls revolted not only from that function but from the institution itself: a Constitution under the operation of which for seventy-five years millions of people—and I do not utter this in any spirit of partisanship—were held in shackles; every tie which binds a man to wife, to child, to home, possible to be broken; the wife sold away from the husband, the husband sold away from the wife; the daughter, the pet and pride of the cabin, sold to the arms of a brute; the little toddling infant the idol of the mother's heart, the light of the little plain home, no *right* there, there by the sufferance of an *owner*; and all that was lawful under the Constitution of the United States interpreted by the Declaration of Independence.

To enlarge the application of the declared equality among men required at the end of three-quarters of a century, a dreadful strife between brothers and friends, an immeasurable sacrifice of life and happiness and treasure, and all in violation, as they thought, of that clause of the Declaration. "Governments * * * instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

For, Mr. President, I think the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McCUMBER] was accurate in his statement the other day that the rebellion against the Federal Government was necessarily based primarily upon this doctrine, "the consent of the governed," involving, also, secondarily, the question whether the people of the revolting States had not disabled themselves from withdrawing from a Union to whose government they objected, that they might establish one for themselves which would "derive its just powers from the consent of the governed."

Mr. TILLMAN. I had always supposed that the civil war grew out of the difference of construction as to whether the Constitution was a compact between confederated states or whether it was a Union of States that was inseparable under any conditions; in other words, whether we were a confederacy or a nation.

Mr. SPOONER. In one way that was involved in it.

Mr. TILLMAN. Was not that the only issue involved?

Mr. SPOONER. No, sir.

Mr. TILLMAN. Of course slavery—

Mr. SPOONER. If we had been governing you with your consent, the question never would have arisen. It was because the South thought—most of them thought—that there was a purpose on the part of the people of the North to invade the rights of the States, to interfere with your domestic affairs, which justified you in revolution, which led your people to say, "We can not be governed under this Constitution or as members of the Union any more."

Then arose the question whether the Constitution stood in the way of your assertion of that right of revolution—in other words, of your withdrawal of a consent to be governed any longer under the Constitution by the Federal Government.

Mr. TILLMAN. The seed of war was sown with the Constitution when it was adopted, for the reason that the contention on the part of the South of the rights of the States had led to nullification thirty years before the war in the assertion of the right of a State not to be governed against its will in certain things by the Federal Government.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, Mr. President, the seed of war was sown in the Constitution. I am not disposed to disagree with the Senator about that. It was sown in the Constitution, I have always thought, when political power was given to the owners of human property, and when there was put into the hearts and purpose of a part of our people the motive to enlarge the ownership of that property, to increase it, and to multiply it, thereby under the Constitution acquiring greater power in the electoral college and in the House of Representatives.

Mr. TILLMAN. This is a bootless discussion——

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. TILLMAN. And I would not have entered into it but for the fact that the Senator turned to me and in a manner somewhat personal made some allusion.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not think the Senator ought to blame me for turning to him. He is a very attractive man.

Mr. TILLMAN. I thank the Senator.

Mr. SPOONER. But I did not——

Mr. TILLMAN. Just one other thought, and then I will get out of the Senator's way, if he objects. There never would have been any Constitution or any Union of States but for the recognition of those very things which the Senator says were put in there for other purposes. The Southern States, after they had gained their independence from Great Britain, never would have consented to ratify the Constitution or to join the Union but for the recognition of that property which had been sent South by the Northern people after it had become of very little use there. We will not go back to those old matters, though.

Mr. SPOONER. I want to have an understanding with the Senator from South Carolina that when I look at him accidentally it does not involve a challenge.

Mr. TILLMAN. Well, if the Senator would not allude to something I have already discussed here somewhat—I would say to the displeasure of the Senator from Wisconsin—I would not have entered into this matter at all. I know that is useless for us to go over all those old questions. We are face to face with what we are to do in the Philippines and how we are to get rid of this war.

Mr. SPOONER. It is a fact, Mr. President, that by a long and bloody war we forced them to remain under a government against their consent, to which, thank God, now, I believe, they give universal consent, as they give unquestioned loyalty.

These abstract propositions of the Declaration, as I have said on another occasion, were asserted as justification for revolution, and it has often happened, and will often happen, that their wider and juster application in the practical affairs of this world can only be brought about and secured through years of agitation and unrest and sometimes through years of bloodshed and strife. But I can not dwell longer upon this.

Time has shown that the President was right, I think, in not contenting himself in negotiating the treaty, as I thought at one time he should have been, with taking a cession of Manila. It has been abundantly demonstrated that we could not have held Manila without great trouble, it being the capital of the Philippine Archipelago, dependent upon the islands for its domestic supplies and its commerce. Time and events have afforded abundant justification for that. Nor could we have held—I think it has been demonstrated—Luzon alone. In a word, I think the judgment of the President and his commissioners that we should take all or none has been overwhelmingly vindicated for obvious reasons.

But it is stoutly contended that Spain, even if we had the power to acquire the archipelago, had no power to convey it to us, because she did not possess it. It is said that hers was only a naked legal title, so to speak, a paper title, and that the treaty therefore conveyed to us no property and only a right of sovereignty; in other words, that it conveyed to us *only people* and a few public buildings and works, and that while we may acquire *territory* and exercise sovereignty over it incidental to ownership, we can not acquire mere sovereignty. We did not acquire much but sovereignty when we acquired Porto Rico, which still is without criticism.

I am told, Mr. President—and it comes from Mr. MacArthur, who was secretary of the Philippine Commission—that by the cession of the Philippines we did in fact acquire, as nearly as it can be ascertained now, crown lands covering about one-third of that vast area. Had Spain a title to convey to us? The foundation of the speeches of this day upon the Philippine question is the assertion that she had not. She had when the war broke out, did she not, Mr. President? Will anyone challenge the title and sovereignty of Spain upon the first day of May, when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet?

Spain held Manila. Spain held by her troops all of the seacoast and the seaports. Spain held and carried on the municipal governments. Spain, everywhere, Mr. President, was in absolute control throughout the archipelago as fully as she ever had been. It is vain for any man to assert that when the war broke out there was from any standpoint any defect in the title and ownership of Spain to the Philippine Archipelago. She had it by prescription, and she had it by virtue of her possession and her control of it. Even Aguinaldo, in his "True Version," which contains a number of interesting statements (I hope they will not be challenged by my friend from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] upon the ground that they are not official), says:

Spain maintained control of the Philippine Islands for more than three centuries and a half, during which period the tyranny, misconduct and abuses of the Friars and the civil and military administration exhausted the patience of the natives and caused them to make a desperate effort to shake off the unbearable galling yoke on the 26th and 31st of August, 1896, then commencing the revolution in the provinces of Manila and Cavite.

Spain's title had been recognized by the world, including ourselves, up to that time. Mere dissatisfaction with the government, as suggested by a distinguished Senator here the other day, does not work a change of sovereignty; and although Spain had been tyrannical beyond expression, although there had many times been revolts, although the people had become desperate in their oppression, every revolt had been suppressed, sometimes accompanied by promises of reforms and sometimes accompanied by reforms.

Mr. STEWART. And sometimes by bribery.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; sometimes, perhaps, by bribery. It has been said that the insurrection of 1896 was in progress when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet, and much has been made of a statement contained in a telegram from Mr. Williams, the consul at Manila,

as to battles, organized forces of insurrectionists, one statement, I remember, being that there were 5,000 armed insurrectionists in the vicinity of Manila. It must be remembered that Mr. Williams had been there, I think, only about a month. He was obliged to rely upon the statements of those with whom he conversed. He was evidently deceived by the characteristic exaggeration of the Spaniard and the Filipino.

Another thing, Mr. President; it is very manifest from a perusal of all the documents that, however much he wished to be accurate, he was credulous and was led sometimes into misinformation. It is not possible upon the facts that there was any organized insurrection in the Philippine Archipelago when the Spanish fleet was destroyed. *Aguinaldo and his associates were in exile.*

When the \$400,000 was paid over to Aguinaldo and his associates in Hongkong, under the agreement of Biak-na-Bato, by a son of Primo de Rivera, that night Rivera gave a banquet, at which Aguinaldo and his associates and others were present, and at the conclusion of it, the host, having made complimentary allusion to Aguinaldo and his associates as Spanish subjects, Aguinaldo, it is stated to me by one who claims to have been present, arose with a wine-glass in his hand and proposed a toast to the Queen of Spain as the fairest and noblest monarch that had ever lived, coupling the name of the young king. That might have been insincere.

But they were there, Mr. President. We do not know how much money was paid to Aguinaldo. We know that \$400,000 were paid. We know that the promised payments were part of the consideration for which he surrendered his arms and consented to exile. I am not to call it a bribe, nor do I say how much of it, if any, was appropriated by Aguinaldo for purposes of his own. So far as I know, I feel no warrant for saying that. In answering indictments against the Administration, charging tyranny, with declaring and waging a war of subjugation upon a helpless, civilized people, it becomes necessary to look a little into the evidence upon which these allegations are based. One thing is very clear, that not a dollar of that money had been expended prior to the time Aguinaldo went to Manila in the purchase of arms for the insurrectionists in the archipelago. It rather looks as if the insurrection of 1896 was not very much of an insurrection in some ways. Aguinaldo speaking of it, says:

General Polavieja advanced against the revolutionary forces with 16,000 men armed with Mausers and one field battery. He had scarcely reconquered half of Cavite Province when he resigned, owing to bad health. That was in April, 1897.

Polavieja was succeeded by the veteran Gen. Don Fernando Primo de Rivera, who had seen much active service. As soon as Rivera had taken over command of the forces he personally led his army in the assault upon and pursuit of the revolutionary forces, and so firmly, as well as humanely, was the campaign conducted, that he soon reconquered the whole of Cavite province and drove the insurgents into the mountains.

Then I established my headquarters in the wild and unexplored mountain fastness of Biak-na-bato, where I formed the republican government—

“Where I formed the republican government”—

of the Philippines at the end of May, 1897.

He formed it, I presume, by proclamation. Then in December that insurrection came to an end by the agreement at Biak-na-bato. That agreement provided for the payment of certain moneys, for certain reforms, for the exile of Aguinaldo and some of his associates, *for the surrender of all the arms of the insurrectionists*; and that being done, singing of the Te Deum, and after that the payment. How many arms were to be surrendered? *One thousand stand of arms.* Aguinaldo says:

We, the revolutionaries, discharged our obligation to surrender our arms..

which were over 1,000 stand, as everybody knows, it having been published in the Manila newspapers.

They have more confidence in Manila newspapers, I think, than some people seem to have in newspaper statements in this country once in a while. They had surrendered their arms. Aguinaldo says so, and therefore from December, the end of the making of that treaty and the surrender of the "arms" under it, the Filipinos were practically without arms and without an organized insurrection.

Mr. TILLMAN. I would remind the Senator that some of these communications—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina will suspend. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, yes.

Mr. TILLMAN. In some of these official communications in Document 62 it is stated that Aguinaldo and those of his lieutenants who made that treaty were suspected of treachery, and that a large number of his followers did not give up their arms.

Mr. SPOONER. It is not a question of suspicion; it is a question of fact. We can not get at it absolutely. All we can do is to approximate it as nearly as we can.

Mr. TILLMAN. I only point—

Mr. SPOONER. There is no reason to suppose and, so far as I can find, there is nothing in all these papers and all the evidence at hand to warrant the assertion that on May 1, when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet, there was any organized insurrection of any moment in the Philippines. There may have been parties of brigands and parties of insurgents, but I mean there was no organized insurrection, and Admiral Dewey says in his report that "there was no insurrection to speak of."

Mr. TILLMAN. The only point, if the Senator will pardon me for a moment, is that although our consul, Mr. Williams, may have just arrived there and may have been misled, at that time we were at peace with Spain and had no reason to suppose we were going to war; and his dispatches repeatedly stated that they were fighting very near Manila; that the wounded were brought in daily and all that sort of thing, tending to show that there was an insurrection going on against the Spanish government at the time when the battle of Manila was fought and for two or three months previously.

Mr. SPOONER. The commission reports and Admiral Dewey says that at that time there was "no insurrection to speak of."

Mr. TILLMAN. There was not near as much as we have got on our hands now, I acknowledge.

Mr. SPOONER. Now, Mr. President, the only arms purchased by Aguinaldo for use in the Philippines, that I can find any mention of after the agreement of Biak-na-bato, were the 1,999 or the 2,000 which he purchased in Hongkong as he was about to leave for Manila; and no one. I think, has ground for asserting at all that when Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet Spain's power in the Philippines had been in the slightest degree affected or impaired by any body of insurgents. Aguinaldo obtained some arms from Admiral Dewey. He proclaimed quickly, for I can not go into details, a dictatorship. He had some trouble at first, as stated by the Senator from Massachusetts and as shown by the evidence, in gathering people around him.

He succeeded, however, in raising a considerable number of men—some put it at 30,000 and some at 15,000—in the vicinity of Manila, armed with a comparatively small number of rifles and a large number of bolos. It is, of course, impossible to ascertain with certainty.

In "The true version of the Philippine revolution," signed by Aguinaldo, and dated Tarlak, September 23, 1899, he refers to three *battles*, which he regarded as "glorious triumphs." Two hundred and seventy Spanish naval infantry were his antagonists in the first one. He says:

The battle raged from 10 a. m. to 3 p. m., when the Spaniards ran out of ammunition, and surrendered, with all their arms, to the Filipino revolutionists, who took their prisoners to Cavite. (Page 24.)

In commemoration of that "glorious achievement" he hoisted his national flag. He adds:

The second triumph was effected at Binakayan, at a place known as Polvorin, where the Spanish garrison, consisting of about 250 men, was attacked by our raw levies, and surrendered in a few hours, their stock of ammunition being completely exhausted.

Here he again availed himself "of the opportunity to hoist our national flag." The third and last of the victories which he chronicles in detail occurred at about the same time, at Bakoor. He says, page 26:

The garrison consisted of about 300 men, who surrendered to the revolutionary army when their ammunition was exhausted.

Not only were these troops of Spain dispirited by the destruction of the Spanish fleet, by the war existing between the United States and Spain, which rendered it impossible for Spain to send reinforcements to them, but they were scant of ammunition, and Aguinaldo, moving along through the country, obtaining what arms he could—and he bought more later from Hongkong—armed his men. Some native troops who had enlisted under the Spanish banner deserted. He sent them from place to place in the various provinces, not so much to capture Spaniards as to bring about insurrection and revolt in those communities.

He speaks in general terms of "triumph after triumph" following in quick succession, "evidencing the power, resolution and ability of the inhabitants of the Philippines to rid themselves of any foreign yoke and exist as an independent state."

May 24 he declared the dictatorial government and that he had assumed the duties and responsibilities of the head of such government.

On the 12th of June, by his statement, he proclaimed the independence of the *inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago*. Later he proclaimed a republic. He adopted a constitution. He had, it is said, a congress and an army. It is easy to draft a constitution. It is easy for a dictator to appoint members of congress. But the evidence satisfies one that they were not representative men. He did not hold Manila. He did not hold Iloilo. On the 6th day of August, in a proclamation addressed to foreign governments, he said:

The said revolution now rules in the provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Mindora, Tayabas, Laguna, Morong, Bulacan, Bataan, Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Pangasinan, Union, Infanta, Zambales, and it holds besieged the capital of Manila.

Professor Worcester says of this statement:

In other words, he claimed to control the Tagalog provinces, and practically nothing more.

It has been urged that there was a government there which we in honor ought to have recognized—a Philippine republic. Upon what theory can it be contended, on the strength of this proclamation, in which he certainly did not minimize the extent of his control, that there was a Philippine republic, declared by its constitution to embrace not only the Tagalog provinces, but the Philippine Archipelago. What were its boundaries?

What was its "government" controlling the Philippine Archipelago? Did it afford protection to life, to liberty, to property? Was it able to discharge the primary duties of a government or international obligations—an ability which upon settled principles of international law must precede recognition of independence? Can any Senator give to the country information going into those details which governments must go into upon such a question, of a government existing in the Tagalog provinces or in the Philippines entitled to recognition?

Buencamino, a former cabinet minister of Aguinaldo, says in a recent interview:

In our independent government the most predominant notes were abuses and immoralities, the offspring of ignorance, and the inherited vices of Spain, by which the Filipino regime was rendered odious to our people.

He ought to know.

The proposition is a fantastic one. It would be a laughable one, Mr. President, if there were not constantly based upon it in the country the charge of dishonor against this Government as now conducted.

On the 12th day of August the protocol was signed. The protocol embodied terms of temporary peace. Up to that day the subjects of Spain in the Philippines were in law the enemies of the United States, except those individuals who were cooperating with us or acting as auxiliaries. There was no Philippine nation. The idea that between the last of May and the 12th of August there could have been organized by Aguinaldo, honest, if you choose to so call him—I will speak of that before I shall have finished—a government capable of discharging the duties of a government, domestic and international, over and of a people who had never known any government but Spain, who never had been permitted to participate in government, is too idle to seriously assert.

By the protocol it was provided that there should be a suspension of hostilities, and in the treaty which was to be negotiated there should be settled "the control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Archipelago." That was a solemn covenant entered into between Spain and the United States.

On the 13th day of August, in violation of the protocol so far as it suspended hostilities, and in ignorance of it, our troops captured Manila, with 13,000 Spanish soldiers and their arms. Strictly we would have been obliged to restore Manila to the Spanish troops, to restore the *status quo*; but as the protocol provided that we should hold Manila pending the negotiation and settlement of the treaty, we remained in the city.

What happened after that? I am not going into the detail of it. Aguinaldo sent troops into different parts of Luzon and into some of the other islands. He starved out here and there a Spanish regiment or garrison, their spirit broken, hostilities suspended, the future control and government of the Philippines left an open question. The Spaniards still held Iloilo. They still held the coast cities. They still were able wherever they were in any force to maintain themselves against the Filipinos; and it is, to my mind, an idle and empty thing to say that during the months which intervened between the signing of the protocol and the execution of the treaty "Aguinaldo conquered the Spaniards." He "conquered" where there was no substantial resistance. He simply took possession of his own people, his own kith and kin, so far as the Tagal provinces were concerned, stirring up insurrection wherever he could in other provinces.

I will not take the time to show the character of his government.

It is abundantly established that it was not a government of law. It is abundantly established that it did not, if it could, and doubtless it could not if it would, discharge the primary duties of a government. Property was taken as loot. Liberty was not respected. Contributions were enforced everywhere, which went not into his treasury, if he had a treasury, but very often went to enrich the men who were presiding for him in the communities.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. And, Mr. President, when Iloilo surrendered, Iloilo did not surrender to Aguinaldo. The treaty of peace had been entered into, and Spain had instructed General Rios to abandon Iloilo and withdraw her garrison into another part of the island. Why? Because contingently she had parted with the Philippines, and because it was deemed an useless waste of blood to longer contend there, if contention might arise.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. And before they could evacuate that city and one or two other places the insurrectionists attacked them and were badly defeated.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. What is it the Senator wants to ask?

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from Wisconsin is a fair man, and I would ask him whether there was any greater disorder in the Philippines, as shown by the report of the naval officers traveling through the island of Luzon, than might have been supposed inevitable in a transition from tyranny in the case of a people just released? Necessarily there were some abuses, but not more than we have witnessed in all the South American republics.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, yes; "just released" from the tyranny of Spain, by whom?

Mr. TILLMAN. Aguinaldo and those who were like him—the other Filipinos, of course.

Mr. SPOONER. Released from the tyranny of Spain by Aguinaldo! But for the advent of Dewey's fleet—

Mr. TILLMAN. Oh, we will not dispute about that.

Mr. SPOONER. Aguinaldo would still have been in Hongkong in all human probability.

Mr. TILLMAN. And the Spaniards in Habana.

Mr. SPOONER. And very likely the Spaniards in Habana.

Mr. TILLMAN. If we had to run them out.

Mr. SPOONER. If the Spanish fleet had not happened to be in Manila Harbor, but had been found by Dewey on the open sea, the Spaniards might not have been in Habana, and yet the Spaniards would have remained in the Philippines. That the Spanish fleet was destroyed in Manila Harbor, that it happened to be there, was one of the fortunes or accidents of war.

The suggestion that the liberation of the Philippine Archipelago from Spain was wrought by Aguinaldo, is stated in this book by him, but it ought not to be stated here. In the Philippines, as in Cuba, the lion in the pathway of Spain was not the insurrectionists. It was the United States; but when the Spaniards evacuated Iloilo, they did it because we, having conquered Spain, having destroyed the power of Spain practically in the Philippines, she surrendered them to us. It was because of our power, not Aguinaldo's, and after the Spaniards had marched out Aguinaldo marched in. That is all there was of it. There was no conquest about it.

Men talk about our waging a war of conquest against the Philippine republic or people. We have done no such thing. We did not obtain the Philippines, to which I think we have a perfect title, by any conquest of the so-called Philippine republic, by any conquest of the Philippine people; but by conquest of Spain.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. And, Mr. President, I appeal to the American people if it be not true that the inspiration and thought which led the President and the Senate to take that cession, and the country to approve it, was that thereby we could more effectually liberate the Philippine people from Spain and more easily lift them up from the blighting and paralyzing effect of long-continued Spanish tyranny.

What does the Senator from South Carolina want?

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Philippine people are not subjugated, and are not being subjugated, why have we to keep 65,000 men there, and why have they been fifteen months passing from point to point in the islands, shooting down and killing wherever they were opposed, and yet to-day, in this morning's dispatches, we are told that our Army is withdrawing from the interior to the coast towns during the rainy season, of course simply because the opposition and hatred of the people is such that it can not be said that they are any thing else but rebels, fighting for their liberty, whatever that may mean?

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, "Rebels fighting for their liberty!" We acquired title to the Philippine Archipelago from Spain.

Mr. TILLMAN. That is a legal question.

Mr. SPOONER. The resolution of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON] recognizes that, and is based upon that. That treaty has been said to have been a declaration of war. Was it? If so, the men who are making that charge and imputing to the ratification of that treaty the ensuing hostilities ought not to do so. That treaty—

Mr. TILLMAN. The declaration of war was the proclamation of the President issued in December, in which he declared the purpose of this Government was to benevolently assimilate the Philippine Islands.

Mr. SPOONER. The President did not issue any proclamation in December.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator has studied the question very thoroughly, but he is mistaken there.

Mr. SPOONER. I think not.

Mr. TILLMAN. General Otis said he took the liberty of censoring or leaving out some things in the President's proclamation which he thought might precipitate a conflict.

Mr. SPOONER. General Otis never took anything out of the "proclamation" of the President.

Mr. TILLMAN. General Otis says so himself.

Mr. SPOONER. He does not say so himself, as I remember. The Senator is mistaken.

Mr. TILLMAN. I can prove that he did.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, why is it that we have 65,000 troops in the Philippines, if that is the number? Why is it that we have been pressing forward and forward? What is it for? To subjugate an independent people? No. It is to enforce the authority of the United States over territory which we acquired.

Mr. BACON rose.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Senator wish to interrupt me?

Mr. BACON. Not until the Senator finishes his sentence.

Mr. SPOONER. I have done.

Mr. BACON. I dislike to interrupt the Senator and would not do so except that his allusion to me has been direct, and my silence might be misconstrued.

M. SPOONER. I would not misconstrue my friend's silence.

Mr. BACON. But others might. I do not think the Senator from Wisconsin would.

The Senator argued as to the title of the United States and disputed the fact that it is in any manner based upon conquest. While he does not say so directly, his remark would evidently leave the impression, in referring to the resolution offered by myself, that a similar basis of title was recognized by me. I desire to say to the Senator—and I beg his pardon for the interruption, for I purposed not to interrupt him—that my position with regard to that matter is this: I do think that the Government of the United States now has a good title. I think that title was based also upon a purchase of a very imperfect title, which has since been made good by the United States Army by conquest.

Mr. SPOONER. I asserted that it was a conquest from Spain.

Mr. BACON. The Senator—

Mr. SPOONER. I am not controverting anything the Senator has said.

Mr. BACON. I do not understand that reply as being intended for me.

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. BACON. I could not interrupt the Senator at the time he made the statement, because he passed so suddenly to another point. I will not, however, interrupt the Senator further.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GALLINGER in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. I hope the Senator will not interrupt me at this moment.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator had not called in question my statement I would not do so.

Mr. SPOONER. What is it the Senator desires?

Mr. TILLMAN. I have here the report of Maj. Gen. E. S. Otis on the military operations and civil affairs in the Philippine Islands, and on page 66 he makes this statement:

After fully considering the President's proclamation and the temper of the Tagalos, with whom I was daily discussing political problems and the friendly intentions of the United States Government toward them, I concluded that there were certain words and expressions therein, such as "sovereignty," "right of cession," and those which directed immediate occupation, etc., though most admirably employed and tersely expressive of actual conditions, might be advantageously used by the Tagalo war party to incite widespread hostilities among the natives.

The ignorant classes had been taught to believe that certain words as "sovereignty," "protection," etc., had peculiar meaning disastrous to their welfare and significant of future political domination, like that from which they had recently been freed. It was my opinion, therefore, that I would be justified in so amending the paper that the beneficent object of the United States Government would be brought clearly within the comprehension of the people, and this conclusion was the more readily reached because of the radical change of the past few days in the constitution of Aguinaldo's government, which could not have been understood at Washington at the time the proclamation was prepared.

* * * * *

The amended proclamation was thereupon prepared, and fearing that General Miller would give publicity to the former, copies of which, if issued, would be circulated soon in Luzon, I again dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Potter to Iloilo, both to ascertain the course of events there and to advise the commanding general of the dangers threatening in Luzon, and which might be augmented if any action was taken which the insurgents could make use of

in furtherance of their unfriendly designs. General Miller thought his action in making publication of the proclamation on January 3 correct, as he had not been instructed to the contrary, and his opinion, he contended, was confirmed by a War Department dispatch which I had directed Colonel Potter to deliver to him, and which he had received on January 6. He was satisfied that the use he had made of the proclamation was that contemplated by the War Department authorities, but it was not long before it was delivered at Malolos and was the object of venomous attack.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Senator intend to read that whole book?

Mr. TILLMAN. Oh, no. I simply wish to prove what I stated, that General Otis amended President McKinley's proclamation; that he took out certain words and substituted others, and sent that amended proclamation to General Miller at Iloilo. He had previously sent the original document to Miller, and Miller had printed the document as the President had sent it to the Filipinos; and that is the way it got out. These are the facts. The Senator disputed them a moment ago.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; and I dispute them now.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then the lie, if there be one, rests on General Otis, and not on me.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, there is no lie about it.

Mr. TILLMAN. There are the facts, taken from the official report; and if you dispute that, I will not state anything more about the reports of anybody.

Mr. SPOONER. What I mean to say was this: That what is called a proclamation there—and the records at the War Department show it—was not a proclamation by the President at all, but was a letter of instructions issued by the President to the Secretary of War, which was to be sent to General Otis to govern him in the discharge of his duties in the Philippines.

Mr. TILLMAN. And as outlining the policy of this Government toward the Filipinos.

Mr. SPOONER. General Otis carried out the President's instructions as General Otis thought best, not using in the proclamation which General Otis did issue the language of the President. That is all there is of that.

Mr. TILLMAN. General Otis himself says that he amended the proclamation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Carolina will please address the Chair. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, the paper speaks for itself; I have seen it at the War Office; and when the Senator examines it, he will see that it was not a proclamation; that it was not intended to be a proclamation. It was nothing the President sent for publication to the Philippine people, but it was a letter of instructions from the President to the Secretary of War, to be by him forwarded to General Otis for his government, upon which General Otis issued a proclamation to the people, explaining his failure to obey in some respects the instructions of the President.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator be kind enough to incorporate the letter or proclamation or whatever it was in his speech.

Mr. SPOONER. What proclamation?

Mr. TILLMAN. The proclamation that General Otis issued after he received it from President McKinley, only taking out of it three or four words.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator will be incorporated in my speech pretty soon. [Laughter.]

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator dislikes my interrupting, I will

promise not to trespass any more, no matter how much he treads on my toes; but I simply could not sit silent here.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not ask that.

Mr. President, we accepted the cession; we ratified the treaty; we acquired, so far as the treaty could give it to us, the Philippine Archipelago; Congress appropriated \$20,000,000; there was fighting and has continued to be fighting in the Philippines; our troops were involved in contest with the Filipinos, and Congress knowing that fact passed a military bill providing for a vast increase in the Army.

It was perfectly understood that a large part of that force, so much as the President might deem necessary, was to be sent to the Philippines. That very law mentions the Philippines as a place in which troops were to serve. What was the President to do but to send troops to the Philippines, Mr. President, and to enforce there the authority of the United States? Could he hesitate, under his oath, upon the assumption that there was any doubt as to our title?

One of the strange phases of this matter now is that men who voted to furnish troops for the President to send to the Philippines criticise him for sending them and criticise him for using them. He was obliged to take it as settled that we had acquired the Philippine Archipelago; that it was his duty to extend the authority of the United States over that archipelago; and he has done so. He notified Congress by his annual message that until Congress indicated a purpose otherwise he should continue to use the troops of the United States in enforcing the authority of this Government in the Philippines. Had he not done so, Mr. President, all things considered, criticism could have been made of him which would have been unanswerable.

Some one asked the other day why the President did not bring about a cessation of hostilities. Upon what basis could he have brought about a cessation of hostilities? Should he have asked Aguinaldo for an armistice? If so, upon what basis should he have requested it? What should he say to him? "Please stop this fighting?" "What for," Aguinaldo would say, "do you propose to retire?" "No." "Do you propose to grant us independence?" "No, not now." "Well, why, then, an armistice?" The President would doubtless be expected to reply: "Some distinguished gentlemen in the United States, members of the United States Senate, and others, have discovered a doubt about our right to be here at all, some doubt whether we have acquired the Philippines, some question as to whether we have correctly read the Declaration of Independence; and I want an armistice until we can consult and determine finally whether we have acquired the Philippines or not, whether we are violating the Declaration of Independence or not, whether we are trampling upon the Constitution or not." That is practically the proposition.

No, Mr. President, men may say in criticism of the President what they choose. He has been grossly insulted in this Chamber, and it appears upon the record. He has gone his way patiently, exercising the utmost forbearance, all his acts characterized by a desire to do precisely what the Congress had placed upon him by its ratification of the treaty and its increase of the Army. He has done it in a way to impress upon the Filipinos, so far as language and action could do it, his desire and the desire of our people to do them good, to give them the largest possible measure of liberty, civil, religious, and individual, and to give them, as rapidly as may be, participation in the government out there.

He has done it all in disregard of hostile criticism, embarrassment, and complication of the situation vastly intensified and enhanced here at home; but he has done what under his oath he was obliged to do. He has gone forward with the Army of the United States and the flag of the United States to enforce the authority of the United States and obedience to it over territory of the United States. Any President of any party, if faithful to his high trust, could not have done otherwise.

Wednesday, May 23, 1900.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that it was impossible for me yesterday to conclude the remarks which I desire to submit upon this bill, and I express again my grateful sensibility to the Senate for the courtesy which permits me to conclude to-day. No one could be more anxious than I am, for personal reasons, to yield the floor to others.

I had referred to the protocol of August 12. It changed the entire status. What I mean by that is this: After the protocol was signed, agreeing to the suspension of hostilities, providing for a relinquishment of the title to Cuba and the cession of Porto Rico to the United States, it declared that the United States should *hold and occupy Manila* pending the negotiation of the treaty, which should define or settle "the control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Archipelago." We here bound ourselves by a contract with Spain, as solemn a covenant as one nation ever entered into with another. All compacts between nations rest upon honor, but this was of peculiar force, for the reason that a powerful nation was making covenant with one defeated. From the day that the protocol was entered into we were bound to hold Manila. If we had not, in the absence of knowledge of the protocol by our officers, captured it, by the terms of it Spain would have surrendered it to us and our troops would have taken possession of it.

It is not difficult, I think, to understand that Spain desired we should occupy Manila. It was to secure protection to Manila and to the people of Manila. Senators who criticise, as many have and as many will, the Administration and Gen. Otis for objecting to a joint occupation of Manila by Aguinaldo and our own troops, predicated upon the demand that he withdraw his troops from the suburbs, as an injustice to an ally forget that we could not have *permitted* an insurgent against Spain, pending the negotiation of that treaty, to occupy Manila and its suburbs with us without a breach of national faith.

Nor is that all. It was said here the other day that the United States ought to have recognized, before the protocol was entered into, the independence of the Philippine republic, with Aguinaldo at its head. I will not go further into that at this time. I commented upon it yesterday. To me it is utterly fantastic in its folly from the standpoint of international law, and in this case from the standpoint of justice and national honor.

Those people had already shown that they had no conception of what was necessary to constitute a government. Agoncillo, back in April, had approached one of our consuls—I do not remember which—as a representative of a "Philippine republic" proclaimed the year before at Biak-na-Bato, proffering to the United States, as war with Spain seemed possible at least, a *treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive*, with neither government, laws, troops, flag, seaport, nor any visible power under the sun.

Mr. President, I call attention to this effect of the protocol; no matter what government had been established in the Philippine

Archipelago, from the day the protocol was signed the Government of the United States could not without dishonor have recognized it. That protocol tied the hands of the United States and tied the hands of Spain. Until the ratification of the treaty we could consent to no change of status. Spain could create no change of status. From the moment that international obligation, informal in a way as it was, had been entered into Spain could not have sold the Philippines to any government in the world. We could not attack a Spanish garrison, for hostilities had been suspended. We could recognize no government, whatever it might be, created by insurgents against Spain or in any other way, for it remained an open question, so far as the legal effect of the protocol was concerned, whether at the end of the negotiations Spain might not still hold the Philippines.

It has been said that until hostilities broke out Aguinaldo was our ally. Senators have treated the performances of Aguinaldo after August 12, 1898, the date of the protocol, as acts done in aid of our cause, acts done as an ally of ours. That, Mr. President, is an impossibility. We could not, as I say, have fired a shot at a Spanish soldier or at the Spanish flag anywhere in the Philippine Archipelago, for by agreement hostilities were suspended. No more could Aguinaldo do this as an ally of ours or acting in our interest or by our procurement, for we could not honorably do through another what it would be a breach of honor to do ourselves.

Aguinaldo knew of the protocol, for he was informed in writing by General Otis and General Anderson that the protocol had created international relations and obligations between Spain and ourselves which we must observe, and which we could not observe if we entered into such an agreement as he proposed.

So it must be taken as settled, it can not be escaped, that from the date of the protocol, whatever Aguinaldo did against Spain in the archipelago he did on his own account, and not for the United States, and he did little. As I said yesterday, he simply marched in where Spain marched out in certain places, Iloilo having been abandoned by order of the Spanish Government, Aguinaldo's forces having been unable to take it, after the demand for the cession had been made by our commissioners and after Spain had yielded to it.

Another thing about it, Mr. President. If Aguinaldo had by his troops, after the protocol, captured Iloilo and other cities and extended his military power throughout the Philippines, it is very difficult, as a matter of international law, to see that that could have been efficacious for him or his so-called government as against us. The status could not be changed there by him except in hostility both to Spain and to us, and the principle contended for is not to be admitted.

It might be dangerous in the future to establish the principle that when two great powers engaged in a war with each other, have suspended hostilities pending negotiation of a treaty of peace a part of the citizens of one, inhabiting the territory, can take possession of the municipal governments which have been erected, can take possession of abandoned cities, starve out scattered and disheartened garrisons, and then, when the treaty is concluded, defeat the power of cession or a power of acceptance upon the theory that in the meantime nobody opposing them they had created an "independent government."

I take it that if there had been no insurrection in Cuba and our people had gone to war with Spain upon a *casus belli* of our own—if you please, the destruction of the *Maine*—and that war had proceeded to an end, we had captured Santiago, and captured Habana, the Spanish fleet had destroyed a city or two of ours and then been

sent by our Navy to the bottom, and in treaty of peace Spain had ceded Cuba to the United States, and in the meantime, pending negotiation of the treaty, the inhabitants of Cuba without resistance, under the leadership of some chieftain, had taken possession of interior posts, had starved out here and there a Spanish garrison, had issued proclamation of independence and established in that way a government—call it a republic or call it what you choose—and then had insisted that Spain had lost the power of cession because of the existence of a government formed in this way, the United States would have paid no attention to it. The nations of the world never could allow this doctrine, for all that would be necessary to defeat at the end of a war a cession by way of conquest would be for the ceding or defeated nation to bring about such a change in the status pending negotiations as it is alleged came about here.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Platt of Connecticut). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from Maine?

Mr. SPOONER. I do.

Mr. HALE. I wish to remind the Senator that precisely the situation he has depicted has occurred time and again in history—that where as the result of a war a colony or an island or a dependency has been turned over to the conquering power, the conquering power, finding just the difficulties that he has cited, has abandoned it and been glad to wash its hands of it.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Senator think in the case I have put we would have abandoned Cuba?

Mr. HALE. I think if it had been the best thing finally for us to do we would have done it.

Mr. SPOONER. But, because it would have been the best thing, finally, not because we were obliged to do it.

Mr. HALE. I think if we had found that the population in Cuba was as hostile to us as it had been to the power from which we had got the government, and if we had had the cession made to us, we would have abandoned it and would have been glad to get rid of it.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, that is a matter of opinion. I am of the impression that with Cuba lying so near us, with all the trouble which had come to us from her proximity and the tyranny of Spain in Cuba, the United States in the case I have put would have taken Cuba and held it, giving to the people of Cuba what they never had had before, individual liberty and good government.

Mr. HALE. The Senator has more confidence than I have in the experiment we are trying to-day of teaching to the people of Cuba honesty and good government and good management and good affairs. I do not sympathize with him in the belief that this people has gained anything thus far in what it has taught the Cubans. I think we would have been better off if we had not taught the Cubans the lesson that has been taught in the last few months.

Mr. SPOONER. What lesson?

Mr. HALE. The lesson of fraud, speculation, appropriation of revenues, cheating, stealing—a carnival in every direction of corruption and fraud. I think it would have been very much better if we had not taught those people or tried to teach those people this.

Mr. SPOONER. It is a little tiresome for me to be called upon on this side of the Chamber to reply to a Democratic speech.

Mr. HALE. The Senator is not making any allusion of that kind to me?

Mr. SPOONER. I made this allusion because of the very general language of the Senator, not to impeach his loyalty to the party, which is unimpeachable.

Mr. HALE. I am as good a Republican as the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. I understand that.

Mr. HALE. I do not recognize any line of fealty to party obligation that compels me to consent to the proposition that everything has gone right in Cuba.

Mr. SPOONER. Nobody pretends it.

Mr. HALE. I think the experiment has been a failure. I would vote to-morrow, Republican or Democrat, to withdraw from Cuba and leave that people to establish and set up and maintain their own government. I would keep the proposition that was put into the declaration of war and leave the people there, and there is nothing that has happened since that goes to remove that impression from me. I do not understand that that is a question of party fealty.

I tell the Senator that he has no right, when I get up and protest against things that have occurred, to declare that I am making a Democratic speech. I am making a Republican speech, and the time will come, Mr. President, when Republicans will be glad if we get out of this thing without worse things happening than are happening now. In what I say I am more interested for the Republican party than I am for anything else.

Mr. SPOONER. Will the Senator allow me to interrupt him for a question?

Mr. HALE. Certainly.

Mr. SPOONER. What does the Senator mean when he speaks in general terms about a carnival of fraud?

Mr. HALE. And corruption.

Mr. SPOONER. And corruption in Cuba.

Mr. HALE. I mean the things disclosed.

Mr. SPOONER. What things? I should like the Senator to file a bill of particulars.

Mr. HALE. I do not need to do that; it has been done already.

Mr. SPOONER. That is what the Senator means then by his statement that under our Administration in Cuba there has been a carnival of fraud and corruption, is it?

Mr. HALE. Now, Mr. President, it is not the Administration which is at fault. It is the natural result. There never has been an instance of the setting up of supreme government and uncontrolled government in a colony or an outside dependency that has not been attended with precisely the things that we have seen in Cuba.

In the early days of England in India the scenes of the days of Clive and of Warren Hastings were precisely, on a larger scale, what we have seen, and they disrupted the English Government; they turned out ministries and put in other ministries, because the English people would not allow the thing to be done. It is an incident. We are at fault; Congress is much at fault. The Administration is not at fault. The Administration has selected men who were believed to be good men—Major Rathbone, Mr. Neely, and other men—but the situation is such that we are simply seeing what has always been seen when this experiment has been tried.

We went into it with utter confidence, believing that it was an easy thing. I did not believe it was an easy thing. I voted against the treaty of peace because I believed it would lead to just these things. I believed that colonial dependencies and annexation would result in precisely what they have resulted in. I am glad to see that the Administration is trying to cure it, but I do not want anybody to say that it is an unexpected thing.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, so far as anything I said is concerned, the Senator's observations are, in the language of Shakespeare—

But a bolt or nothing, shot at nothing.

I was not engaged, and am not, in the discussion of any proposition to which the Senator's observations are pertinent. I was no more anxious to go into war with Spain than was the Senator. But when a Senator can see, looking at our relations with Cuba, no difference between the flag of the United States in Cuba and the flag of England under Clive in India, he is troubled, to my mind, in some degree with mental obliquity. What is the difference? We went to war to free Cuba. Have we done Cuba and the Cubans no kindness, Mr. President, by pouring out millions of our money and shedding the blood of our soldiers in order to drive Spanish tyranny forever from Cuba? Has the Senator any suspicion in his mind that the pledge made in the resolution passed by Congress as to the temporary character of our occupation in Cuba is not to be kept?

Mr. HALE. I have.

Mr. SPOONER. Kept not simply to the letter, but kept in spirit?

Mr. HALE. I have very grave suspicion, Mr. President. I am glad the Senator has asked that question.

Mr. SPOONER. Then, Mr. President, the Senator is a pessimist, beyond any I have ever met.

Mr. HALE. Now, let me say to the Senator I think there are very powerful influences in this country; I think they are largely located in New York City; I think they are largely speculative and connected with money-making enterprises that are determined that we shall never give up Cuba. I think there is a dangerous cloud in the sky; I think the time will never come, unless something earnest and drastic is done by Congress, when the last soldier of the United States will be withdrawn from Cuban soil. I do not think the President favors that.

Mr. SPOONER. Favors what?

Mr. HALE. Holding on to Cuba. I do not think the Secretary of War favors that. I discover (and the Senator has different apprehensions from mine if he does not discover) very powerful influences—commercial, mercantile, money influences, and political influences—that are opposed to our ever withdrawing from Cuba. I take up the newspapers, as the Senator may, that are foremost in the large cities, in favor of the general programme which is now going on, and not only do I not find a single intimation or hint that we are to withdraw from Cuba, but I find every day intimations and hints that we are never to withdraw from Cuba.

The Senator must not exclude from his enlightened mind the things that are in the public mind. No matter whether he denies it or not, I am profoundly impressed and profoundly depressed by the fact that I find in hundreds of quarters a determination that we shall never withdraw from Cuba, but shall retain her as a possession of the United States.

Mr. SPOONER. Now, Mr. President, it is hardly fair for the Senator to interject his speech in my remarks upon the Philippines.

Mr. HALE. I was simply answering the proposition of the Senator.

Mr. SPOONER. If I were, as the Senator says he is, inclined to doubt for one moment that the United States Government will seasonably withdraw from Cuba, I should be ashamed of the Government.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. Now, I wish to go on.

Mr. HALE. That assurance from the Senator more than repays me for all that I have said. I shall count upon him in the future.

Mr. SPOONER. To say that the Senator will count upon me in the future is little less than an insult.

Mr. HALE. Oh, no.

Mr. SPOONER. For it implies, Mr. President, that but for my assertion the Senator had doubt if I might not be willing to see violated the pledge given by the Government.

Mr. HALE. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. He does not so mean it.

Mr. HALE. The Senator knows—

Mr. SPOONER. I know he does not so mean it.

Mr. HALE. He knows I do not mean it, but I was very glad to hear that assurance from the Senator.

Mr. SPOONER. He need not have been.

Mr. HALE. I say it is not every man that feels that way.

Mr. SPOONER. I hope there is no man in the United States who does not feel that way.

Mr. HALE. I am glad to hear the Senator say that.

Mr. SPOONER. This is a Government of honor, Mr. President, and it is a people of honor. The people of the United States did not go to war to free Cuba, pouring out the blood of its sons, knowing not what bitter fruitage the war might bring to them, without a conscience, without love of liberty; and when the Senator expresses a fear that the conscience of the people of the United States, their desire to keep the pledge of this Government, will be lulled to slumber by the power of commercialism he degrades the people and underestimates, in my judgment, their integrity.

Mr. HALE. Still, I am afraid of it.

Mr. SPOONER. What have we done for Cuba? When, since the morning stars first sang together in the heavens, has any people done for another people what we have done for Cuba? And, Mr. President, as rapidly as may be, in absolute good faith, not being hurried by demagoguery, not being speeded in violation of national honor by insinuation and mere politics in a Presidential election, this Administration will, I am certain, go forward to redeem to its utmost the pledge to Cuba.

We have given the best government to the people of Cuba thus far it ever had. We have given to the people of Cuba a government the like of which they never could have had without our intervention. We have changed their criminal laws so that now a man can not be thrown into a dungeon and detained indefinitely without right of counsel. We have ameliorated in every way by military order conditions there in the administration of justice which were dreadful. We have maintained order in Cuba. Every man's life is safe in Cuba. Woman's honor is safe in Cuba. Tyranny and starvation have gone forever out of Cuba. Who is responsible for it? This "commercial" people who possibly may care nothing for its honor and its pledges!

Of course, Mr. President, there has been speculation in Cuba. Everyone regrets it; no one more than I. Everyone is ashamed of it. But in no government ever instituted has that not occurred. It has happened in Georgia. It has happened in New Orleans.

Mr. TILLMAN. It happened all over the South when the carpetbaggers had it.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; and it has happened since the carpetbag governments. It happens in banks. I doubt not it has happened in Maine. Governments must be conducted by human agencies. There is no company which can guarantee the honesty of purpose of em-

ployees of the Government. If the Senator had listened to the very able and eloquent and entirely frank speech of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. PLATT), I think he would have been satisfied that instead of there having been or being a carnival of corruption in Cuba there was a discovery of certain frauds in the postal service by the Administration, followed up by the Administration, made public by the Administration, and that the Administration is doing everything in its power to put the men who were guilty of it behind the bars. The government in Cuba is a military one. It rarely happens that an officer of the Regular Army in administration anywhere is not prudent, careful, and honest; and that administration ought not to be charged by general phrase, as the Senator seems to charge it, with permitting a general, almost universal, carnival of fraud in Cuba.

No, Mr. President, no one thinks, so far as I know, of violating our pledge to Cuba. We were to pacify the island; and, a little more than that, which Spain demanded that we should put in the treaty, as we were to occupy Cuba, that so long as we occupied it or remained there as a military occupant we would discharge the duties imposed by international law upon a military occupant, which, largely stated, is the protection of life and property and liberty. Spain insisted upon that not out of regard solely to the insurgents, but to safeguard the interest and protection of the loyal Spaniards who had lived there, and, as the treaty puts it, of the natives who have remained loyal to Spain.

Mr. HALE rose.

Mr. SPOONER. Now, Mr. President, I beg the Senator not to interrupt me—

Mr. HALE. All right.

Mr. SPOONER. For I am proceeding under embarrassment; not any embarrassment from what the Senator has said to me, but physical disability.

Keeping in mind our obligations to the people of Cuba—those who were insurgents and those who were Spaniards—we will see to it that just as soon as it can safely be done a government is formed there and turned over to that people. I say "we" will see to it. I speak for no one here but myself, I can say with confidence that we will see to it, because of my implicit faith in the honor of the people of the United States. It never will turn out, my friend from Maine, that any man in any country can point to the Teller resolution and say with truth that it was a legislative lie.

Mr. HALE. I hope so.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator need not hope so. He had better know so.

Mr. HALE. I do not know.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, he ought to know.

Mr. President, I have been beguiled by the Senator from Maine, as I am always beguiled by him, away from the matter which I was discussing.

I return to the line of my argument when interrupted and repeat, under all the circumstances and conditions in the Philippines, the attempted establishment of a government without substantial opposition by Aguinaldo after the protocol would give in international law no foundation for its recognition, and would create no obligation of recognition by us in any event.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. TILLMAN. Unless it is entirely agreeable to the Senator I

will not interrupt him because he is unwell, but the subject he is now discussing—

Mr. SPOONER. If the Senator will state what it is that he desires to know, I shall be glad to hear it.

Mr. TILLMAN. It is in connection with the very subject upon which you have had the discussion with the Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE]. I will call the Senator's attention to the resolution to which he has been addressing himself.

Mr. SPOONER. What resolution?

Mr. TILLMAN. Your bill, then.

Mr. SPOONER. I will get to that bill presently.

Mr. TILLMAN. You were discussing that bill.

Mr. SPOONER. I will get to that.

Mr. TILLMAN. But you will not get to that phase of it.

Mr. SPOONER. I will get to every phase of it, if the Senator will allow me.

Mr. TILLMAN. I hope the Senator will not shut me off just now.

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. TILLMAN. I wish to call the attention of the Senate and the Senator to the phraseology of the bill introduced by him. It reads:

That when all insurrection against the sovereignty and authority of the United States in the Philippine Islands, acquired from Spain by the treaty concluded at Paris on the tenth day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, shall have been completely suppressed by the military and naval forces of the United States, all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the said islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

Now, with the Senator's permission, I will direct his attention to the effect of that bill if it becomes a law. We are under obligations in Cuba to establish a government there and turn it over to its own people.

Mr. SPOONER. I am through with Cuba.

Mr. TILLMAN. I think the Senator ought to have enough confidence in my integrity of purpose here to allow me to state my point.

Mr. SPOONER. I cannot resist the Senator.

Mr. TILLMAN. I was calling attention to the difference between Cuba and the Philippines. We are now in Cuba under military law, and the President is omnipotent inside the Constitution, as some Senators contend, and some contend that the Constitution does not bind him. In the Philippines the Senator proposes that the President shall continue to do what he now does, except that after the military have suppressed all rebellion, all resistance, then the President can establish a civil government there, and appoint judicial, executive, and other officers to govern ten million of people over there—an army of carpetbaggers beside which this little squad now in Cuba looting the postal revenues would be but a mere awkward squad.

Mr. SPOONER. If the Senator ever finds a carpetbagger in heaven he would prefer to go to the other place. [Laughter.]

Mr. TILLMAN. I undoubtedly would, Mr. President [laughter]; and if the Senator from Wisconsin and the people of Wisconsin had suffered from the carpetbaggers as we in South Carolina have, he would feel so, too. It is against carpetbagging in all its forms that we, who are opposed to the acquisition of the Philippines and the governing of subject peoples from this country by the appointing of proconsuls, protest here

Mr. SPOONER. From all I can learn, I would infinitely prefer the carpetbaggery even of South Carolina, if I had any property, to the government of Aguinaldo up to date; and when the Senator assumes and other Senators assume that there is any purpose in the Government to fill up Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, with appointees without regard to fitness, with men unfit for the discharge of the duties, I think he would do better to wait until there is some foundation for that suspicion. I have seen nothing of it as to the Philippines; and no man ever lived, Mr. President, with higher purpose to safeguard by the most rigid inquiry and in the strictest possible way the interests of these people while in our charge by the appointment of honest and capable men than President McKinley.

Mr. TILLMAN. Let us grant that; I will grant it; but it is a question as to whether you can by such a system of government ever get anything but dishonesty.

Mr. SPOONER. There may be now and then a thief, but he will be punished, and under this Administration he will be ferreted out by Government officers and sent to prison. Over in the Philippines General Otis has arrested three men and thrown them into prison for embezzlement. They were tried by commission, and two of them found guilty and punished. They were not Americans as I remember it.

The world is not growing worse, Mr. President. Almost every man charged with official duty wants to do the right thing, just as Senators want to do their duty; and the argument which is based upon a universal indictment of the integrity of men who are willing to go to these distant places has no substantial foundation in fact. If Mr. Bryan should be elected President, he would have the same difficulties. I hope he never will be elected, but if he should be he would have the same difficulties. I am willing to believe that he would try to select honest men, and when he found one as to whom he had been mistaken he would secure for that man prompt conviction and punishment.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator allow me?

Mr. SPOONER. That is a part of the subject to which I do not care now to pay further attention. It is not at all pertinent.

Mr. TILLMAN. If you do not like to be interrupted on account of physical disability—

Mr. SPOONER. It is not physical disability just at this minute. I never felt better in my life than I do at this moment. My objection is to being interrupted by a suggestion which is entirely impertinent to the matters which I wish to discuss. When I say "impertinent," I do not refer to the Senator, of course—I mean irrelevant; I use it in the legal sense.

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator will permit me, I will state that, so far as I can judge of the temper of the Democratic party, if Mr. Bryan should be elected, the difficulty of governing those people by carpetbaggers would not trouble anybody very much. We do not consider that it is a function of the United States to undertake to educate 10,000,000 of Asiatics, who have been taught in the Spanish schools, what free government is or what self-government is, and we do not propose to undertake to find enough honest men to go over there and administer the affairs of those islands in a decent Democratic way.

Mr. SPOONER. If you did, you would have to go into the Republican party, probably, for some of them. [Laughter.]

Mr. TILLMAN. We certainly would not ask you to lend us Mr. Rathbone, or Mr. Neely, or Mr. Thompson, or any of that ilk.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, Thompson is in jail and Mr. Neely under bail.

Mr. ALLEN. If the Senator will permit me, I trust he will not bring Mr. Bryan into this discussion at all. Mr. Bryan is a private citizen, and I think it would more comport with the dignity of the Senate to leave his name out of the discussion.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, Mr. President, I am willing to take lessons in dignity from the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator allow me a word?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I think the Senator from Wisconsin is attempting to discuss this question from a legal standpoint, but he has been drawn off by questions, which are, as he says, impertinent in a legal sense, and he probably has been induced to say some things that he would never otherwise have thought of saying. If I were on the floor I believe I would know how to deal with the question, but feeling ill, as the Senator from Wisconsin does, he is rather too good natured, and I appeal to the Senate to let the Senator proceed uninterrupted. That will be better for him and better for us.

Mr. TILLMAN. Better for those in favor of his proposition.

Mr. TELLER. Whether in favor of it or not, it would be better for the dignity and high character of this Senate.

Mr. SPOONER. I hope I have not seriously offended my friend from Nebraska.

Mr. ALLEN. Not at all.

Mr. SPOONER. I recognize the fact that Mr. Bryan, while a distinguished leader, is in private life, although he is not a private citizen.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. Bryan's name ought not to be voluntarily brought into the Senate and involved in a discussion here, and I think it would comport more with the dignity of discussion in this Chamber not to do so.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not hold myself altogether responsible for bringing it in, but I feel entirely at liberty to do so, and I shall do so in a respectful way if the course of my argument requires it.

Now, Mr. President, I do not know what real fealty to the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence—and I refer to it only for a moment—Senators or any political party would show which would turn over to an oligarchy, composed of not more than one-sixth of the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago, the government and the fate of ten million people, a vast majority of whom we think we have reason to know do not desire it, and a sudden withdrawal, as is suggested by the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN], of our troops from the Philippines upon the theory, which I am glad to hear him avow, that we have no duty in the Philippines—

Mr. TILLMAN. I did not say that.

Mr. SPOONER. Practically that, Mr. President; for I do not hesitate here to say that any man or any party which in the environment, in which this country now is in the Philippines, should propose that it should withdraw its forces and leave Manila and the Filipinos who have been friendly to us—the autonomists, as Aguinaldo in a proclamation of his own of June 12 last denominates them—and the people who have nothing in common with him, to a government created by him and officered by his satraps, would violate every plain duty which could grow out of a difficult and delicate situation.

The resolution of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], manly and straightforward as that Senator is in legislation here, is based upon a different proposition from that; and if we should withdraw

our troops from Manila, as suggested by the amendment of the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW], and enter into negotiations for peace with a government which is destroyed, if it ever had any substantial existence, and that withdrawal should be followed by a massacre in Manila, if the "clubs" organized by Sandico and those who were to join in the massacre or extermination should visit their vengeance on the Europeans in that city, nothing, Mr. President, in the history of this Government or this country could ever in the slightest degree redeem us from the stain of that cowardly withdrawal and stigma thus put upon our honor.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. What is it?

Mr. TILLMAN. I wish the Senator would allow me to state more fully what I would consider—

Mr. SPOONER. That is just exactly what I do not want the Senator to do.

Mr. TILLMAN. But the Senator puts me in a false attitude as to what I wish to do in the Philippines, and then he goes on and argues as though he had some basis for it other than his own imagination, and I must insist that that is not fair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Several SENATORS. No, no.

Mr. SPOONER. Why, of course, Mr. President, I find it impossible to decline to yield to Senators.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator said a moment ago he never felt better in his life, and I am glad he is more than able to take care of himself in any debate on this floor.

Mr. SPOONER. I feel well, but I am afraid that my colleagues do not, or will not, if I continue much longer.

Mr. TILLMAN. It seems that some of your colleagues want to take care of you, when I am very sure you can take care of yourself better than they can take care of themselves.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not agree with the Senator in that.

Mr. TILLMAN. I wish to say this in regard to what I consider the duty of this Government, and I am not any more than one Democrat: We have destroyed the only government that was there—Aguinaldo's. It may be that it was a dictatorship, and I dare say it was, but still it was the only government they had there. It had the support of the people, whether voluntarily or involuntarily, does not matter. Now, we have destroyed that government; we have got that government broken all to pieces, and we are fighting there for the suppression of the guerrillas, small bands, who are harassing our troops.

I think if those guerrillas would stop we would get a condition by which we could reestablish some government there, if we would simply say to those people, "We do not propose to continue to govern you by military force or by carpetbaggers sent from the United States, but we will allow you to set up some sort of a government of your own as soon as you are in a condition to do so, which will insure law and order and protection for life and property to citizens and foreigners there. We will leave you to deal with your own people in your own way, because we do not believe it is our duty to use force to protect you from yourselves."

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator having protected himself in the RECORD, I shall spend no time now, but I will, a little later on, on

that branch of the subject, when I come to explain what I think the duty of this Government is, and what I think the people of the United States will deem it to be.

The men who propose to turn over, without first ascertaining their wish about it, the fate of ten million people to the government of Aguinaldo and the Tagalogs, have a different understanding from that which appeals to me of that part of the Declaration of Independence which refers to the consent of the governed.

Self-government is not a right. Self-government is a faculty. It does not come to a people in a day; it does not develop in a night; and if there is anywhere in this world where a proposition has been announced and carried into effect that the majority entitled by law to govern, but in the opinion of a minority unfit, shall not be permitted to govern, it is not in the Philippines, but it is in the United States.

But, Mr. President, for the purpose of refuting the proposition that this Government has acted toward Aguinaldo with Punic faith—that is the adjective, “with Punic faith”—I am compelled briefly to consider the evidence upon which, in the several relations, that charge is made.

First, it is said that Aguinaldo was promised independence and that for the Government of the United States not to accord it is for it to perpetrate an act of national dishonor.

I deny, Mr. President, that there is any basis whatever for the assumption that Aguinaldo was promised independence or that the Filipinos were promised independence.

It is claimed by Aguinaldo that he was promised independence by our consul at Singapore, Mr. Pratt, and at Hongkong, Mr. Wildman. Mr. Day, inferring from a publication in a Singapore paper that possibly Mr. Pratt had been indiscreet, cabled him June 16, 1898, to avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine insurgents, to which Mr. Pratt replied June 19 as follows:

SECRETARY OF STATE, Washington:

No intention negotiate; left that Dewey, who desired Aguinaldo come.

PRATT.

June 16, 1898, Mr. Day wrote to Mr. Pratt, among other things, as follows:

If in the course of your conferences with General Aguinaldo you acted upon the assumption that this Government would cooperate with him for the furtherance of any plan of his own, or that in accepting his cooperation it would consider itself pledged to recognize any political claims which may be put forward, your action was unauthorized, and can not be approved.

June 20, in reply to cable of June 16, Mr. Pratt wrote the Secretary of State as follows:

My action in the matter was limited to obtaining the assurance of General Aguinaldo's willingness to cooperate with our forces, communicating this to Commodore Dewey, and, upon the latter's expressing a desire that he should come on as soon as possible, arranging for the General to do so.

Under date July 28 Mr. Pratt wrote the Secretary of State as follows:

I declined even to discuss with General Aguinaldo the question of the future policy of the United States with regard to the Philippines; that I held out no hopes to him of any kind, committed the Government in no way whatever, and in the course of our conferences never acted upon the assumption that the Government would cooperate with him—General Aguinaldo—for the furtherance of any plan of his own, nor that in accepting his said cooperation it would consider itself pledged to recognize any political claims which he might put forward.

The Senator from Washington some time since, in the course of a speech here, read from a Singapore paper what he contended indicated an admission in a public speech by consul Pratt that he had

promised independence. That Senator omitted to state, although I know he would have stated it if he had known it, what I state now, that when Mr. John Foreman made substantially the same statements in the first edition of his book on the Philippines Consul Pratt filed a bill in equity and obtained an injunction restraining him from the further distribution of the edition, upon the ground that the statement was not true, and in the second edition and all subsequent editions there is a note at the beginning of the book correcting the statements and announcing the omission of the pages from the book.

Mr. Wildman also was heard from upon the subject. Under date of August 8, 1898, from Hongkong, he addressed the following cablegram to Mr. Moore, Assistant Secretary of State:

Never made pledges nor discussed policy of America with Aguinaldo further than to try and hold him to promises before Dewey took him to Cavite, believing it my duty, it being understood that my influence is good. If report contrary, I disavow.

Could anything be more idle than to predicate a charge of dishonor upon an alleged breach by the United States of a political promise made by a consul? Consuls are not diplomats. As the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DAVIS] said the other day, they are only commercial agents.

It has been said here that there are men learned in international law surrounding Aguinaldo. That is, I think, quite true; and how foolish it is to suppose that Aguinaldo and the junta would for one moment, had such promise or assurance been given, relied upon them.

It is alleged that Admiral Dewey promised Aguinaldo independence. Aguinaldo says that himself. He did not claim it, so far as I have been able to discover, until a short time before the outbreak of hostilities, and in the "True version of the Philippine revolution," which he published to the world.

On May 26 the Secretary of the Navy cabled Admiral Dewey as follows:

It is desirable, as far as possible, and consistent with your success and safety, not to have political alliances with the insurgents, or any faction in the islands, that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future.

June 6 Admiral Dewey replied to this dispatch:

Receipt of telegram of May 26 is acknowledged, and I thank the Department for the expression of confidence. Have acted according to the spirit of Department instructions therein from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction.

Admiral Dewey has since specifically denied it. He denied it in the letter over his own signature addressed to Senator LODGE; he denied it in his cablegram to the Secretary of the Navy; he denied it in a memorandum inserted in the report of the Philippine Commission, which he signed; he denied it in a statement sent to the Senate by the President only a day or two ago.

No one would impute to Admiral Dewey, who conducted affairs in the Far East after the fall or destruction of the Spanish fleet with consummate ability, such ignorance as to his power and duty as for one moment to believe that he had pledged to this man, whom he had never seen before and of whom he knew nothing, independence for a government which he was yet to establish.

In a memorandum written for the preliminary report of the Philippine Commission, of which Admiral Dewey was a member, he says, referring to his first meeting with Aguinaldo, May 19:

No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him, then or any other time.

Aguinaldo, however, in what is called "the true version of the Philippine revolution," says on one page here—I will spend but a

moment upon it—that on one occasion Admiral Dewey, accompanied by General Anderson, visited him, and that in the presence of General Anderson this statement was made by Admiral Dewey:

The Admiral continued: Documents are useless when there is no sense of honor on one side, as was the case in respect of the compact with the Spaniards, who failed to act up to what had been written and signed.

Have faith in my word, and I assure you that the United States will recognize the independence of the country. But I recommend you to keep a good deal of what we have said and agreed secret at present. I further request you to have patience if any of our soldiers insult any Filipinos, for, being volunteers, they are as yet undisciplined.

Admiral Dewey, on January 30 last, denounced this pamphlet and the statements, in so far as they related to him, as a tissue of falsehood thus:

DEAR SENATOR LODGE: The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, recently published in the Springfield Republican, so far as it relates to me, is a tissue of falsehood. I never promised him, directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. I never treated him as an ally, except so far as to make use of him and his soldiers to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards. He never uttered the word "independence" in any conversation with me or my officers. The statement that I received him with military honors or saluted the Filipino flag is absolutely false.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE DEWEY.

It will be noticed that at the interview in which Admiral Dewey is alleged to have uttered the foregoing, General Anderson was present. General Anderson was asked by telegraph by the Adjutant-General, under date May 11, concerning this conversation, to which he replied as follows:

Philadelphia, Pa., May 14, 1900.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL,

Washington, D. C.:

Telegram received. I have Aguinaldo's pamphlet. His statement as to Admiral Dewey's promise of recognition and documents not being necessary, are not true as to any occasion when I was present. I can recall only two occasions on which we saw Aguinaldo together. All his statements inaccurate, except that we were fighting a common enemy.

ANDERSON, Brigadier-General, Retired.

It has seemed strange to me that any American should be found to make the charge of dishonor upon the Government or its Administration based upon nothing except the statements of Aguinaldo, contradicted, as he is, over and over again.

But that is not all. Some documents have been captured over there. Among others is a document which gives the secret proceedings—it has been sent to the Senate—of the junta in Hongkong on May 5. Aguinaldo was there, Agoncillo was there, Teodoro Sandico was there, Lopez was there, Montenegro was there. It is signed by a large number of them in testimony that what transpired is faithfully set down and sealed.

Mr. STEWART. May, 1898?

Mr. SPOONER. May 5, 1898. It says:

The president described the negotiations which took place during his absence in Singapore with the American consul of that English colony; both agreed that the president should confer with the Admiral commanding the American squadron in Mir Bay, and if he should accept his propositions as beneficial, in his judgment, to the Filipinos, he should go in one of the cruisers which form the fleet and take part in the subsequent events.

This was after the conversation with the consul. Strange, is it not, if the consul had promised independence to a government to be formed by Aguinaldo, that the thing which above all other things he desired, it is thought, in his communication to his associates he should have neglected to state? There is not one word in these proceedings which indicates that any such promise had been made; that any such subject had been discussed—not one word. But there are statements in this paper which show that no such promise could have been made, or that if it was made it was not relied upon.

Aguinaldo did not wish to go. He wished to send four members of the junta. He gave certain reasons why he did not wish to go, and one of the reasons was that Admiral Dewey might call upon him, if he went, to enter into some agreement before cooperating—I do not use the language—which would control or embarrass the future of his country—when the guns of the Filipinos would be turned against the Americans.

After arguments had been made by various members of the junta in favor of Aguinaldo's going, the record is thus:

Notwithstanding the previous remarks, the president (Aguinaldo) insists that he considers it dangerous for him to go to the Philippines without a previous written agreement with the Admiral, since it may happen that if he places himself at his orders he may make him sign or seal a document containing proposals highly prejudicial to the interests of the fatherland, from which may arise the following grave disadvantages:

First.

Second. * * * These are the means, he thinks, which should be first employed to find out certainly what are the intentions of the United States in regard to that country. * * * He adds, besides, that the Admiral, there being no previous contract, may not divide the armament necessary to guarantee the happiness of the fatherland."

After various speeches, by Sandico and others, the document proceeds:

The authority to treat, which the President thinks of giving to the other chiefs, without reflecting at all upon their personal deserts, they do not believe can be as effective as his personal attention to the matter, to such serious affairs as those which are the subject of discussion. There will be no better occasion than the present for the expeditionary forces to land on those islands and to arm themselves at the expense of the Americans and assure the attainment of our legitimate aspirations against those very people.

The Filipino people, unprovided with arms, will be the victim of the demands and exactions of the United States, but provided with arms will be able to oppose themselves to them and struggle for their independence, in which consists the true happiness of the Philippines.

After referring to the "prestige which he (Aguinaldo) acquired in the last rebellion," it proceeds:

Once the President in the Philippines, with his prestige he will be able to arouse those masses to combat the demands of the United States if they colonize that country, and will drive them, the Filipinos, if circumstances render it necessary, to a Titanic struggle for their independence, even if later they should succumb to the weight of the yoke of a new oppressor.

Were they relying on a promise of independence?

They were arranging then, before Aguinaldo and his companions went back to Manila, for a contingency in which, having obtained arms upon a promise of cooperation *they should use those arms against soldiers of the United States*. No man with judgment could find what is written in this secret proceedings consistent at all, either with the promise of independence or their reliance upon a promise of independence.

It is not worth spending time on at all if it were not that on this is based a charge of dishonor, and without warrant. I for one can not discuss this matter and permit that charge to go unanswered when the facts make a complete defense against it.

He made no claim of any such promise until very late, and after he had gone to Manila he wrote to General Anderson, under date July 24, "I came from Hongkong to prevent my countrymen from making common cause with the Spanish against the North Americans;" and he justified the proclamation of his dictatorship upon that ground, and in all the letters or proclamations in which he besought independence he never claimed until this proclamation, issued *shortly before the outbreak of hostilities*, that it had been promised him, and in his letter to the President, which has been so greatly lauded for its literary merit, he asked for independence, but he did not contend at all that it had been promised to him. So why charge

bad faith upon the Administration for not according to Aguinaldo's government or alleged government, the moment he formed it, independence as having been promised?

It is said that there was implied recognition of his government, and that upon that ground we have been acting in breach of faith. Is that true? Is it sustained? The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] says it is sustained. He based his charge for one thing upon the allegation that Admiral Dewey saluted the flag of the Philippine Republic.

Mr. PETTIGREW. He undoubtedly did.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, then, Admiral Dewey is published by the Senator before the world as a concrete liar.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Not by me.

Mr. SPOONER. He denies it. The American people will believe Admiral Dewey when he says he never saluted the flag. The Senator claimed, I think—and I trust he will not regard me as personal; he nodded to me, and that is why I referred to him—that we had recognized them by conveying one of the Philippine ships—was it into Subig Bay? I think it was. Am I right?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes; Subig Bay.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Senator still claim that we conveyed a Philippine ship into Subig Bay?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will answer the Senator.

Mr. SPOONER. Very well.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The insurgents attacked the Spanish forces in Subig Bay. They sent a vessel to Manila to ask Admiral Dewey to assist. Dewey received word from this vessel, and he sent the *Raleigh* and another ship to Subig Bay, captured the Spanish garrison, and turned the prisoners over to Aguinaldo's forces.

It appears from a statement of the officers of the Government that the vessel of Aguinaldo did not accompany our vessels, our vessels leaving in the night, so that the vessel which had come to ask them to return to their assistance was not aware of their departure. I said in a resolution of inquiry that it had been stated that they did convoy or go in company with a Philippine vessel to Subig Bay to secure the surrender of the Spanish troops, and I asked for the information. My resolution was tabled by the Senate.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; I voted to table it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Afterwards the Administration admitted everything that had been said except that our vessels did not go back with the Filipino vessel which came to ask them for their assistance. Here was an alliance and the turning over of the prisoners to the allies.

Mr. SPOONER. I voted against the Senator's resolution. I remember the Senator's resolution. It was craftily drawn. I do not mean intentionally so, of course; but it was so drawn as that for the Senate to have adopted it would have been a finding of fact by this body that there was a Philippine Republic in the international sense and a Philippine flag; and because I believed that to be untrue, and not as the Senator seemed to think at the time of all of us, that we were afraid of laying the truth before the American people, I voted to lay the resolution upon the table. Has not the Senator been of the opinion that one or more of our naval ships convoyed a ship of Aguinaldo's to Subig Bay? Was not that the Senator's opinion?

Mr. PETTIGREW. That was my opinion at the time I presented the resolution.

Mr. SPOONER. It is the Senator's opinion now?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am in doubt about it now. I never could

get all the information. We never have had it. The Administration does not give us the full information. We never have had any consecutive story of this revolt and the circumstances connected with it. We are left to draw our conclusions and to gather our information from a censored press, from suppressed information. It is not considered compatible with the interest of the President as a candidate for reelection to furnish us the information, and we do not get it, and we have not got it.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, I should think once in one session would be sufficient for the Senator to insult the President. The President has manifested no purpose whatever to withhold from the Senate any information, and he has been sending information here in response to the request of the Senate month after month during this session. But if the Senator has doubt about the proposition or the allegation of fact that one or more of our naval ships convoyed an alleged Filipino ship, with an alleged Philippine republic flag flying at its mast-head, to Subig Bay, he has doubt of the veracity of Captain Coghlan.

The Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. LODGE] in his speech read the other day in the presence of the Senate the following letter:

February 1, 1900.

MY DEAR SENATOR LODGE:

I was in command of the expedition sent by the Admiral (Raleigh and Concord) to the mouth of Subig Bay, July 6, 1898, to capture Grande Island, then held by the Spaniards. I wish to affirm as strongly as human words can do so that Aguinaldo's people did not accompany us, and that they took no part whatever in that capture. No one but the Admiral, Lieutenant Brumby, Captain Walker, and myself even knew where we were to go. We left at midnight without lights of any kind, not even signaling, as usual, for permission to get under way, and no one knew except the flagship and a vessel or two near us, that the vessels (Raleigh and Concord) had moved from their berths. It was not known until next morning that we had gone out of sight of our fleet. At this very time the so-called gun-boat of Aguinaldo was anchored at Cavite, and did not learn of our departure until next day about noon. We captured Grande Island about 10.30 a. m., July 7, and no Filipino boat of any description appeared about Subig Bay until that evening about 7 p. m., when the boat we had left at Cavite came in and expressed the greatest surprise at our capture, telling us they had hoped to take part in the attack. So far as Aguinaldo's people having anything to do with the capture, after it had been done I instructed their chief at Alongapo, about 5 miles up the bay, that his people must in no way bother with the island, and to prevent them I moved the Raleigh out into the bay, where the search-lights were used all night to see that no insurgents went near the island. In my opinion, those on the island could have held out indefinitely, as they were well provided with everything, and the Aguinaldoites had no artillery—one small gun only on their so-called gunboat, and the rest of her armament (?) consisting of pieces of 3-inch pipe stuck through chocks and holes in her sides to simulate guns.

There may not be much glory arising from that capture, but on behalf of my naval comrades, who did it alone, I object to having any of it taken away by anyone attempting to falsely assign us help.

Yours, very truly,

J. B. COGLAN,
Captain, U. S. N.

This charge of dishonor, based upon the allegation that we recognized a republic over there by convoying a ship flying its flag, falls to the ground; and I know the Senator will not challenge the word of Captain Coghlan.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will say that I think the paper the Senator has in his hand was sent in in response to a resolution passed by the Senate, which I introduced on the 27th of April.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. PETTIGREW. And that resolution reads as follows in regard to the Subig Bay incident:

The President is also requested to inform the Senate whether the flag of the Philippine republic was ever saluted by Admiral Dewey or any of the vessels of his fleet at any time since May 1, 1898. Did Admiral Dewey, at the request of Aguinaldo or any officer under him, send the vessels Concord and

Raleigh to Subig Bay to assist Aguinaldo's forces in the capture of the Spanish garrison at that place? Did said vessels assist in the capture of the Spanish garrison, and after the surrender did they turn the prisoners thus taken over to the Philippine forces?

I think that paper corroborates and answers in the affirmative every one of those questions, except the question of saluting the flag. As far as that question is concerned, I will show by the executive officer of Admiral Dewey's own ship that he did salute the flag; I will show by the statement of Halstead, who was a Government official, that he did salute the flag; and I will show by letters from numerous soldiers that we saluted the Philippine flag and the Philippine troops every time they came in the presence of our Army. I will then leave the question as to who is right and who is wrong to be fought out between these different people. I shall try to do this in reply to the Senator's speech.

Mr. SPOONER. All right. Then the Senator admits that in response to this particular resolution of his, there was no attempt upon the part of the Administration to suppress information.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator will admit also that the information which was sent, so far as Captain Coghlan's letter covers it, disposed of all of his allegations of fact put in an interrogative form, except the matter of the saluting of the flag.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senator says I will admit numerous things. I admit nothing of the sort.

Mr. SPOONER. I was wrong in supposing the Senator would admit it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Except that the reply confirms the statement I made in every particular except in that of saluting the flag. That is what I said, and as I understood the Senator—

Mr. SPOONER. Did not the Senator charge that Aguinaldo's vessel helped in the capture of the place?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I think not.

Mr. SPOONER. I thought you said so a moment ago.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Not at all. I did not say so, and I do not remember ever to have said so.

Mr. SPOONER. Did not the Senator charge that Aguinaldo's vessel assisted them in taking it?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I have just read what I said in the resolution, and I think everything in the resolution is answered in the affirmative by the information received except the saluting of the flag, and then I made my statement in regard to that. I wrote to the officer to ascertain whether we did salute the flag or not, and I have an autograph letter to the effect that we did.

Mr. SPOONER. I withdraw my statement that the Senator admitted anything. I did him an injustice, and I will supplement that by saying that I do not expect the Senator to admit anything except that this Government has been dishonorable and guilty of punic faith in its treatment of Aguinaldo.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes; I think I can prove that.

Mr. SPOONER. I think the Senator can not prove it. In fact I know the Senator can not prove it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I do not think there is any doubt about it.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator can no more prove it than he can prove or did prove the other day that a majority of the South Dakota regiment were unwilling to serve after their term expired. I am glad the Senator could not prove that. There never comes into a soldier's life any prouder thing than that after his time has expired he served in battle under his flag; and when President McKinley congratulated the State of South Dakota, which I marched

over as a soldier before the Senator ever saw it, and congratulated her people and congratulated that regiment that regardless of the expiration of their time they had gone into battle under our flag and fought with great gallantry, he recognized, as the truth warrants, a crown upon the brow of South Dakota which no man can ever take from her.

Mr. PETTIGREW. If the Senator will permit me, I read the statement of the surgeon of the regiment and the lieutenant-colonel that 90 or 95 per cent of the boys wished to be discharged. Some of the soldiers told me, immediately after the President made that statement, that it was untrue. The reason why the South Dakota boys were not proud of the service in which they had been conscripted against their will was because they were not in sympathy with the effort to destroy the liberties of another people.

Mr. SPOONER. I suspect the fact that some of them felt that way is partly attributable to the industry of the Senator, not to the soldiers themselves. [Laughter.]

Mr. PETTIGREW. That is a matter of opinion, which opinion the Senator has a right to entertain.

Mr. SPOONER. I say that because the discussion indicated that in a great many letters from the Philippine Archipelago some were replies to letters written by the Senator.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Not one of them.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; there were some of them I am quite certain. And I say another thing, that the prompt transmission of the governor's insulting letter to the President to be read to the soldiers there was politics—Populistic politics, not American politics—and may have had something to do with inciting the agitation among some of the soldiers. I will never believe in dishonor in this Government or in the Administration, Democratic or Republican, unless I am obliged to. I will not hunt for stain upon the honor of my own country.

Mr. President, it is said repeatedly that Aguinaldo was an ally of the United States, and that in firing upon him when he attacked us—I use that phrase advisedly; we were guilty of Punic faith toward an ally. A flimsier thing never was asserted as foundation for a charge in a Presidential or any other campaign against an Administration than that. An ally in the international sense he was not and could not be. There was no Filipino nation. There was no Filipino people in the organized sense. No man could for one moment contend that there was an organization which could enter into a treaty of alliance. None such was ever pretended. As I said the other day, the Filipinos were in law enemies of the United States, not friends, because they were subjects of Spain. The Senator from South Dakota smiles.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. Does he dispute it?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Certainly. It is the most absurd proposition the Senator has made.

Mr. SPOONER. There never has been a work on international law which does not support that proposition; it has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States; it is absolutely fundamental; it is stated in the most modern as well as in the most ancient books, that, as a matter of law and important consequences flow from it the subjects of a government at war with another become the enemies of that other. The Senator is a good lawyer, he is a man of ability, and if he will address his mind to that proposition to-night he will not deny it to-morrow.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I certainly shall.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, I will help him.

Mr. PETTIGREW. To deny it?

Mr. SPOONER. No; to find the law; I know where to find it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am well aware of the Senator's ability, and I know he is a great student, for I studied law as a boy in his father's office when he was just beginning to practice, and in complimenting me perhaps he had a notion of, in a measure, complimenting himself.

Mr. SPOONER. No; I did not mean to do that. What I meant was this, and the Senator will do me that justice, to say that I have examined the question, and I thought it might facilitate the Senator's investigation, if he cared to make it, for me to give him a list of the authorities in which I found it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. As an abstract principle, never good in practice or heard of in any history on the face of the earth, perhaps the Senator is correct.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh!

Mr. PETTIGREW. But to say that the Filipinos were our enemies under the circumstances is such a terrible stretching of the abstract principle which the Senator seeks to invoke that it has no application.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator would not have said that if he had listened longer. I said the Filipino people were in law the enemies of the United States while we were at war with Spain. Aguinaldo and such of his confreres who individually cooperated with us against Spain were not, of course, our enemies. All others were; and if the Senator understood me as saying that the subjects of Spain who entered our Army—if any should—or who aided us in a war with Spain, were our enemies under this proposition of law, he misunderstood me. But Aguinaldo himself is not to be called, all things considered, an ally of ours. If he was an ally of ours, he was a very treacherous ally of ours, and it was not many weeks after he reached Manila before Admiral Dewey discovered that he ceased to be much of an ally and was inclined to "set up" business on his own account; so much so that he was disgusted with him, and, as one of the papers puts it, thought he had the "big-head."

Mr. Wildman, writing Mr. Moore, Assistant Secretary of State, under date of August 9th, says:

Aguinaldo had for some weeks been getting what Admiral Dewey called the big head, and writing me sulky, childish letters.

He claimed he was after independence, and, as indicated by the secret proceedings of the junta, he was proceeding in his performance after he reached Manila largely on his own account, of course, in a way aiding us—I concede that—in fighting Spain, but for reasons of his own and for a purpose of his own. Why, Mr. President, it is stated by Mr. Whitmarsh, the special commissioner over there of the Outlook, that Aguinaldo had planned to attack our first detachment of troops when they landed at Paranaque.

In the preliminary report of the Commissioners it is stated:

The landing of the American troops at Paranaque on July 15 so exasperated the revolutionary leader that he wished to attack at once, but was deterred by lack of arms and ammunition. He finally decided to wait until the fall of Manila, enter the city with the American troops, secure the arms of the Spanish soldiers if possible, and then make his attack.

Mr. TELLER. The first one?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; I believe the first one, that he had intended to attack them and prevent their landing. He permitted them, however, to land, but from the day General Anderson landed there his attitude was not the attitude of an ally; his correspondence

was not the correspondence of an ally; his conduct was not the conduct of an ally. I assert, Mr. President, without fear of successful contradiction, upon all the facts which are within our reach, that his conduct from the day General Anderson arrived there was the conduct of an enemy.

Mr. BERRY. What date was that, if the Senator will permit me?

Mr. SPOONER. I can not give the precise date. It was in June or early in July.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Fourth of July.

Mr. SPOONER. That we landed there. If you look at the correspondence, you will see constant complaints; you will see a constant jealousy; you will see that he insisted upon maintaining his position; you will find that his troops were insolent to our men. You will find that Aguinaldo plumed himself as being friendly rather than just in not cutting off from Manila, after our troops had arrived there, the water supply. He constantly wanted recognition. He sought in every cunning way which could be devised to secure some recognition from General Anderson of him as president of his alleged government. He prohibited the people from furnishing supplies to General Anderson.

Was that the conduct of an ally? Anderson wanted horses; he wanted supplies; he had newly arrived in the country. He proffered, of course, to pay for them. The correspondence shows that he received no reply; that he received no supplies, and that Anderson was informed upon sufficient authority that they were forbidden by Aguinaldo, and Professor Worcester says that witnesses swore before the Commission that Aguinaldo had ordered them not to furnish our Army with any supplies; and they were not furnished until General Anderson informed him that if he did not permit the supplies to be furnished, things that our troops needed, he would pass him and take them.

It is stated (I presume the Senator does not believe that) that as early as June he was in negotiation with the Spaniards against us. I believe it, and I have good reason to believe it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, there is no doubt but that the Spaniards made offers and propositions to Aguinaldo, and there is no doubt but that he considered them. But he brought them to us and stated to us (and the conversation, I think, must be familiar to the Senator) that he had rejected them and refused to accept their offers and propositions. He seems to have been using this for the purpose of trying to compel, if possible, that public recognition of his government to which he felt he was entitled. There is no doubt about that.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, on the contrary, I believe it to be a fact, and I believe the assertion is warranted by the evidence, that Aguinaldo was in treaty with the Spanish authorities to surrender Manila to him and join their forces in fighting us. One thing is very certain: That as early as October 25, long before the outbreak of February 4, 1899, before the cession of the Philippine Archipelago to us by Spain, Aguinaldo entered into negotiations with the Spaniards and proved himself, if an ally to us, to be a traitor to us.

Mr. PETTIGREW. When was that? What is the date?

Mr. SPOONER. The 25th of October, 1898. The Senator evidently has not, in his search for information, found it, but the President sent it to the Senate some time ago—April 18. Here it is. It is worth reading, because men will be told all through this country during the coming campaign (and that is what most of this business is for; nobody is deceived about that) that Aguinal-

do was our ally; that up to the time we attacked him and his forces at Manila he was loyal to us as an ally.

Mr. PETTIGREW. No; we were not loyal to him.

Mr. SPOONER. We were loyal to him. We gave him more loyalty, Mr. President, than he was entitled to. We stayed there month after month enduring his insolence and the insolence of his soldiers while they endeavored to taunt, I believe by his command, our soldiers into an act of hostility, and I will prove it before I finish.

But, Mr. President, about October 25 the Spanish general at Iloilo was apparently willing to surrender to us. When General Otis sent the expedition to Iloilo he supposed that the Spanish would surrender to us. He had received information that they desired to do it. Am I wrong about that? But they found when they reached there that he had by order of the Spanish Government evacuated the place. Now, here is what Aguinaldo wrote to him. Up to this time we had occupied no position of hostility to Aguinaldo, and no man living can truthfully say we had.

This is a captured document.

[Private.]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE FILIPINES,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
Malolos, October 25, 1898.

The Excellent Senor General DIEGO RIOS.

RESPECTED GENERAL: I write to you without any desire of offending either your dignity or your patriotism, or of interfering in your high duties in the present circumstances, so critical for all of us, Filipinos, Spaniards, and Americans. I write to you, General, actuated solely by the desire of doing an act of evident justice, compatible with your honor and with those high duties which I cite above, and especially with the hope—

“Especially with the hope”—

OF YET SAVING FROM THE SHIPWRECK THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SPAIN IN THESE ISLANDS.

While we were fighting to liberate the Filipinos from the tyranny of Spain he was hopeful “of yet saving from the shipwreck the sovereignty of Spain in these islands.”

Mr. LODGE. Give the signature.

Mr. SPOONER. I will give the signature in a moment.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will the Senator give us the date of that?

Mr. SPOONER. It is dated Malolos, October 25, 1898.

Mr. CULLOM. Before the cession?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, before the cession.

Mr. TILLMAN. It was while the cession was being discussed, however, and after the demand had been made.

Mr. SPOONER. It was while our commissioners were negotiating the treaty.

Mr. PETTIGREW. And if I recollect aright, after—

Mr. SPOONER. As I recollect it, before even our commissioners had demanded cession. The cession was demanded October 31 and yielded November 28.

Mr. PETTIGREW. But after Dewey had captured all his vessels and confiscated them.

Mr. SPOONER. Had captured all his vessels and confiscated them? What an awful violence!

Mr. TILLMAN. How did the President get that letter?

Mr. SPOONER. It was captured; I do not suppose Aguinaldo's consent was asked. He proceeds:

I shall explain myself, General, to see if you can understand me, and to see whether it will be the same as with General Augustin, who did not care to pay any attention to the frank warnings I gave him, with noble intentions, in my letter of June 9 last.

Had he not been negotiating with General Augustin, in command of Manila in June? That is why I said I was satisfied that as early as June this "enemy" of Spain and this "ally" of ours was in treaty with Spaniards in Manila against us to save "from the shipwreck the sovereignty of Spain in these islands."

Mr. TILLMAN. Did the Senator ever hear the fable of the wolf and the lamb?

Mr. SPOONER. I have heard pretty nearly all the fables. I could call one or two in mind for the benefit of the Senator if I wanted to, but I will not take the time. I will read this again:

I shall explain myself, General, to see if you can understand me, and to see whether it will be the same as with General Augustin, who did not care to pay any attention to the frank warnings I gave him, with noble intentions, in my letter of June 9 last. Time has unfortunately justified me, and I am able to declare that of all the Spanish generals you alone have known how to defend the Spanish flag in these islands.

"To defend the Spanish flag in these islands;" that flag of tyranny; that flag of cruelty; that flag of merciless and long-continued outrage in the islands.

Ah! if the others had only known how to sustain it as you have, how different would be to-day the sad condition of the Spanish Empire in these lands.

Ally! Enemy of Spain!

I am informed that you are considering surrendering the place to us or to the Americans. After six months of vigorous siege and of total abandonment, I understand how you can prefer us to the others.

The way to make this surrender is to join us and proclaim the federation of the Filipino republic with the Spanish republic, recognizing the chieftainship of our honorable president, Senor Emilio Aguinaldo. A fraternal embrace will take place between Filipino Visayans and Spaniards; there will be hurrahs for Spain

Ally!

and the Filipines united as a federal republic—

Independence of Spain I thought was the sole object of his life—your troops will pass into the common army—

What common army? You will see in a moment—

you will be promoted to be a lieutenant-general; the Spanish employees in the Visayas will be supported by us; the government will pass to our provincial councils and local juntas.

Those who want to go back to Spain will be sent back at our expense, with enough to pay their way to Spain, and the flags of Spain and the Filipines will float side by side. You will give an account of this at Madrid and especially to Pi. Marfal: AND IN THE MEANTIME WE SHALL FIGHT THE AMERICANS TOGETHER.

Ally!

We shall conquer, and then we shall wait and adjust our future relations.

I will not take the time to read it all. He adds:

Your transfer to our side does not really involve treason to Spain, since the moment sovereignty passes to the Americans you are free to transfer your allegiance. This is in accordance with the principles of national honor. On the other hand, if you join us you cause the following: First, liberty for all the 9,000 Spanish prisoners in our hands—

He did not have them; he never had them—

and then it would serve as the first base of the new alliance between Spain and the Filipinos—

Three hundred years of oppression forgotten, love of liberty and independence inspiring every thought, he negotiated for an "alliance between Spain and the Filipinos"—

and then it would serve as the first base of the new alliance between Spain and the Filipinos, and then from both will come honor and applause for you as having been the one fortunate enough to effect it. This is all that I can say to you at present, and I hope that you will tell me that you agree with me, and then I shall be able to present this to MY GOVERNMENT and obtain

from it an agreement to what I have written AS A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL.
Your most respectful and affectionate,
I-I-9-6-I-M.

It is signed "I-I-9-6-I-M," written on the paper used in the private office of the president, and "M," the letter at the end of it, is the first letter in the word "Miong," and "Miong" in the Philippine cipher is "Emilio." Is there any warrant for my assertion that in June, as well as in October, before the demand, even by our commissioners, of a cession of the Philippines, he was in treaty with Spain for the purpose of fighting the Americans?

Ally, indeed!

I can not go into further detail, Mr. President. You remember his anger, because his troops were not permitted to go into Manila with his army and loot the city. Somebody denies that. It was denied here the other day; but in the papers that complaint, or demand, is made by his commissioners, and General Otis's reply, stating that there is no "spoils of war" according to our code of war, addressed to Aguinaldo himself as in reply to a demand of his. No repudiation of it ever came from Aguinaldo.

For months before he attacked us his position had been one of hostility. His soldiers had occupied a position of hostility.

It is said we recognized his cooperation and he cooperated with us in going in and taking Manila. I will not spend much time upon that except to say that one of his bitter complaints was from the beginning that he was ignored by the American commander; that our plans were not given to him; and when our troops attacked Manila he complained that he did not even *have notice of it*, apparently which was true.

Mr. PETTIGREW. As the Senator seems to be addressing me—

Mr. SPOONER. That was not my purpose.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I think that I am justified in interrupting him, with his permission.

Mr. SPOONER. I always address the most intelligent man on the jury.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Here again, Mr. President, the Senator is undertaking to compliment me because he thinks my education, having been under his father and under his tutelage, will reflect great honor upon himself. I will release him from any further allusion to that subject.

Mr. SPOONER. It was under my father's; not under mine. My father taught the Senator law. I am trying to teach him patriotism. [Laughter.]

Mr. PETTIGREW. Well, I am very glad to receive such instruction as the Senator can give; but it seems to me his stock is meager, or he would be more jealous of the honor of our flag than to defend the attack, under that banner, upon the liberties of another people.

Mr. SPOONER. I love the flag. Mr. President, I would be ashamed of the flag if it were the flag of a Government that had ever attacked the liberties of a people; and when I say to the Senator that, in my eye, there is no stain upon the flag—there was one once, but blood washed it away; there has been none since: there never will be one again—he will assume from my reply that I deny his statement that under our flag an attack has been made by this Government upon the liberties of a people. Will the Senator tell me where the flag of the United States has ever gone but as the flag of liberty, except, perhaps, to Mexico in the interest of slavery?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will answer the Senator. I presume the information is correct, as all the information we get from Manila is censored. The newspapers publish a dispatch saying that our flag went

to one of those islands, and, without losing a man, we murdered 300 of its inhabitants, and all within a month.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, censoring is necessary, sometimes, and I suppose it was necessary over in Manila, as it always is in the midst of military operations. I think if there had been a censorship here there would have been less insurrection and bloodshed there. I do not mean to say anything against free speech, but I do mean to say, and I will prove it, that the cable has carried from here over there in rich abundance an encouragement to a prolongation of insurrection and warfare in the Philippines. I have no criticism of any word uttered in debate upon the treaty, whatever its effect might be. That was a present duty, that was a question pending before us for debate, and every Senator was right to give expression to every thought which occurred to him for it or against it. It is not always true morally, even in a free country, and I can remember the time when a great many good men in this country wept bitter tears of heartbreaking sorrow over words which, in the exercise of free speech, were spoken, which brought death, they thought, into many a home.

There is no reason, so far as I know, to believe that General Otis has kept any information from the President of the United States, from the Secretary of War, or from the Adjutant-General. He may have censored some things to the newspapers; every government in the world does that in time of war, and must do it.

I was saying that Aguinaldo bitterly complained—and there is nothing in the talk about our recognizing him and dealing with him as an ally and recognizing his forces as the forces of the government—that he was not notified even of our purpose, the time, or the plan of our attack upon Manila. It is stated, and I think it is true, that a portion of his men fired upon our troops—possibly by misadventure; that fifty of our men took 150 arms from his men, which were afterward returned; and all the time in correspondence, Aguinaldo, so far from claiming recognition by our generals, is complaining that he did not receive it; and over and over again he was informed by General Anderson, by General Merritt, by General Otis in writing that the military officers of the United States had no power to recognize his government or him as President.

Thursday, May 24, 1900.

Mr. SPOONER. Yesterday, Mr. President, before I yielded the floor I had called the attention of the Senate to a letter written by Aguinaldo to the Spanish general, Rios, in command of Iloilo, October 25, before the commissioners at Paris had demanded a cession of the Philippine Archipelago, and of course before it had been ceded, in which he besought the Spanish general to surrender to him and not to the Americans and to join him with his troops and the 9,000 prisoners held by Aguinaldo in fighting the Americans. I called attention to it because it is irrefutable evidence and meets many charges found in the extended propaganda which for months has been flooding this country against the honor of the United States as represented by the Administration in their treatment of Aguinaldo and his forces.

In this book of Aguinaldo's (and I do not read it for the purpose of denouncing him as a man not only of bad faith, but of want of veracity) appears a statement which I shall read. This is addressed to the nations of the world, attempting to set forth the breach of promise made by consuls and by Admiral Dewey, stating his victories and the extent of his control, and appealing for recognition. He says:

I, Emilio Aguinaldo, though the humble servant of all, am, as president of

the Philippine republic, charged with the safeguarding of the rights and independence of the people who appointed me to such an exalted position of trust and responsibility—

It is true the people did not appoint him; he appointed himself—mistrusted for the first time the honor of the Americans, perceiving of course that this proclamation of General Otis completely exceeded the limits of prudence, and that therefore no other course was open to me but to repel with arms such unjust and unexpected procedure on the part of the commander of friendly forces.

This was several months after Aguinaldo had written to the Spanish general asking him to surrender Iloilo to him and to join with his forces in fighting the Americans, the hated Spanish flag and the beloved Philippine republic flag to float side by side, and yet he says that he mistrusted our honor for the first time when General Otis issued his proclamation January 4, 1899.

Much has been made of the statement that we recognized Aguinaldo by turning over our sick to him. It was made in the Senate Chamber the other day. If there is any foundation for it in the papers accessible I have not been able to find it. It undoubtedly arises out of a request made by our officers of Aguinaldo. They treated him with the utmost courtesy. Our commanding officer made request to be permitted to establish a hospital on some high ground in the suburbs within his lines—a simple request in the interest of human life that any friendly commander would immediately grant. He refused it, and the General in reply stated that he had upon investigation come to the conclusion that the establishment of such a hospital was not necessary.

It is said we recognized him by turning over our prisoners to him. This refers—and I will spend but a moment upon it—to the troops captured by our naval forces at Subig Bay without any cooperation or assistance from Aguinaldo, although at that time he professed to be friendly, and our people were treating him as friendly. As the Spanish soldiers would not accept parole, and as there was not room for them upon the war ships, and as we had no soldiers there, the Admiral states that he left them in charge of Aguinaldo, first exacting the pledge that they should be decently treated as prisoners of war. They were our prisoners of war. That is all there is of that.

It has been said that the outbreak of hostilities was brought about by us. On the papers I denounce that as without the slightest foundation. On the contrary, I assert here, and it is susceptible of proof, not only that the attack upon our troops was made by the troops of Aguinaldo, but that it was long premeditated. Why do I say that? I say it, Mr. President, among other things, for this reason: I hold in my hand a cable dated Manila, May 7, 1900, from General MacArthur, as gallant and chivalrous a soldier as ever served in any army. It refers to a paper captured the other day from Aguinaldo's troops in the mountains by General Funston. It throws a great light upon the fact which has been in contention:

Manila, May 7, 1900.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Washington:

Referring to cable 5th instant re Aguinaldo's orders for uprising Manila. Order contains over thousand words, mostly detailed instructions street fighting; involves certain acts treachery—use boiling liquids from upper windows by women and children. Assassination American officers implied, not positively ordered. Paper principally valuable account date, January 9, 1899, evidencing well developed plans of offensive insurgents before outbreak. Importance full text insufficient justify expense cabling. Unless absolutely required will not cable. Otis took original.

MacARTHUR.

It would have cost \$2,000 to cable it. There are a thousand words in the order, written in the Tagalos language, with Aguinaldo's own

signature to it, dated January 7, many, many days before the outbreak of hostilities, which occurred on February 4.

Ally! A man brutally attacked, the friend of liberty and our coadjutor, by American troops!

That is not all, Mr. President. Without limit, evidences which can not be disputed are susceptible of accumulation.

[Presidency. Personal.]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES.

Two days before the date of this order

Malolos, January 7, 1899.

MY DEAR DON BENITO: I write this to ask you to send to this our Government the photograph you have in your house, and I will pay you for whatever price you may ask. Also please buy me everything which may be necessary to provide the said photograph.

I beg you to leave Manila with your family and to come here to Malolos, but not because I wish to frighten you—I merely wish to warn you for your satisfaction, although it is not yet the day or the week.

Your affectionate friend, who kisses your hands,

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

Sr. D. BENITO LEGARDA.

The week fixed was the first week in February, the day fixed was the 5th day of February, and the outbreak came one day before it was intended.

Gen. Charles King, a gallant and noble soldier of the Regular Army, years ago wounded in the Indian wars, and retired, but unwilling to remain inactive during the Spanish-American war, in which he was a general officer, has written to me the following letter.

Milwaukee, Wis., May 5, 1900.

DEAR SIR: The conditions in front of my brigade preceding the outbreak of February 4, 1899, were as follows:

The line of delimitation extended along the estuaries from Pandacan Point on my extreme left to blockhouse 12 on my extreme right. Only one bridge crossed the estuary. It was directly in front of my center at blockhouse 11.

It was distinctly prescribed that under arms, neither Americans nor insurgents should cross that line.

On December 21, insurgent guards, under arms, crossed to our side, and a clash with our sentries was narrowly averted. General Ricarti promised that it should not occur again, but on December 29, and once before, the same thing happened. After January 1, 1899, although the insurgents were allowed, unarmed, to wander at will within our lines, they ordered our officers back. By January 3 there were significant demonstrations. Earthworks and redoubts grew with every night, and up to January 8 Filipino families in great numbers passed out of town to the country, carrying their goods with them. The insurgents increased the guard at the bridge opposite my center. From this time I could see their working parties flitting about the opposite fields all night long; reported the intrenchments rapidly growing, but we were forbidden to make counter demonstration.

After January 15 insurgent officers and men repeatedly threatened and insulted my sentries, daring them to fight, calling them cowards, flashing their swords in their faces. In order to do this they had to come across the bridge. We were ordered to pay no attention to threats or abuse, and the situation grew constantly more strained until the general attack made by the insurgents the night of Saturday, February 4, and morning of Sunday, February 5.

General MacArthur's report, herewith, tells of the attack north of the Pasig River. It was there the battle began. At 2.40 Sunday morning the insurgents made a deliberate attack in force on my line south of the Pasig. It was provoked by no shot or demonstration on our part. Every forbearance was shown.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES KING,

Late Brigadier-General, U. S. V.

Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Thus it appears that during those weeks, Mr. President, every night, the time was spent by Aguinaldo's forces in making earthworks and redoubts around Manila. Why were they doing this around Manila? Why were they adding to their fortifications? Were they anticipating an attack from the Spanish troops? The Spanish troops had surrendered months before and had been transported back to Spain. They were getting ready for a fight with the soldiers of

the United States. They had no reason to anticipate an attack from us. The President, as the cablegrams show, over and over again, all the time, whenever word came from Manila from our officers of bad blood between the two armies or of insult to our men, of every conceivable taunt and attempt to provoke a resort to violence upon our part, never failed to cable there, not to resort to force; not to break the peace; and General Otis, only a few days before the outbreak, wrote the following letter to Aguinaldo:

Permit me now briefly, General, to speak of the serious misunderstanding which exists between the Philippine people and the representatives of the United States Government, and which I hope that our Commissioners, by thorough discussion, may be able to dispel. I sincerely believe that all desire peace and harmony, and yet by the machinations of evil-disposed persons we have been influenced to think that we occupy the position of adversaries. The Filipinos appear to think that we meditate an attack, while I am under the strictest orders of the President of the United States to avoid a conflict in every way possible.

The President did his duty in the interest of peace. General Otis did his duty in the interest of peace in notifying Aguinaldo directly that he was under the strictest orders to avoid a conflict.

My troops, witnessing the earnestness and the comparatively disturbed and unfriendly attitude of the revolutionary troops, and many of the citizens of Manila, conclude that active hostilities have been determined upon, although it must be clearly within the comprehension of unprejudiced and reflecting minds that the welfare and happiness of the Philippine people depend upon the friendly protection of the United States. The hand of Spain was forced, and she has acknowledged before the world that all her claimed rights in this country have departed by due process of law.

This treaty acknowledgment, with the conditions which accompany it, awaits ratification by the Senate of the United States, and the action of its Congress must also be secured before the Executive of that Government can proclaim a definite policy. That policy must conform to the will of the people of the United States, expressed through its Representatives in Congress. For that action the Filipino people should wait, at least, before severing their existing friendly relations. I am governed by a desire to further the interests of the Filipino people, and shall continue to labor with that end in view. There shall be no conflict of forces if I am able to avoid it, and still I shall endeavor to maintain a position to meet all emergencies.

What more could be asked by the most critical "anti-imperialist," as some of these gentlemen call themselves? What more toward the preservation of peace could the President have done or could our generals have done? Nothing more. It was the farthest from our thought, the farthest from our wish, to have trouble there. Our forces had not gone there for trouble with the Filipinos.

Mr. President, it has been thought and stated many times, and it will be stated again, that if the Senate had passed the Bacon resolution after the ratification of the treaty there would have been no war. The Bacon resolution was pending; a Filipino commission headed by Agoncillo was here in the city; that resolution had not been acted upon; even the treaty had not been acted upon. They knew in the Philippines of the pendency of the treaty; they knew in the Philippines of the pendency of the Bacon resolution, and when it came before the Senate and was voted upon, I believe it was only lost by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

But they would not wait. This second George Washington; this man who wanted only liberty and independence, although he had been trading with the Spaniards from June 9 to fight us; this man surrounded by international lawyers; this man and his people capable of independent government, could not wait. Why not? Puffed with the pride and the vanity of the Oriental that so disgusted Admiral Dewey with him, within thirty days after he arrived at Manila, thinking he could drive us out of the Philippines, he was not willing to wait.

It has been said that we fired the "first shot." In one sense, that is true. I will not read the statement from the report of the commission as to the details of the situation out of which came hostilities. It is known of all men, it is not open to dispute, that on that night of February 4 a lieutenant, and, I think, four private soldiers, and possibly one non-commissioned officer, came three times within our lines, where they had no right to be, and attempted to force the guard. Three times that sentry halted them, and on the third time on their approach he fired. He was not obliged to halt them more than once, but the third time he fired, I think it is stated, killing the lieutenant. Thereupon, simultaneously and almost immediately, there was a general attack from the Filipino lines upon our lines.

It was stated here the other day that our sentry was where he had no right to be. Is that true? The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] said he could prove it. When before did the mere shot of a sentry or a guard precipitate a general firing along the whole line? Never, unless it was a prearranged signal. Such a thing never was known, I believe, in the history of war. Philippine soldiers had been shot before by American sentinels, I think once at least; but evidently by arrangement there was a general firing upon our troops along the entire line.

From the report of General MacArthur this appears:

The pertinacity of the insurgents in passing armed parties over the line of delimitation into American territory, at a point nearly opposite the pipe-line outposts of the Nebraska regiment, induced a correspondence which, in the light of subsequent events, is interesting, as indicating with considerable precision a premeditated purpose on the part of somebody in the insurgent army to force a collision at that point. The original note from these headquarters, which was prepared after conference with the department commander, was carried by Major Strong, who entered the insurgent lines and placed the paper in the hands of Colonel San Miguel. The answer of Colonel San Miguel was communicated in an autograph note, which was written in the presence of Major Strong, who also saw Colonel San Miguel write an order to his officer at the outpost in question, directing him to withdraw from the American side of the line. This order Major Strong saw delivered to the officer on the outpost. The correspondence referred to is as follows, the original of Colonel San Miguel's note, which was written in the Spanish language, being inclosed herewith:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION EIGHTH ARMY CORPS,

Manila, Philippine Islands, February 2, 1899.

Commanding General Philippine Troops in Third Zone:

SIR: The line between your command and my command has long been established, and is well understood by yourself and myself.

It is quite necessary, under present conditions, that this line should not be passed by armed men of either command.

An armed party from your command now occupies the village in front of blockhouse No. 7, at a point considerably more than 100 yards on my side of the line, and is very active in exhibiting hostile intentions. This party must be withdrawn to your side of the line at once.

From this date, if the line is crossed by your men with arms in their hands, they must be regarded as subject to such action as I may deem necessary.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR MacARTHUR,

Major-General, U. S. V., Commanding.
San Juan Del Monte, February 2, 1899.

Major-General MacARTHUR.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours dated this day, in which you inform me that my soldiers have been passing the line of demarcation fixed by agreement, I desire to say that this is foreign to my wishes, and I shall give immediate orders in the premises that they retire.

Truly, yours,

L. F. SAN MIGUEL,
Colonel and First Chief.

At about 8.30 p. m., February 4, an insurgent patrol consisting of 4 armed soldiers entered our territory at blockhouse No. 7 and advanced to the little village of Santol, which was occupied from the pipe-line outpost of the Nebraska regiment. (This, it will be observed, was precisely the point referred to in the correspondence above quoted.) The American sentinel challenged twice, and then, as the insurgent patrol continued to advance, he fired,

whereupon the patrol retired to blockhouse No. 7, from whence fire was immediately opened by the entire insurgent outpost at that point.

Notice that the line of delimitation had been agreed upon; it had been long established; there had been many attempts to force that line, and General MacArthur called the attention of General San Miguel to the fact of an army patrol, in disregard of the line established, coming with hostile intent, apparently, into our lines, and asked him to stop it, giving him fair notice that if repeated it would be treated as an evidence of hostility. The officer replied that he would. On the night of February 4, the night when hostilities broke out, the offense was repeated at that precise spot. Can anyone doubt what that was for? Can any man who is unwilling to see anything in all this business but dishonor and brutality and crime upon the part of an American President and of American generals and American troops doubt that the patrol went there in order to force a hostile shot from the American troops?

But that is not all, Mr. President. I have before me a letter from Manila, written by a man whom I believe to be entirely reliable, the special correspondent of the *Outlook*. I have read many of his letters. They are frank letters; they have indulged in some criticisms upon us as wanting here and there in the requisite tact, but certainly he seems to be a reliable man, as he certainly is an intelligent one. He says:

I have seen letters sent by Aguinaldo to his chief men in Manila at that time—

Referring to the outbreak—

directing them to arm and instruct the secret regiments that had been raised inside the town.

Shortly before the outbreak.

Finally, about February 1, he notified the officers that they were to rise on the 5th, and that simultaneously he would invade the city. Over 2,000 Spanish soldiers who were then being fed and housed by the Americans had enlisted in these secret regiments.

The man, Teodoro Sandico, who issued the order which was sought to be carried out on the night of the 22d of February (Washington's birthday), for the extermination not only of our forces but of the families of all Europeans, Americans, Spaniards, Hollanders, Frenchmen, and English, men, women, and children, without compassion, as the order reads, had been busy for weeks organizing clubs in Manila, apparently social clubs, but really enlisted troops; and it is a fact which no man can gainsay, and which no man will gainsay, that the night when this outbreak occurred there were 10,000 organized soldiers in Manila to aid the outside troops in capturing the city and destroying the people.

I said they attempted on the night of February 22, after this outbreak, to carry out the order of Sandico. I find among the papers the report of one officer who headed the troops for that purpose, who set fire to some buildings, and who happened to discover when he reached the spot where he was to do more of that work that the Americans had been warned and were ready to receive him; and if it had not been for friendly Filipinos; if it had not been for intercepted correspondence; if it had not been for the care and skill of General Hughes, the provost-marshal, there would have occurred, Mr. President, on that night a massacre so shocking that the world never, never would have forgotten it.

We commenced the war! Why? Because "we fired the first shot." That has been said over and over and over again in this Senate and elsewhere. In very many cases of self-defense the man who is attacked fires the first

shot. One might as well say that if a caravan crossing the plains in the olden days, the savages circling, as was their wont, around it, drawing nearer and nearer, in war paint, should fire first upon them to drive them away, they began hostilities upon the savages. They would have fired the *first* shot. A man approaching the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] at night, with a revolver in his hand, evidently intent upon violence, might, with as much propriety, say, if the Senator shot him, being quick and prompt, and wounded him, "You commenced hostilities; you fired the first shot."

It often happens, it generally happens, that when an advancing force reaches a picket line the first shot is fired by the pickets of the army which they seek to attack. It is the rule. They fire to give warning; they fire to give the alarm, and then there is firing along the whole picket line, from the reserves to the end; and then comes the beating of the long roll; then the forces are aroused, and men are ready in all the regiments or corps or divisions, as the case may be, to meet the attack; but the picket who fired the first shot against the enemy advancing could not be said to have commenced hostilities. It is too absurd to talk about.

That night, Mr. President, Aguinaldo promptly issued his declaration of war. It has been said that the next day—and that has been one of the principal counts in this indictment—General Torres came into our lines under a flag of truce from Aguinaldo, saying that the firing was accidental, that Aguinaldo had not ordered the attack, and asking for an armistice and for an agreement upon a neutral zone in order to prevent further hostilities between the armies, and that General Otis replied: "No; fighting has begun and it must go on to the grim end." I lament the shedding of blood; I hate brutality, and therefore I hate war; but, Mr. President, I stand here to say that had the facts been as charged here General Otis would have done his duty in the environment of that day in refusing an armistice.

Why? Here was our little army of 17,000 men only, 7,000 miles away, occupying the city of Manila, with enemies all around them within the city, and enemies all around them without the city, with information that gave them the right to believe that not only was an attack meditated upon the city, but an atrocity—surrounded by 10,000,000 of possible hostiles, a strange and alien people, a people who had been prejudiced against us, vast numbers of whom had been excited and agitated by the appeals of Aguinaldo, claiming to have then an army of 30,000 men outside of the city, to say nothing of Sandico's clubs of butchers within the city—what would be said of a general holding a city filled with friendly Filipinos, containing the families of foreigners and American officers, who, when an attack had been made upon him, unprovoked and wicked, would have granted an armistice and an opportunity to consolidate forces and to gather in more troops, to set more fires, to mature more plans of assassination?

If an armistice had been granted and that city had later fallen; if our troops there had been overwhelmed; if the families of foreigners had been destroyed, what would have been said of General Otis? Every man in the United States would have called him either an idiot or a coward. There was nothing in the situation to lead a prudent commander, circumstanced as he and our army were circumstanced, a general attack having been made upon us, to do other than to press forward. But it turns out that no such flag of truce was ever brought to General Otis; that no such request for an armistice was made of General Otis.

The Adjutant-General, in order to be able to furnish information

sought by a resolution of the Senate, wired General Otis as follows:

[Cablegram.]

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
Washington, April 30, 1900.

OTIS, Manila:

Cable whether General Torres came to you under flag of truce February 5, 1899, and stated Aguinaldo declared fighting had begun accidentally and not authorized by him; that Aguinaldo wished it stopped, and to end hostilities proposed establishment of neutral zone between the two armies of width agreeable to you, so during peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflict. Whether you replied fighting having begun must go on to grim end.

CORBIN.

Here is General Otis's reply:

[Cablegram.]

Manila, May 1, 1900.

AGWAR, Washington:

Judge Torres, citizen, resident of Manila, who had served as member insurgent commission, reported evening February 5 asking—

It was a purely voluntary thing on his part. He did not claim to come from Aguinaldo. He did not claim to speak for Aguinaldo. If something could not be done to stop the fighting, as establishment of neutral zone. I replied Aguinaldo had commenced the fighting and must apply for cessation; I had nothing to request from insurgent government.

That was right—

He asked permission to send Colonel Arguellez to Malolos, and Arguellez was passed through lines near Caloocan next morning. He went direct to Malolos, told General Aguinaldo and Mabina that General Otis would permit suspension of hostilities upon their request. They replied declaration of war had been made, a copy of which they furnished him.

That was the answer they gave him. When informed by General Otis that there would be a cessation of hostilities if requested by Aguinaldo, they sent to General Otis a *declaration of war*:

They said they had no objection to suspension of hostilities, but beyond this general remark made no response, but directed him to return with that message. Arguellez reported that he conveyed my statement; that they had commenced the war, and it must go on since they had chosen that course of action, but did not attempt to induce them to make any proposition, as he feared accusation of cowardice. The insurgent chief authorities made no proposition and did not intend to make any, nor did they attempt to do so until driven out of Malolos. My hasty dispatch of about that date misleading.

OTIS.

That is what General Otis says, and I received in the mail this noon an insulting letter from a prominent "anti-imperialist" in Boston, whom I do not know, referring to General Otis as untruthful for sending this dispatch.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to make a statement right there? I will not occupy his time.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. It may be of some interest to the Senator and to the Senate to know that I have been told by an officer, whose name I do not speak, because to do so would imperil his position, that he was present at General Otis's headquarters when General Torres came forward with a flag of truce, as is stated in a document the Senator has read. That officer is yet alive, and he is a gentleman of entire integrity. He is still in the Army, and so I do not think it proper to disclose his name.

Mr. SPOONER. If he charges falsehood upon the commanding general he ought to do it in the open.

Mr. ALLEN. He can not afford to do it.

Mr. SPOONER. Then he ought to shut up.

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir. There is no reason why a man should not tell the truth, though he can not afford to disclose his name.

Mr. SPOONER. He can afford to disclose his name if he tells the truth and charges his commanding officer with telling a lie. A

court-martial would take care of his case, and that of the commanding general, too.

Mr. ALLEN. This man would imperil his office by inviting a court-martial to inquire into the facts.

Mr. SPOONER. He would not imperil his office under any decent government in the world, Mr. President, by telling in a respectful way the truth.

Mr. ALLEN. That might be true, Mr. President. But I will not occupy the Senator's time, because I shall on a proper occasion reply to a number of statements he has made, in which I beg to differ with him as to the facts and proofs; but I can not afford to give that officer's name, knowing how the Army of the United States is run. It would imperil him by disclosing the truth, and he would not do so unless it was absolutely necessary to make a disclosure.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, there never was a time when the Army of the United States, illustrious as its history is, was commanded by more honorable men than those who command it to-day, from the Commander in Chief down.

Mr. ALLEN. I have not said anything to the contrary.

Mr. SPOONER. And, Mr. President, I must be pardoned if I pay more regard to this unequivocal statement made by General Otis to the Commander in Chief than I do to the statement of a man made to the Senator from Nebraska for use in the campaign probably—

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir.

Mr. SPOONER. Whose name can not be given to the public. General Otis signed his statement. Mr. President, I have not much respect for a man who goes behind the back of his general to contradict him.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit a remark?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. The circumstances of this matter to which the Senator refers are peculiar.

Mr. SPOONER. There are a great many peculiar circumstances.

Mr. ALLEN. I know there are a great many peculiar things in the world, and we discover them as we go on from day to day.

Mr. SPOONER. And if some can not discover them they make them.

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir. If we do not discover them we miss them, and what we miss probably sometimes is much more valuable than what we come in contact with.

But the fighting began between the Filipinos and a regiment which went from my state—the First Nebraska—and one company of that regiment having gone from the little city in which I live, I think I am in an attitude to know, if men who have always borne a good character for truth and veracity can be believed, that the statement made by General Otis is not true.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, all that brings us to this situation; we have a Senator here who, in the interest of anti-imperialism, has placed upon the record the charge that the President did not tell the truth.

Mr. ALLEN. Who did not?

Mr. SPOONER. The President. I do not refer to you.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you.

Mr. SPOONER. We have also had placed upon the record here the statement that Admiral Dewey has not told the truth.

Mr. ALLEN rose.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not refer to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. ALLEN. I thank you again.

Mr. SPOONER. Now we have placed upon the record the statement that General Otis is a **prevaricator**.

Mr. ALLEN. Not at all, Mr. President. I do not make the charge that General Otis—I will not use the word "lied." The Senator seems to use that word with some degree of freedom. I will not use the word "prevaricator," because that is a milder method of **expressing the same thing**.

Mr. SPOONER. What word do you use?

Mr. ALLEN. I will simply say that General Otis is mistaken, which is a still softer term.

Mr. SPOONER. He may be mistaken about it, of course; but General Otis would be as likely to know as anybody else.

Mr. ALLEN. A thousand men—1,200 men—standing in a line and their officers and intelligent persons present in hearing distance, can not be ignored in settling a question of fact.

Mr. SPOONER. I suppose there hardly could have been a thousand men present at the conference between this officer, if he came, and General Otis.

Mr. ALLEN. I suppose the old rule holds good yet which prevailed in the days when the Senator and I served in the Army, when a private soldier was supposed to know nothing at all.

Mr. SPOONER. That was true in a good many instances. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN. It was probably true, and I think in some instances it has held true up to this time.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, probably.

Mr. ALLEN. But I hope the Senator does not propose to adopt that rule. We know that if there is an intelligent man upon the face of the earth it is the average American citizen. A man does not cease to see and to hear and to feel and to reason because he wears the uniform of a private soldier and does not wear the epaulettes of the commissioned officer. These men to whom I refer and of whom I speak can not all be fools and all liars, and the bewhiskered gentleman at the head of the Army at that time know all the truth.

Mr. SPOONER. I should think that General Otis would have known more about what happened in an interview with him than the army would.

Mr. ALLEN. Would the Senator from Wisconsin know more about what happened in an interview between himself and the honorable Senator from Iowa if the Senator from Michigan, who sits by him, was a listener to that conversation.

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. ALLEN. No. Suppose, added to the Senator from Michigan, there were a dozen other men who had an equal opportunity to hear it, would the statement of the honorable Senator from Wisconsin or the honorable Senator from Iowa be taken in preference to the statements of the dozen other gentlemen who had all listened?

Mr. SPOONER. On a matter of this kind, before answering the question I should want to know the politics of the man. [Laughter.] This is a Presidential year.

Mr. ALLEN. I have assumed all the way through that it is possible for a Republican to tell the truth. It may be that I am mistaken. If I am, I apologize to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator ought to know. He was a Republican long enough. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN. I was a Republican until I discovered that Republicanism meant nothing. I had the manhood to leave that party, thank God. The Senator has not thus far left it.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator has gotten that in my speech. He became a Populist.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. That is nothing.

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, no. That is, as you view it.

Mr. SPOONER. That is, as I view it.

Mr. ALLEN. In my humble opinion, the Senator from Wisconsin, in all the fullness and plenitude of his knowledge and wisdom, has never read a Populist platform.

Mr. SPOONER. I have.

Mr. ALLEN. You have read more than I thought you had.

Mr. SPOONER. And I can sum it all up in one sentence, almost. They are opposed to everything that is—

Mr. ALLEN. And everything that may be.

Mr. SPOONER. And in favor of everything that is not, that never has been and never ought to be. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator be kind enough to tell what the Populist party is in favor of?

Mr. SPOONER. No. The Senator proposes to reply to me. He will have time.

Mr. ALLEN. I do propose to reply, and I propose to reply particularly to that facetious part, and that specious part—I will not characterize it in stronger terms—which is calculated to gloss over the monstrosities that are existing in public life to-day and to meet the acclaim and applause of the galleries by light and trivial sayings.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator can use any language he chooses. He need not modify his language on my account.

Mr. ALLEN. It would be unparliamentary language.

Mr. SPOONER. Now, I come back to the proposition that I think the American people will believe General Otis, at any rate until he is contradicted by somebody whom they know and who comes into the open to dispute his statement.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President.

Mr. SPOONER. But I must finish this afternoon, and I have not said a word about the darkey or South Carolina. [Laughter.] I have not looked at the Senator from South Carolina. I was looking at the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will not the Senator allow a slight interruption notwithstanding?

Mr. SPOONER. I do not wish to.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will not interrupt the Senator.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, what is it?

Mr. TILLMAN. I will direct the Senator's attention—I know he is fair—to the fact that Gen. Otis has himself been his worst witness as to his own veracity, for the reason that he has so often telegraphed that the rebellion was suppressed, and that there was nothing left of it except a few straggling bands that we have come to believe that the war was over. Nevertheless, our latest news from there, even before he left and since he left, is that it is about as strong opposition as it ever has been.

Mr. SPOONER. Is that all?

Mr. TILLMAN. Well, then I will give the Senator another little bone—

Mr. SPOONER. No; I beg pardon.

Mr. TILLMAN. In regard to the causes of this battle and how it came about and who provoked it, I read from General Otis's report, in his own words:

The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents, and a vigorous attack by our forces.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then it could not have been intended by the insurgents and could not have been a premeditated plot. If the insurgents had provoked the assault and had sent their men out to get shot down in order to attack the Americans, they would not have been strictly on the defensive. They would have been ready for a rush.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator attempts to discredit the word of General Otis because he has reported from time to time that the insurrection, as I call it, was suppressed; but it turned out later that it was not. That was an opinion on the part of General Otis susceptible of easy explanation and in entire harmony with his integrity. I have come to look upon General Otis as a man of great ability, and I have never discovered anything—and I have studied these papers carefully—which would warrant the slightest imputation upon him. I thought at one time that he was not a fit man for the responsible position in which he was placed there.

Mr. ALLEN. Why was he recalled?

Mr. SPOONER. He was recalled at his own request, because he had been there a long time in a climate which breaks men down, carrying upon his shoulders a burden of responsibility, military and civil, and performing an amount of labor, prodigious in its character, which would break any man down. He won, in my opinion, by his conduct in the Philippines, the gratitude, to say nothing of the respect, of the American people. It is true that he thought when he had driven the men out of this village and the other they would stay out, but when the rainy season came, and when our troops had to be withdrawn to Manila, or leave the city subject to loot and destruction, the insurrectionists reoccupied the positions from which they had been driven. That was not the fault of General Otis. That was because we had not afforded him the requisite troops with which to carry on to consummation an Herculean task.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the honorable Senator permit me to suggest that the history of that insurrection, or whatever it may be called, does not furnish an instance where General Otis was on the battlefield during an action.

Mr. SPOONER. It is a matter of no consequence. The books are full of cablegrams, letters, orders, and communications, even as to the detail of movements, which show that General Otis from the beginning to the end kept in touch with every movement, with every troop of men, and gave general directions, as he was obliged to take the general responsibility.

Mr. ALLEN. Conveniently distant from the scene of danger.

Mr. SPOONER. I suppose the Senator means by that observation to charge him with cowardice, does he not?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not mean to charge him with cowardice.

Mr. SPOONER. Then what is the point of the suggestion?

Mr. ALLEN. I mean to say that he has never been upon the field of battle during an action. The Senator from Wisconsin was not there, but it does not follow that he is a coward.

Mr. SPOONER. It was not my business to be there.

Mr. ALLEN. It was the business of the commanding general to be there.

Mr. SPOONER. No; it was not the commanding general's business. Mr. ALLEN. Did the Senator ever know of a battle being fought before the late war where the general commanding the troops was not somewhere on the scene of action.

M. SPOONER. He was not the immediate commander of the

troops. He was the commander in chief. He occupied the same relation to the different corps—if there were corps—to the different brigades, and all that in the Philippines that General Grant occupied during the war over all the armies and all the commanders of the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. There can not be found an instance in the history of over two hundred battles fought during the civil war in which the commander of the army was not upon the scene of the battle—not one.

Mr. SPOONER. The immediate—

Mr. ALLEN. We have reports of battles, if you dignify them by that name, skirmish after skirmish in the Philippines, and Otis not upon the field of action in one of them.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, Mr. President, that is absurd.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, it is true nevertheless.

Mr. SPOONER. General Otis was there attending to his duties. He had good lieutenants.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. SPOONER. He had the brave and generous Lawton.

Mr. ALLEN. That is right.

Mr. SPOONER. He sleeps over here now in sight of the Capitol, among the men with whom he served for the preservation of this Union. The last word almost which he sent to the American people was that men over here were prolonging and inciting that insurrection, and that if he were shot he might as well be shot by his own men.

Mr. ALLEN. I deny that he ever gave utterance to that sentiment. I have heard the Senator repeat that before.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to have proof of the authenticity of that utterance, because Lawton has made statements that were entirely contrary to it. I have one here in my hand. The two do not go together. I should like to know which is the truth.

This is from the New York World correspondent. [Laughter.] I see the New York World is not very popular on this side of the house. It is from the correspondent of the New York World in Manila.

Mr. SPOONER. I wish the Senator would hurry.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It says:

General Lawton, during the last few months before his death, more than once expressed his discontent in his impulsive way. "I'm going to the Transvaal," he exclaimed one day. "They are fighting my way down there."

That sounds a good deal more like Lawton than the other.

"No, you are not," Mrs. Lawton replied. "You are going back to California with me to raise oranges."

Then the correspondent goes on to say:

Now, that he has gone where no influence of an enemy can be brought to bear on him these things may be told. It is eight months since he said that 100,000 men were necessary for the pacification of these islands and authorized the publication of the statement.

"General Otis scolded me about it," he said afterwards, "but I didn't go back on what I said."

There are further quotations, but that is the point.

Mr. SPOONER. I have no doubt there were times over there when General Lawton was not satisfied. I have heard myself that he was not entirely satisfied with the way he was treated. That is not the matter I was talking about, nor is that any contradiction of what I said. This paper that I have in my hand is part of a letter which was written by General Lawton not long before his death to the Hon. John Barrett, ex-minister to Siam, whom he knew.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Do you know it was written?

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator reminds me of a lawyer who was defending a prisoner for murder. The evidence showed that the defendant stood with a revolver when the other man approached and fired it, and when he fired it the man fell dead. On cross-examination of a witness who saw it the counsel said to him, "Did you see this defendant?" "Yes." "Where was he?" "Well, he stood so and so." "Did he have a revolver in his hand?" "Yes." "Was it pointed at the deceased?" "Yes." "How far from him was it?" "Twelve feet." "Did he fire it?" "Yes." "Did the deceased drop when he fired it?" "Yes." "Did you go to him?" "Yes." "Was he dead?" "Yes." "Now, sir; I ask you to inform the jury, on your oath, whether you saw any bullet go out of the barrel of that revolver." [Laughter.]

General Lawton wrote—and this is altogether apart from what I wanted to say to the Senate—

I would to God that the whole truth of this whole Philippine situation could be known by everyone in America as I know it. If the so-called anti-imperialists would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground and not in distant America, they, whom I believe to be honest men misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions, and of the unfortunate effect of their publications here. If I am shot by a Filipino bullet it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observations, confirmed by captured prisoners, that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America.

Mr. PETTIGREW. What I asked was, What proof have you that that was written by Lawton?

Mr. SPOONER. In the first place, it was a signed letter written to Mr. John Barrett, and I assume he wrote it, because I believe it expresses the truth.

Mr. ALLEN. Have you the original letter?

Mr. SPOONER. No; I have not the original letter.

Mr. ALLEN. You have a printed copy?

Mr. SPOONER. This printed extract.

Mr. ALLEN. That is all.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes. If that is not enough I will furnish the original letter.

Mr. ALLEN. That would be better.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not know. Most men would be satisfied with the word of a man who had received the letter. Mr. Barrett told me he received the letter.

Mr. ALLEN. It would depend upon the veracity of the person who said he had read the letter.

Mr. SPOONER. It would depend upon whether it was an original and authentic letter.

Mr. ALLEN. I have seen it contradicted a half a dozen times.

Mr. SPOONER. By whom?

Mr. ALLEN. By reporters and others who profess to know. I can not call their names now. I know the Senator had it in his desk four months ago. He read it four months ago, or shortly after Lawton died.

Mr. SPOONER. I will read it again.

Mr. ALLEN. It has done duty here on several occasions. But that is not what I rose for. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. President, I have never seen the rules of the Senate violated without some steps being taken to check it until an occasion like this comes up. There has been constant and repeated violation of the rules of the Senate during this discussion by the occupants of the galleries and by gentlemen who have the privileges of the floor. I want now to insist—I am perfectly willing the Senator from Wisconsin shall have all the applause he sees fit to enjoy—

Mr. SPOONER. I need all I get.

Mr. ALLEN. I have no doubt of that, but I certainly insist that for political purposes and to aid imperialism and its greed for power—

Mr. SPOONER. I thought the Senator wanted to make a point of order.

Mr. ALLEN. I am stating it.

Mr. SPOONER. There is no imperialism in our rules that I know of.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator should not put words in my mouth or tell me how I should state my proposition. The traditions and rules of the Senate should not be constantly violated, and the Senate of the United States turned into a town caucus.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There has been no applause or disturbance from the galleries during this speech.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg to differ.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There has been laughter on the part of Senators themselves, and the Chair has no right to call a Senator to order for laughter.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg the Chair's pardon. There was applause in the galleries. Sitting where I sit, I have heard it from the galleries.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has heard no applause.

Mr. ALLEN. I have.

Mr. SPOONER. There it is again. [Laughter.] This is a day of—

Mr. TELLER. There certainly has been great confusion in the Chamber and great confusion in the galleries. I think that it is time that confusion ceased, particularly on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I wish simply to refer to what has already been said in connection with the Lawton matter very briefly, if I may be permitted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SPOONER. Always.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am not inclined to interrupt another Senator when he is making a speech. I seldom do it, and I think my fellow-Senators will bear me out in saying that, but I must say that it seems to me there has been a studied effort in the last few days to compel me to take a part in this debate by very pointed and direct allusions that justified what little participation I may have had in it. Therefore I do not feel like apologizing for what I may say.

I do not believe the statement, on the proof presented, came from General Lawton. I will believe it when such proof is brought as would satisfy a jury and be considered evidence. The statement is not like Lawton. The New York World correspondence is more like him. It seems to me it is going very far for any one to stand up in the Senate and undertake to insist, in view of all the facts that surround the case, that the people who believe that we ought to withdraw our armed forces and stop killing those people are guilty of the killing of our troops.

When Aguinaldo sent word that he wanted a truce, that we could fix the boundaries of a neutral zone, and we declined to answer, and the killing has gone on ever since, I submit that those who are so jealous of the honor of our flag that they object to its being used to destroy the liberties of other people, are not responsible for the killing that has resulted since that time. The responsibility rests upon those who insist on continuing a war of conquest in an effort to subject a people to a rule distasteful and unsatisfactory to them, and the responsibility is on no one else. It is in bad taste, unjustified

under any circumstances, to bring into this forum any such charge; and I do not believe Lawton ever did it.

Mr. SPOONER. I will undertake to satisfy the Senator that the letter is a genuine letter.

The Senator from South Carolina quoted from General Otis that in the fighting that night the insurrectionists acted "strictly upon the defensive" and that our troops acted upon the aggressive. The Senator construes that as a statement by General Otis that we were responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. That is a manifest misconstruction. General Otis is there giving a report to the Secretary of War, using the language of a soldier to his superior officer, and he is referring to the operation of that battle from the tactical standpoint and not to the responsibility for opening the hostilities. It undoubtedly is true, as he states, that the Philippine army was intrenched partly around Manila. They fired upon our men from intrenchments, and the American soldiery, in self-defense charged those intrenchments and assumed the aggressive, and drove them out of the intrenchments and out of the suburbs.

That is obviously what is meant by General Otis—that the one army fought behind intrenchments and did not charge, and that the other army charged the intrenchments and drove the enemy out; and that is in accord with the facts. I am glad the Senator called my attention to it because I had heard that statement before as authority for the proposition that General Otis had reported that the American troops opened hostilities and were the aggressors. They are the soldiers who charged the Filipinos after they had opened a general fire upon our lines. But General Otis was informed that rockets of a certain sort had been agreed upon as the signal upon which there should be a general engagement, and Admiral Dewey has stated that when the sentry fired the shot, followed by a fusillade, those rockets which had been agreed upon as a signal for attack, he saw from his ship.

It has been said here, and it shows how forced to a ridiculous contention some of our friends are, that possibly as the lieutenant and his men did not understand the English language, they may not have understood the sentry when he called "Halt!"

Mr. President, think of it. There is not a soldier in the world who does not know, when a sentry stands with gun in hand, what it means, and when he utters a word with gun in hand, even an Indian on the plains knows what it means. It is the language of war. It means stop. It is more than mere language; it is more than a mere word. The attitude itself and the duty which the soldier is performing speak for themselves.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I will assist the Senator in trying to bring out the facts. I should be glad if the Senator would allow me to make a suggestion.

Mr. SPOONER. I am paying a pretty heavy price for the assistance. I am anxious to get through.

Mr. TILLMAN. Why does the Senator look at the clock when I get up?

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator does not own the clock.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not claim to own the clock.

Mr. SPOONER. I looked at the clock—

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator objects to my interruption—

Mr. SPOONER. I looked at the clock because I am anxious to get through.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not think the Senator ought to object to giving the great pleasure he has been giving us now for three evenings

in succession; and I am satisfied he has received attention as no other man has during this whole session of Congress. I have drunk in every word I could of his, and I have enjoyed it as much as though he were fighting on my side, because it is the most magnificent piece of special pleading that I have ever listened to or that I believe has ever been uttered on this floor.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I am chagrined that my observations have taken a portion of three sessions. I ask my colleagues to remember that it has been largely due to interruptions. But now I desire to be permitted to finish what I have to say without interruption.

Mr. TILLMAN. Of course, I will not interrupt the Senator if he objects.

Mr. SPOONER. I am anxious to be through for many reasons.

Mr. President, I will not take further time upon the question as to who commenced the battle. I will not discuss it in detail, although I would have been glad to do it, if I had not already been beguiled into delay on matters which are important to be considered in connection with this branch of the subject.

There is one significant thing which I have never heard alluded to by those who are so anxious and industrious to impress upon the people that we brought on hostilities and that we have been making war upon a people struggling for independence, and that is this:

Professor Worcester, in his address, "Some aspects of the Philippine question," states that under date of February 12, General Otis sent the following dispatch:

Reported that insurgent representative at Washington telegraphed Aguinaldo to drive out Americans before arrival of reinforcements. The dispatch received Hongkong and mailed to Malolos, which decided on attack to be made about 7th. Eagerness of insurgent troops to engage precipitated battle.

There is the strongest possible corroboration of that statement. I know that in this city, stopping at the Arlington Hotel during the time we were debating the treaty, was a Filipino commission headed by Agoncillo, one of the Philippine junta, one who made an important speech on May 5 at the meeting which decided that Aguinaldo against his will, should go to Manila.

And I know, Mr. President, that before any of us knew in this country that there had been any outbreak in Manila Agoncillo and one of his associates left the hotel. He left at midnight February 4 and went to Canada by the shortest route, and by the time we learned by cable from those distant islands that warfare had been commenced there and an attack had been made on the night of February 4 upon our troops, Agoncillo was near to the Canadian border. Why he suddenly fled from the United States in this surreptitious way and sought to be under another flag, I can not tell. Perhaps others can.

I have always thought, Mr. President, it was because he knew it had been arranged that on that night or on the next morning there would be an attack upon our troops in Manila by the insurgents, and thought it would be safer for him to be beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.

There is absolutely nothing, Mr. President, in my opinion, upon which to base the assertion that, in violation of General Otis's orders from the President, and in violation of Otis's orders to his men, our troops brought on that engagement. But the fighting went on. Our troops aggressively followed the insurrectionists. That was a legitimate part of self-defense. Nothing would require them, hostilities having broken out, to remain in Manila and allow the enemy to again surround the city, to again attack them at disadvantage.

Now, Mr. President, whether the insurrection is ended or not, I do not know. I fear not until after election. From the time that treaty was ratified, which has been declared or characterized as a declaration of war, we have had an agitation in this country. Mr. Bryan, to whom I refer respectfully, came here and labored for the ratification of that treaty. If it was a declaration of war he must take his share of the responsibility for it. If it in itself involved imperialism he was a promoter of imperialism.

Before the treaty was ratified, January 9, he published in the New York Journal an elaborate article upon the subject, urging the ratification of the treaty, and a declaration of future policy as to the Philippines, strongly I thought, and think, foreshadowing, in the event of failure to make such a declaration, an aggressive issue against imperialism or colonialism, and from that time in all the speeches he has made, which I have read, he has made anti-imperialism the paramount feature of his political creed. Without impeaching the sincerity of his view against imperialism, as I understand it, or colonialism, when the time comes to decide that question, I have thought and do think, that it was an attempt to make an issue where there is no issue, apparently born out of the necessity to obscure in some respects the issues of 1896.

For I insist, Mr. President, that *there is not in this day, nor has there been, any legitimate foundation for an issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism.*

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I am loath to interrupt the Senator, but I think I ought to remind him, if he will allow me, that—

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. The question of imperialism was raised by Republicans long before Mr. Bryan said anything about it, and it was raised in this Chamber.

Mr. SPOONER. Ah, but those were the men who thought that the ratification of the treaty constituted imperialism and committed the country to it.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President they contended that the ratification of the treaty meant what they are now contending this Administration intends to do. Every contention they make to-day the members of the Republican party who are contending against what they call imperialism have made in this Chamber and stated that that would be the result of the ratification.

Mr. SPOONER. Ah, but, Mr. President, no man who helped to ratify the treaty is justified in denouncing that as imperialism or in asserting that by the ratification of that treaty the country became committed to the doctrine of imperialism.

Mr. TELLER. I will not allow the Senator to assert or to insinuate that I—

Mr. SPOONER. That remark could not refer to the Senator.

Mr. TELLER. Very well, then. Mr. President, I voted to ratify the treaty. I never regretted that I voted for it. I want to say that it is an unfair position for the Senator to take to charge that Mr. Bryan is the author of what is called anti-imperialism in this country.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. Bryan is the most conspicuous and powerful leader of the Democratic party at this time, and he has done more, in the way of public speeches and writing, in attack upon what he calls imperialism than any other man in the country, and that is manifestly what he seeks and has sought to make the principal issue in the campaign upon which we are shortly to enter.

I did not refer to my friend from Colorado. I voted for the treaty myself, and I stated before I voted for it that if I thought it committed this country to permanent dominion in the Philippines I should vote against it. What I mean to say, and I say it without fear of successful contradiction, is that there is no issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism now, Mr. President, except it be made for party and political purposes.

Where is the issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism? Upon what foundation of fact does it or can it rest *now*? Who has proposed imperialism in the Philippine Archipelago? Who could speak under the Constitution upon that subject? The President has had but one policy, and that is the policy of an executive. It is the policy to carry forward into execution the law. We ratified the treaty. We might have rejected it. We take our share of the responsibility for laying that foundation. We had passed the military bill. We had placed these soldiers at his command, knowing and intending, Mr. President, that he should use them, that he would use them to assert and maintain the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago.

Now, Mr. President—

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. That is territory of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. Who can *dispose of it*? The President? No. The President has made no speech in which, as I recollect it, he did not assert that the power of disposition is in Congress. He says in his last annual message that the whole power of government there is in Congress. The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States." The President can not do it. It is for Congress to do it. It is for Congress to say whether we will withdraw our army from the Philippines or not, whether we will cede the Philippines or not, how we will govern the Philippines if we retain them, or how long we shall retain them. It is not for the President to say, nor has he arrogated to himself that function.

That power to "dispose of" the Philippines is a *continuing power*, Mr. President. It is not one that is lost by failure to exercise it this year or next year. It does not lapse by nonuser. It is not one that can be exercised by declaratory resolutions. It is one which requires legislation. Has there been any? Has there been any proposition of the kind? Not until the Senator from South Dakota introduced his amendment here a day or two ago, that I have known of.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. In the years to come, Mr. President, if there shall be a time when the Philippine people, having under our tutelage and guidance been uplifted, having by years of participation in local government become familiar in a way with that science; when education shall have been more largely diffused in the islands; when they have come to know, as they will come to know, that we are their friends, not their enemies; when, in the opinion of the intelligent, patriotic people of the United States, the Philippine people are capable of self-government, capable of maintaining a government which will discharge the duties of a government, which will protect life and liberty and property, which, if you please, can discharge the obligations between nations, then, Mr. President, if

they want independence, and there shall be a party in this country which says "yes," and a party in this country which says "no, we will govern them forever as a territory..or colony," that will be an issue of imperialism and antiimperialism. It can not come until then, and it can not be settled unless and until it shall have come. It is not here now.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. I must decline to yield, Mr. President. I hope my friend will pardon me, but that issue, I say again, Mr. President, is not here now except for party and partisan purposes. It is a forced and fictitious issue, Mr. President, and nothing else, and it is a baleful issue; it is a wicked issue. I speak only for myself. I represent no man's opinions here but my own, so far as I know; but, Mr. President, the utterances upon that alleged issue in this country, the agitation as to what in time to come shall be done with the Philippine people, has been in the highest degree harmful to our soldiery and embarrassing and obstructive in the discharge of Executive duty. It is my opinion that it has prolonged the insurrection; it is my opinion that it has cost millions of money and cost many, many lives. And that, too, when there is no such issue before the people, and when no party can rightly make it an issue now.

It was the duty, as I said the other day, of every man to say what he thought should be said upon that subject of ratification regardless of the effect it might have anywhere. But that is not the situation today. That has not been the situation any day since that treaty was ratified and since hostilities broke out in the Philippines. There are issues enough without this feigned issue. Has it done harm? Has it done good, I might rather ask? Almost every utterance, Mr. President, of a conspicuous man against what is termed "Imperialism" has been translated into the Spanish and circulated among the insurrectionists; and it would have been none different whatever in its effect if a great political party in this country had sent a message to them, "Maintain your insurrection until after the election, and if we succeed at the polls we will give you independence."

I received from a commander in the Navy the other day, to illustrate what I mean, this paper. A city of 17,000 people had just been captured over there by our Army, and in the offing were two vessels of the Navy. Some of the officers with marines went to the city. I only mention this to show how closely they follow public opinion and utterances in the United States. They found posted up in conspicuous places around that city this poster in Spanish. I have here the translation of it. It was an effort against what is called imperialism, against what is characterized as brutal policy on the part of the United States, a willingness to subjugate a people and to hold them in slavery.

[Translation of circular or proclamation.]

From the provincial chief of this province received to-day, the 9th of December, the tenor of which is as follows:

I have the great pleasure of informing your excellencies that you may in your town cause to be publicly known that data according to the foreign newspapers very strongly favorable to the independence of our fatherland exists in the fact that the party of the North American people which calls itself the Democratic party, preserving unimpaired its ancient principles and traditional institutions by which it obtained in the past century the independence of its own country, emancipating it from England, sustains and defends to-day with

ardor the declaration independence of the Philippines and that the Massachusetts periodical having the widest circulation among the agriculturists of the country known under the name of The Farm and Home—

The Farm and Home. Does the Senator from Massachusetts know that paper?

Mr. LODGE. I do.

Mr. SPOONER (reading)—

The Farm and Home, having interested its subscribers in the subject, asked that they manifest themselves in favor of the independence of the Philippines or their annexation with the following results:

Section.	For independence.	For annexation.
New England	1,277	785
Middle States	8 888	2,343
Central West	4 901	3,102
Southern States	1,792	1 083
Pacific coast	1,684	1,103
Total	18,524	8,416

May Providence decree that in the election for the President of the United States the Democratic party, which defends us, shall triumph, and not the imperialistic party, which is headed by Mr. McKinley, and which attacks us.

I presume this was all over the Philippines—

The great Democrat, Dr. Bryan, one of the most eminent men of the United States, is assured that he will be the future President, and then our happy hours begin. There have also been celebrated in New York and Chicago great meetings and banquets in honor of our dearly beloved president, Sr. Aguinaldo, who was entitled one of the world's true heroes.

The masses who have thus voted in our favor have done the same with reference to Cuba, asking her independence, for which she is already to-day struggling.

Finally, the conduct of the Filipino annexationists condemns itself. They have changed their flag as they change their shirts, and are animated solely by momentary lust of stolen gold: but by their own vile conduct, aided by their thieving country, they are only raising their own scaffold.

God guard your excellencies many years.

Guinabatan, December 4, 1899.

Sig. DOMINGO SAMSON.

I have here a number of extracts translated from La Independencia, published in the Philippines. I will read but a few of them:

AN ADVERSARY OF M'KINLEY.

Mr. Bryan, the competitor of McKinley in the last Presidential election and the candidate selected for the future by the Democratic party, has published a manifesto which has caused a profound sensation in the United States.

Mr. Bryan announces himself decidedly opposed to the imperial policy of the Government, and shows the danger in which American institutions will be placed by this entirely new ambition for colonization. * * * He asks that the regime instituted in Cuba be applied to all the territory taken from Spain.

To place the American yoke on the millions of natives who wish to be free 200,000 men will be needed. February 2, 1899.

A great popular meeting was held in New York on February 23 to protest against the imperialistic policy of the United States. March 8, 1899.

BRYAN SPEAKS.

Mr. Bryan * * * declared at a great meeting at Denver that the United States could not institute a colonial policy. "Imperialism," he said, "may increase our territory, but it will lower our ideals. It is a step backward, etc." March 28, 1899.

Mr. PETTIGREW. May I ask the Senator from what he is reading?

Mr. SPOONER. I am reading an extract from a newspaper published in the Philippines and supported by Aguinaldo called La Independencia.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to ask if he is reading from the original paper?

Mr. SPOONER. I can not read from the original paper, as that is in Spanish.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator is reading a translation?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; a translation.

Mr. ALLEN. By whom was the translation the Senator is reading made?

Mr. SPOONER. By an officer of the Army.

Mr. ALLEN. Did the Senator get it from the officer who translated it?

Mr. SPOONER. No, sir; I did not get it from the officer who translated it.

Mr. ALLEN. Has the Senator any knowledge of the genuineness of the translation?

Mr. SPOONER. I only know that it was translated in the War Department and given me as a correct translation. The papers are all in the War Department. I saw them there.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator hold Mr. Bryan responsible for what that translation states?

Mr. SPOONER. That is not what I am saying. So far as that is concerned, what the paper states is substantially a fact.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not doubt that the Senator thinks so; but I hope the Senator will not snap at me quite so savagely.

Mr. SPOONER. I did not mean to be offensive, and I hope the Senator is not alarmed.

Mr. ALLEN. Before the Senator scares me entirely away I wish to ask him if he has seen a translation of the speech which was made by the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr BEVERIDGE.], which was cabled to Manila, translated into Spanish, and circulated among the Filipinos as conclusive evidence that this Government never did intend to give those people their liberty?

Mr. SPOONER. I have not.

Mr. ALLEN. But the Senator recognizes that that was done, does he not?

Mr. SPOONER. I do not know it.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have seen that statement made.

Mr. ALLEN. I understood it was done, and I have as good authority for saying that it was done as the Senator has for what he says.

Mr. SPOONER. I think not.

Mr. ALLEN. Indeed, I have.

Mr. SPOONER. In the first place, these statements imputed to Mr. Bryan and other gentlemen were, in substance, made here in public. There is no doubt about that; and they were cabled over there. I am not assuming now that it was ever the purpose of anyone here to make trouble over there, nor do I believe such a thing, of course. I am only saying that this agitation and these utterances upon an alleged issue, which does not exist, have done and will do great mischief. That is all.

Mr. ALLEN. I am trying to find out as to the facts. I am not prepared to affirm or disaffirm what the Senator says; but what authority has the Senator for placing before the Senate and the world these statements which he has presented as authentic?

Mr. SPOONER. I place them before the Senate as authentic because they were given to me, and I think they are correct translations. The Senator can find the paper at the War Department and translate it for himself.

Mr. ALLEN. No; I can not.

Mr. SPOONER. And verify the correctness of the translation.

Mr. ALLEN. I regret to say that I only know one language, and that very imperfectly; and so I would not know anything about it if I had the papers; but the Senator, being an English and a Spanish scholar as well, I suppose, could probably have compared these translations with the original text, and would be able to supply that hiatus in the proof.

Mr. SPOONER. To whom is the Senator referring?

Mr. ALLEN. I am referring to the senior Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. I am not a Spanish scholar.

Mr. ALLEN. I thought the Senator was.

I have always given the Senator credit for knowing all about languages and about a great many other things, and I always interrupt him with a great deal of diffidence, knowing his universal knowledge compared with the feeble amount of information that I have been able to pick up.

When I take occasion to interrupt the Senator it is as to things that come to my mind in the course of debate, and I want to know the connection of these things and the proof.

Mr. SPOONER. I have stated to the Senator that I can show him the paper, and if he thinks this is not a correct translation he can bring it to the attention of the country.

Mr. ALLEN. The burden is upon the Senator to prove that the translation is correct. When the Senator introduces a document in evidence he must lay the foundation by proving that it is genuine, and tracing the proofs step by step up to the document which he seeks to introduce; and now the Senator proposes that I shall assume the burden of disproving the genuineness of the document that he seeks to introduce. I decline that invitation.

Mr. SPOONER. I went to the War Department to get the correct translation, and the Senator ought to go there if he thinks it is not a correct translation and verify it.

Mr. ALLEN. I shall not go to the War Department. I have no business at the War Department.

Mr. SPOONER. This is business.

Mr. ALLEN. I know it is, but possibly if I went to the War Department, with this lingering suspicion upon my mind, the opportunity of ascertaining the correctness or incorrectness of the translation would not be as open to me as to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. I think, Mr. President, that is an entirely unjustifiable imputation upon the War Department. The Senator may think that, but I am satisfied he will find he is mistaken.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not mean to impute anything against the War Department, but the Senator knows human nature just as well as I.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, just to show further the effect in the Philippines of this agitation and the discussion of this attempted issue, which is not an issue, I read this, which was telegraphed from over there. The original was in Spanish, and I can not swear to the translation, but I should think it correct from its contents.

Mr. ALLEN. What does the Senator say about the issue?

Mr. SPOONER. I say that there is no issue of imperialism and antiimperialism between the Republican party and the Democratic party, except as made by the Democratic party for campaign purposes.

Mr. ALLEN. I am not speaking for the Democratic party at all.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, the Populist party. I forgot that.

Mr. ALLEN. I am speaking for no party. Now, what is the attitude of the Republican party on that question?

Mr. SPOONER. The attitude of the Republican party is this, so far as I know: It is first to enforce and maintain the authority of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago.

Mr. ALLEN. And that being done, what follows?

Mr. SPOONER. To organize as speedily as possible civil governments there, adapted to the necessities of the different tribes and people; to give them honest courts of justice; to abolish—and that has already been done—the ecclesiastical courts, so that the friar may be brought to the ordinary court and tried as are other men for an offense which he commits; to protect life and liberty and property; to fill that country with schoolhouses—

Mr. ALLEN. And churches.

Mr. SPOONER. To give the people an opportunity for education; to be just and generous to those people, giving them participation in the local governments there as large as possible at first, and on increasing lines as they may show themselves fitted for it; to honestly expend the moneys collected from taxation there in their interests and for their benefit; to maintain laws there, Mr. President, so honestly and firmly that no man, however rich, shall be beyond their reach if he does wrong, and no man, however humble, shall be denied their support or protection if he is wronged.

Mr. ALLEN. I concur with the Senator in that.

Mr. SPOONER. In short, Mr. President, to carry to that people what they have never had before, and what the American flag always carries to a people—generosity, justice, liberty, and the blessings and advantages of our civilization as far and as fast as possible.

Mr. ALLEN. I heartily concur with everything the Senator says on that point.

Mr. SPOONER. Is there any imperialism in that?

Mr. ALLEN. I stand side by side with the Senator up to that point. Now, all these things being accomplished, what does the Senator propose to do with those islands?

Mr. SPOONER. All these things being accomplished—it will take some time to accomplish them—

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. Doing our level best—

Mr. ALLEN. All the time.

Mr. SPOONER. It will take a long time to accomplish that.

Mr. ALLEN. Some years.

Mr. SPOONER. Some years—and the Senator is in favor of that?

Mr. ALLEN. It will take some years to do it.

Mr. SPOONER. Some years to do it—then, Mr. President, where is your issue of imperialism *now*?

Mr. ALLEN. What I ask the Senator, then, is—these years having passed by, having passed into eternity, all these things having been accomplished—what does the Senator propose to do with those islands?

Mr. SPOONER. I do not expect to be here. I say it is a wicked thing to attempt to make that issue now, with our Army in the field, and with work before us to which the Senator agrees, which will, even upon the Senator's own admission, take some years yet.

Mr. ALLEN. No; the Senator can not run away by saying—

Mr. SPOONER. I run away from nobody.

Mr. ALLEN. No, I think not; but the Senator can not run

away, metaphorically speaking, of course, from the argument by personalizing himself.

Mr. SPOONER. If the Senator will permit me, he was out when I submitted observations upon that subject.

Mr. ALLEN. Then I will put the question differently. Is there ever a time, or will the time ever come in the history of the Philippines, all these things being accomplished, when those people will be allowed to erect an independent civil government for themselves?

Mr. SPOONER. I will restate, Mr. President, that in all these constant agitations and denunciations—and the Senator ought to know it, and those for whom he speaks ought to know it—the power to govern and dispose of the Philippine Archipelago is not in any Administration; it is not in any President, but, under the Constitution, it is in Congress. As I said before the Senator came in, what we are concerned about now is the discharge, in a manful way, of present duty. What will in the ultimate be the policy of the American people in the Philippine Archipelago is for the American people to say when that day comes. I do not hesitate to assert my conviction that when the day does come that the Philippine inhabitants have so far evidenced their ability to maintain a government—to discharge its functions—that they can safely be intrusted with independence, and they want it, the American people will give it to them.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Republican party give it to them?

Mr. SPOONER. I am not talking about the Republican party.

Mr. ALLEN. I thought you were.

Mr. SPOONER. That is the trouble with all this business, Mr. President. It is party, party, party, and nothing else, and that is what I complain of.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator has been arguing for his party for three days upon this subject.

Mr. SPOONER. I have not been arguing for my party, except in this sense: I have been attempting in a frank way to defend the Administration of my party against what I consider unjust accusations. That is proper.

Mr. ALLEN. I have put the Senator a fair question.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. It will only take one of two words to answer it. Does the Republican party propose at any time, if it is in power, all these things and all these blessings to which the Senator has referred having been accomplished, to give those people an independent government?

Mr. SPOONER. I can not speak for the Republican party.

Mr. ALLEN. That question is capable of an answer.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Democratic party propose to do that?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know anything about the Democratic party.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, does the Populist party propose to do it?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPOONER. Then why have they not said so?

Mr. ALLEN. They have said so in their platform recently at Sioux Falls, as the Senator will see by reference to it.

Mr. SPOONER. When are they going to do it?

Mr. ALLEN. Just as soon as the matter can be adjusted between the two governments.

Mr. SPOONER. Adjusted between what two governments?

Mr. ALLEN. Adjusted as between the two peoples. In the first

place, when the Populist party is in power it will not be too cowardly to do this.

Mr. SPOONER. Between what two governments?

Mr. ALLEN. The United States and the Philippine Islands?

Mr. SPOONER. But an island is not a government.

Mr. ALLEN. I think I know something about the attitude there. I will say "the Philippine people," if that will suit the Senator better.

Mr. SPOONER. Very well.

Mr. ALLEN. The Populist party would do what the Republican party will never do, in my judgment. There will never be an offer to adjust the differences between this people and that people so long as the Republican party is in power until we shoot down every man in those islands.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh!

Mr. ALLEN. The Populist party would offer to those people the blessings of civil liberty immediately. It would not go to them with shot and shell and sword and bayonet and artillery, but would go to them with a mission of peace, and by peaceful means put them upon their feet, making for them a government, and sustaining them against all the encroachments of Europe; but the Republican party, full and drunken and intoxicated with power, with greed, with lust of empire, never will do anything of that kind.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not think the Republican party is very much intoxicated. I do not assume to say what the Republican party will do in five years from now, and I do not think the Senator has any warrant for saying what the Democratic party will do five years from now, or what the Populist party will do five years from now. We can not proceed upon mere speculation. I am content with discharging present duty.

Mr. ALLEN. So am I.

Mr. SPOONER. I want to maintain the authority of the United States in the Philippines. Does not the Senator?

Mr. ALLEN. So long as we have any right in the Philippine Islands, I want to maintain the authority of the United States there. I have said so months and months ago in this Chamber, and I say so now; but I do not want to go to those people with guns, and swords, and bayonets, and munitions of war, without first going to them with a mission of peace, with a full assurance that if they surrender their arms and cease their contention against the sovereignty of the United States, which is there for the time being, they shall be made an independent people with an independent constitution, just exactly as God has determined, in my judgment, that every free people should be. I would do that first.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I decline to be further interrupted, for I must finish my speech.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg the Senator's pardon for having interrupted him.

Mr. SPOONER. I was saying that the Republican party is in favor of discharging present duty. There is a plain pathway before us, Mr. President, and that is to maintain authority in the Philippine Islands, and to use that as the foundation for the creation there of a government. It can only be done in that way, and already, Mr. President, although that people have been prejudiced against us—prejudiced by the friars, prejudiced by the Spanish soldiery who are left there, prejudiced in every conceivable way, prejudiced by utterances in the United States, suggesting that we intend to put them into slavery and under a yoke—we are winning, as rapidly as we could expect, their confidence and their re-

spect, and we should proceed with that work. We shall win it, because we will deserve it.

While I can not speak for the Republican party in the future, any more than another Senator can speak for the Democratic party or the Populist party in the future, I repeat that when the day shall come that that people is fitted to maintain an independent government—one which can discharge its international obligations; one which can protect life, liberty, and property at home—and the question is, whether they shall have it, if they want it, or whether we shall keep them forever in the condition of dependence or territorial government; I have no doubt that the American people—Democrats, and Republicans, and Populists—will say that they shall have it, and, with all that, I never expect the American flag to come down in the Philippine Islands.

This is consistent with all I have said. Having the title, we can, in anything the people may do as to the Philippines in the future, make such reservations to ourselves, or exceptions, as are right and needful for safeguarding our interests in the Orient. We can have there naval stations for our war ships, a safe resting place for our Pacific commerce, and our flag as it floats there will forever be evidence to the world of our interest in the archipelago, and our interest in its people.

I was saying, Mr. President—and I ought not to have consented to these interruptions—that there is no such issue here now, and practically, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] admits it.

In October, 1899, Aguinaldo published a signed manifesto in La Independencia in which he said—

"We ask God that he may grant the triumph of the Democratic party in the United States, which is the party which defends the Philippines, and that Imperialism may cease from its mad idea of subduing us with its arms."

I will read another evidence of the malign influence over there of this agitation upon a vain and false issue for political purposes. Here is a captured document translated into English:

[Telegram.]

In the United States meetings and banquets have been held in honor of our honorable President, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, who was proclaimed by Mr. Bryan, the future President of the United States, as one of the heroes of the world.

The Masonic society, interpreting the unanimous desire of the people, together with the Government, organizes a meeting and popular assembly in this capital in favor of the national independence, which will take place on Sunday, the 29th, in honor of Mr. Bryan and the anti-imperialist party which defends our cause in the United States.

All the Masons and all the Filipino people are called to take part in this solemn act. The meeting will be composed of three parts: First. At 8 in the morning on the 29th, a gathering in an appropriate place will take place, which will begin by singing the national hymn; then appropriate speeches will be read. Second. At midday a banquet will take place in the palace in honor of Mr. Bryan, who will be represented by American prisoners. Third. At 4 in the afternoon a popular manifestation will take place everywhere—the people will decorate and illuminate their houses, bands of music will pass through the streets.

[SEAL.]

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Tarlac, October 27, 1899.

To all the provincial, local, and military commanders in this capital, Nuncia Capas, Bangbang, Gerona, Panique, and Victoria, the president of the audience of Bayambang, and the editor of La Independencia.

I certify that this translation is correct, to the best of my belief.

JOHN R. M. TAYLOR,

Captain, Fourteenth Infantry, in charge insurgent records.

Manila, February 23, 1900.

Here is the Spanish telegram:

ASAMBLEA DE MUJERES.

Se verificara el 2 de Noviembre de 1899, en el Teatro de Tarlac.
En honor de la Independencia patria y del pueblo americano que simpatiza con la nacion Filipina.

Programa.

Primera parte.

(6 manana.)

Diana—Las bandas de musica recorreran la poblacion.

(8 manana.)

Acto inaugural—Marcha Nacional.

Discurso de apertura por la Presidenta.

Lectura de telegramas.

Discursos y poesias.

Donativos para los heridos en campana.

Himno: AGUINALDO—BRYAN.

Paso doble: La Independencia.

Segunda parte.

(4 tarde.)

Manifestacion popular.

* * * * *

Here is another:

FILIPINO REPUBLIC, Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

Wishing to hold a meeting in the morning of Sunday next in the Presidential Palace of this republic to correspond with the one held in the United States by Mr. Bryan, who toasted our honorable president as one of the heroes of the world, and with the object of carrying this out with the utmost pomp and with contributing by the presence of your subordinates to its greater splendor, I would be obliged if you would come to see me for a conference upon this matter.

May God keep you many years.

Tarlac, October 26, 1899.

FELIPE BUENCANIMO.

The Secretary.

The Secretary of the Interior.

Here is the telegram from the secretary of war, Tarlac:

[Telegram. Reg. No. 32.]

No. 612. Rs. 70.

De Dagupan, 1.34 p. m.

Ba. 29 de 10 de 1899, fls. 11.30 el office de Guerra.

MONSON.

Secretary of War, Tarlac:

Provincial Chief Zambales. Received your circular by telegraph yesterday. Was received with great animation and patriotic enthusiasm by the people gathered in a great reunion in government house. We had early this morning a gathering of civil and military officers and private persons to celebrate the independence of the country and in honor of Mr. Bryan, and at 4 p. m. we shall have the second part of the meeting. We all join in congratulating our honorable president, the government, and the army.

I read these, Mr. President, not to impute the purpose to anyone in this country to do harm over there to our Army, for I know that is not true, but to show that this agitation against the Republican party as an imperialistic party, and against the President of the United States, now Commander in Chief of the Army, as a man of ambition, with a lust for empire, regardless of the liberty of others, and the attitude of the Democratic party as favoring the independence of the people, is known over there and acted upon over there.

Mr. President, I beg leave to say that it furnishes much warrant for the belief that General Lawton wrote that letter, because it furnishes evidence that on the issue of imperialism or anti-imperialism, if the Republican party is defeated at the next election, it is expected that independence will go at once to the Philippine republic, so called, and it conveys to them and furnishes to them the strongest imaginable motive for continuing their insurrection.

The first thing to do is what we are doing to-day—to put an end to the insurrection, to lay the foundation of peace, for the victories and blessings of peace, and to try this question of imperialism, if it ever arises in the United States, when it arises, and at least to be silent upon it while our Army is in the

field to be injured by it. That is the way I feel about it, and I believe that is the way the American people will feel about it. I think they will not be deceived by this talk of imperialism and anti-imperialism. They may listen to your talk during the campaign about the violated Declaration of Independence, about the Constitution being trampled upon; they may seem to hear you, but they will realize that there is no such issue in this campaign, and they will be thinking of the men over there who are suffering and in danger partly as a consequence of the attempt here to obscure one issue by manufacturing another.

Mr. President, when I introduced this bill there were two resolutions pending before the Senate. One was the resolution introduced by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] declaring that we own the Philippines and will retain them, and establish such government there as we may deem best. I could not vote for that resolution. If we own the Philippines, a mere declaration that we own them adds nothing to our title. If we do not own them such a declaration will not make them ours. This Congress can not bind any subsequent Congress, and a declaration that we intend to hold the Philippines forever binds no subsequent Congress, and is merely an empty declaration.

The other resolution pending is that introduced by the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON]. It is based upon the theory that we acquired title by the cession and have completed it by subsequent possession. It contemplates that the authority of the United States shall be maintained there until armed resistance to it shall have ceased in said islands and peace and order shall have been restored, and it declares that when a stable government shall, through the agency of the United States, have been created by the people of the islands, "competent and worthy, in the judgment of the United States, to exercise the powers of an independent government, and to preserve peace and maintain order within its jurisdiction, it is the purpose and intention of the United States," reserving certain harbors and tracts of land for coaling stations, etc., to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all right and territory secured in said islands under the treaty with Spain, and to thereupon leave the dominion and control of said islands to their people.

While approving much in this resolution, Mr. President, I can not vote for it. I refused to vote for the McEnery resolution, which passed the Senate, because of the conditions of that day, and my belief that it would be unproductive of good and only fruitful of mischief.

I oppose the resolution of the Senator from Georgia among other things, because it is not legislation. It is not an exercise of any power which the Constitution confers upon Congress. It does not dispose of the Philippine Archipelago. It is ineffective. It is only declaratory. It projects into the future a promise which we have no power to make, to be redeemed or left unredeemed by succeeding Congresses. No one can know when the year will come for the fulfillment of this pledge. Inevitably, upon the theory of the resolution, its redemption will require years.

It will doubtless be years before a government can be formed in the Philippines by the people "competent and worthy in the judgment of the United States to exercise the powers of an independent government." In the intervening time this moral obligation would be outstanding. The ambitious Philippine leaders would impress upon the people that the pledge was ripe for redemption; that the government was "competent and worthy to be independent," and

would be sincere in that belief. That they would differ with the United States upon that subject is as certain as that the day will follow the night. That there would be controversy and dispute over it is inevitable. Gentlemen of great name and ability have stated that they are now fit for self-government.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Dewey said so.

Mr. SPOONER. He said they were better fitted for self-government than the Cubans. That is all I have ever heard imputed to him upon the subject.

Senators have stated here that they possessed a government before the outbreak of hostilities entitled to be recognized, with a constitution, a congress, and courts, and colleges. Whether, left to themselves, these evidences of civilization would have been afforded by the Filipinos I do not know. To me they are the only evidences of good government left by Spain in the archipelago.

That they are unfit for self-government now I think is overwhelmingly demonstrated.

I can not doubt, in view of the entire situation, that they would differ with us as to their qualifications for independent government, and that out of the fulfillment of this Congressional promise, if it were made, there would arise trouble, agitation, charges of repudiation and bad faith, and possibly insurrection, with its burdens and complications.

Why project into the future such a promise? It is not needful, unless Senators are afraid to trust the people. May not the decision of this question be safely left to the American people? Senators need not fear that they will be wanting in love of liberty, in regard for the Declaration of Independence, or in loyalty to the Constitution. It is not needful for the Congress of to-day to protect the American people by pledges of this sort *against themselves in settling the questions of the future.*

As to the bill which I introduced, I claim for it nothing of originality. It has been read by the Senator from South Carolina. It is legislation. It is fashioned after the Louisiana bill. It is fashioned after the Hawaiian resolution. It deals with the situation as it is. It is very short. It assumes our sovereignty there. It recognizes that we acquired the archipelago by the treaty. It assumes the fact that we will enforce obedience to our authority over there, and then provides, after the war shall have ended, for a government by the President through his appointees, (not to be permanent, not to make the President a pro-consul) until *Congress shall otherwise provide.*

I would vote for it whoever occupied the Presidential chair, whatever party he came from, because the Senate knows we have not the information as to the conditions over there to enable us to pass a government bill now. There are eighty-four tribes. Some of them are hostile to each other. We know very little of them. We do not know what form of government is adapted to that people. The President has the power now and it will continue until Congress acts, under the war power, to establish a government and maintain it.

My purpose in this bill was first to show to the people that the Congress is behind the Administration in the Philippines to meet it, if it might be met—the belief which has been created over there that the people of this country are not behind the Administration and the Army. Moreover, I thought that Congress ought to put this measure of authority behind the President, when insurrection shall have been suppressed, in governing a people seven thousand

miles away, ten million of comparative strangers. To leave it all to his war power seemed to me unjust. That was all. It was no play for politics. It was not to shelve any question or to evade any question. It is upon the theory which I have asserted here to-day, that there is no issue here of imperialism or antiimperialism.

Mr. President, in my heart I believe that. Thus far it has been largely force, not subjugation, but subduing insurrection, from my standpoint. We know comparatively little of that people. General Otis says in a recent interview:

We are spending \$300,000 now in road making and could spend hundreds of thousands more most advantageously. The Filipinos are enthusiastic about roads, the construction of which gives employment to many of them. If it was possible to grant franchises for railroads, it would be a good thing, but all that will come in time. Roads and good schools are better.

It is astonishing how eager these people are for schools. They are clamoring for them everywhere. We bought \$40,000 worth of books and have exhausted the supply of Spanish-English primers. I told some prominent Filipinos that they must wait for a new supply, but they said no, and suggested that we give English instead of Spanish books, declaring that the children would learn very quickly. If I were to continue here and had my way, I would build schools everywhere. I would build a big two-story schoolhouse on that open lot in front of the first reserve hospital if it cost a million dollars. All this is hopeful.

I do not share altogether the view of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] as to that people. I believe they have aptitude for government. Bishop Potter says the children take to our soldiers as friends. He says they are anxious to learn. I have an abiding faith that when they come to know us, to understand us, when they feel our sense of justice, when they feel the protection which we will throw around them, when we build roads for them, when we furnish them with schoolbooks, they will accept the situation. A resigned army officer is now teaching school there, and he speaks in the very highest terms of the intelligence and the eagerness for instruction on the part of the Filipino children, and of their parents that they shall have it. If some Senators are right as to their capacity for self-government our task will be easier.

We have a difficult problem to solve. I wish it were not upon us. But we have had difficult problems before.

I believe before very many years that people, participating as we go along in local government, will have faith in us, and that they will be able to maintain at least an autonomous government, although for many, many years they will need our protection and our care and guidance. And the men who deliberately charge in high places that the flag of the United States is there as an emblem of slavery, that it is there for oppression, do great injustice to this nation and great injustice to the American people. Why not trust them?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Is the Constitution there with the flag?

Mr. SPOONER. Whether the Constitution is there with the flag or not, men are there under the flag who will give to that people every element of individual liberty which we have under the Constitution. Already under that flag by military order the habeas corpus has been put in operation throughout the archipelago. Already under that flag the ecclesiastical court, which was a court of oppression, has been abolished; and already that flag has carried to that people, as it always does carry to a people, liberty, protection, and honest, responsible government.

I have said nothing of the richness of the islands in mineral and other resources. I sincerely trust, for the benefit of the inhabitants, that the glowing story told of undeveloped wealth there is an understatement. I hope it for the sake of that people, and also as lightening the burden which duty seems to place upon us.

Mr. President, I have submitted to interruptions so that my speech has been discursive. I have not entirely followed the line which I should otherwise have done. Without purpose to be discourteous or unjust to anyone, I have said frankly what I believe. The President has left this matter to Congress. I want to read here an extract from his message as expressive not only of the views of the Administration, but of the American people, in my judgment, for they will stand by an Executive doing his duty and by their Army wherever it is on duty, and will discountenance any policy which in this country is inaugurated, the effect of which will be to prolong insurrection or to endanger the lives of their soldiery.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Does the Senator mean to say they will stand behind it whether right or wrong?

Mr. SPOONER. Right or wrong, I say, they are behind it; but they are right. That is a question for the people to determine, not for the Senator. The President says in his message:

Until Congress shall have made known the formal expression of its will I shall use the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in those distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats. I shall put at the disposal of the Army and Navy all the means which the liberality of Congress and the people have provided to cause this unprovoked and wasteful insurrection to cease.

If any orders of mine were required to insure the merciful conduct of military and naval operations, they would not be lacking; but every step of the progress of our troops has been marked by a humanity which has surprised even the misguided insurgents. The truest kindness to them will be a swift and effective defeat of their present leader. The hour of victory will be the hour of clemency and reconstruction.

No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work.

Nor has he waited.

We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores.

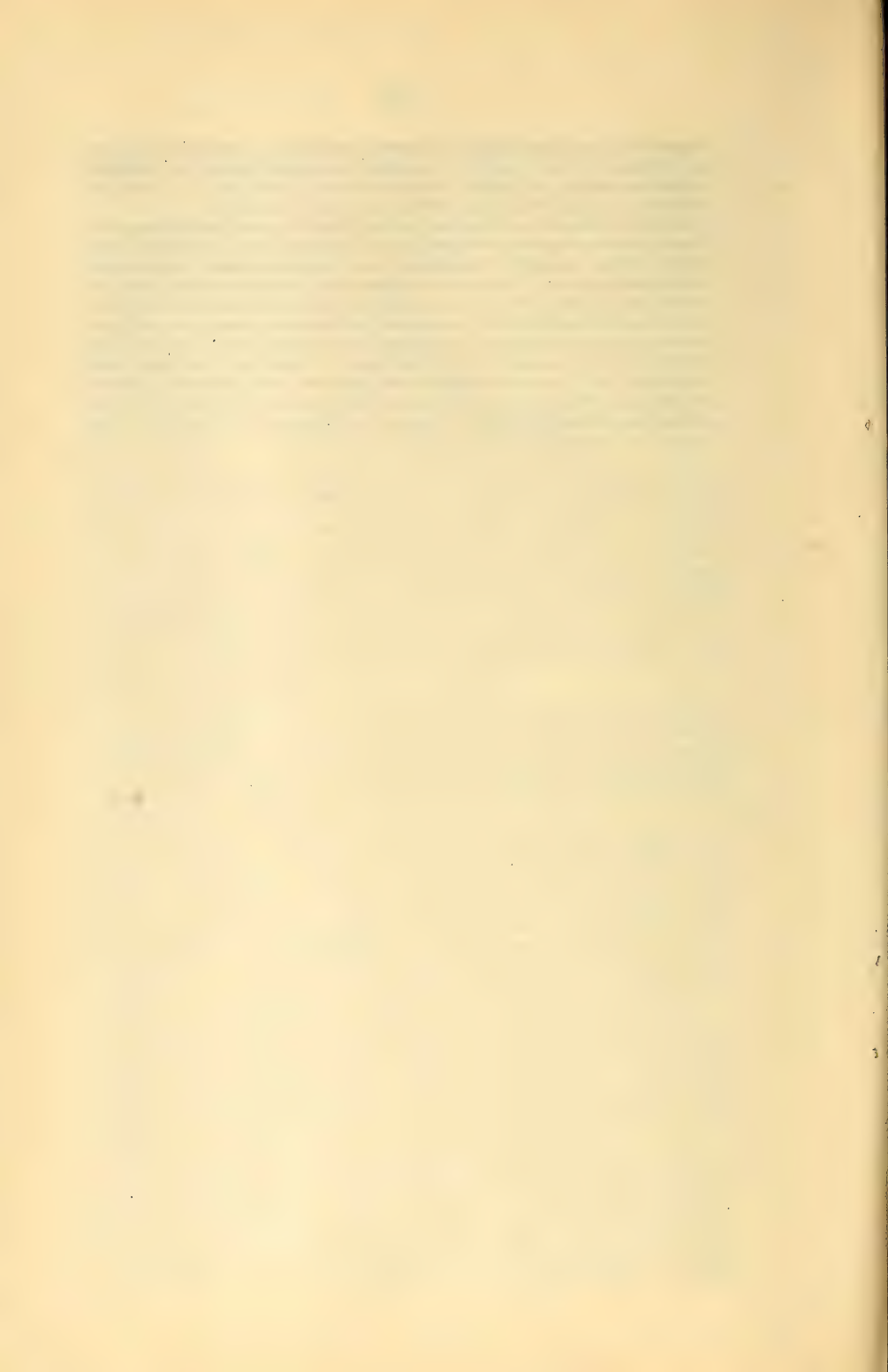
Mr. ALLEN. Does the President anywhere in his message say that at any time they shall have a free and independent government?

Mr. SPOONER. The President is President; he does not claim to be a prophet; he leaves to the future what belongs to the future, but what he says there is the language of patriotism. It is the language of philanthropy. It interprets the genius of our institutions. It is in harmony with the nature of the man and with his career. There is in it nothing but good will, nothing but kindness. There is in it nothing of exploitation. There is in it nothing of commercialism. There is in it nothing of imperialism. We are to go along. We will make mistakes. We will fall down, but we will pick ourselves up. We will cross bridges as we come to them, and when we come to streams without bridges we will build them. We will feel our way. We will go forward in a manful fashion, with a holy purpose to do what is just and generous and right.

No American has any right to doubt that. We will become acquainted with the conditions. We will teach those people to know us. We will give them every opportunity in the school of government. We will govern them, not for our benefit, but for theirs, and in the end the day will come, in my opinion, and I believe it will be sooner than I once thought it would be, when that people, with confidence in us and friendship for us, with prosperity among

them, with an appreciation of liberty, with some knowledge of what government is, will be able to maintain an autonomous or independent government; and when that day comes I doubt not the American people, of all parties, will promptly accord it to them.

If, Mr. President, in the end it shall come about that through the Spanish-American war we shall have liberated Cuba from the tyranny of Spain, enabled its people to erect an independent government, stable and strong; have made happy and prosperous the people of Porto Rico, and in the far-away Pacific have brought a nonhomogeneous people together into one people, educated them for self-government or independence and given it to them, though it shall have cost much of patience, of trouble, and of sacrifice, we shall have wrought out a consummation more glorious, and afforded a nobler evidence of what a liberty-loving people can and will do for liberty, than has ever before been seen in the history of the world. [Applause in the galleries.]



SPEECH OF Gen. EDWARD S. BRAGG

Veteran Commander of the Iron Brigade

In Which He Advises Gold Democrats to
Vote for McKinley and Roosevelt.

It will be from the standpoint of a National Democrat, by education, conviction and affiliation—I may say, and from heredity—that I speak to-night, extending in some regard beyond mere party duty to the more exalted duty of every loyal citizen in the land, to rally in the defence and support of his country in times of danger, trouble or need, foreign or domestic, and never by word, act or deed “give aid or comfort to its enemies.”

I have never yet voted for a chief magistrate of this nation whose name had not been presented for the suffrages of the people by a Democratic Convention. There is no taint of “trimmer” in my blood or lineage. It has always been my pride to be able to rise in place, and using the words of a great leader of the party in New York, before the spell of expediency overthrew the convictions of his judgment, “I am a Democrat!” But I have a pride infinitely greater than that—that I have always held my life and service subject to my country’s call, irrespective of the politics of the head of the Government.

THE PEOPLE ALWAYS LOYAL.

The heart of this great people has always beat loyal to the Government when the war trumpet sounded, and has never tolerated, and will never tolerate, encouragement to a public enemy, while he is robbing, fighting, slaying the brave men, your sons and brothers, whom the Government has sent forth to do its mission,

whether that enemy be an Englishman or Mexican, a Spaniard or a Philippino!

It matters not how specious the plea, how earnest and honest the pleader, charm he ever so sweetly, or ever so wisely, the American ear may listen, but the loyal heart is sealed against its influence.

The history of the Federal Party stands a monument to the truth of my statement. The obloquy that came upon it from the Hartford Convention compelled it to moult its feathers, put on a new dress and change its name, in an attempt to escape the indignant memories of the American people.

Political, as well as personal confidence, is a creature of slow growth, and any success acquired by the Whig Party was sporadic and short-lived, and when under its dashing, brilliant leader, "the mill-boy of the slasher," the great Clay of Kentucky; another great leader, "the wagon-boy of Ohio," the genial, eloquent and popular "Tom Corwin" by his utterances in the United States Senate, against the Mexican War and the war policy of a Democratic administration, buried the Whig Party alongside its Federal ancestry, where, following family precedent, it re-moulted its feathers, and bursting the cerements of its tomb, invited and received popular support as the champion of "Free Soil," and took to itself the name of "Republican Party." Thousands and tens of thousands of Democrats, without change of belief upon the cardinal principles of Jeffersonian Democracy, enlisted under its banners upon the one single issue, "No more Slave States."

The Democratic Party was split in twain upon what they pleased to term Constitutional questions, and when war followed Mr. Lincoln's election, many of them, forgetful of their glorious record in the past, failed to grasp the great question of human liberty, and hugging their theories of strict construction of the Constitution, gave utterance to sentiments that led the South to hope for recognition of their so-called rights under the Constitution, if they prolonged the struggle. They were looked upon by the political leaders of the South as friends in the camp of the enemy, ready to open its approaches and to lay down their arms

in the furtherance, not of treason or treasonable instinct, oh, no! but merely to aid the erring brother in securing his Constitutional rights!!

The end came at last, crowning Mr. Lincoln with glory and making his name a household word, and his memory revered in the palace of the rich and the hovel of the poor, not only in America, but wherever the sun shed its rays upon civilization in the wide world.

The fate of the Democratic Party since the War of the Rebellion is but a rehearsal of the fate of the Federal and Whig Parties, and the cause of it the same. It failed as a party organization to grasp the situation and give the unwavering strength of its great power, without reserve, to aid in putting down the Rebellion. I hate to say it, but it is true; and for years, the name "Democrat" was an opprobrious one, all over this northern country. There were many great leaders in the Party whom individually the people honored, and when they were ignored, it was not for want of confidence in them, but from a distrust of their fellows.

Looking over the history of the past and comparing it with the present instincts of the American people as I know them, it seems beyond possibility that any party or any candidate, no matter upon what high plane of morals, of sympathy for the oppressed, or of Constitutional rights, he affects to plant himself, can succeed in reaching the support of the electors of the United States, when in the face of bloody war he classifies the treacherous Aguinaldo as a patriot, and his guerrilla bands who are shooting down our soldiers, as subjects of our sympathy, if not of our open commendation.

I may not read the political horoscope correctly, but it is my sincere conviction, that were St. Paul to be rehabilitated with mortal presence, and lead the Bryan column with a Philippino badge upon his breast and 16 to 1 painted upon his banner, nothing but signal defeat would await him.

MR. CLEVELAND'S FORESIGHT.

Mr. Cleveland was the first Democrat to reach the Presidential chair after the War. He was a man not remarkable for his per-

sonal graces, but was possessed of a clear, well-trained, logical mind, and as his state papers bear witness, was a statesman, well-equipped to assume the responsibilities and discharge the duties of the high office to which he had been elected. His judgment was not technical, but eminently practical; his honesty was above suspicion, and he had the courage of his convictions. He won his way to the high office as a tribute to his personal character, and to the faithfulness with which he had discharged the trust reposed in him as Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of the Empire State of the Union. He never led a crusade for delegates, he never vaunted his qualifications upon the stump; but believing it contrary to the traditions of his Party, contrary to good taste, and repulsive to the better sense of the people, to travel from town to town to expose and laud his wares, he remained quietly at home during the exciting canvass which followed his nomination, and was chosen by the people upon his merits, without personal solicitation of the voter for his suffrage.

In his first inaugural address, touching the great financial question upon which the campaign of 1896 was waged and won, he said:

"A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people, demands that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests, and make the wages of labor sure and steady."

In his first Annual Message he points out the results of the compulsory coinage bill of February, 1878, under which up to that time, 215,759,431 silver dollars had been coined, and the fact that only \$50,000,000 had found their way into circulation. In this Message he fully exploded the theory that cheap money benefits the wage earner, and in addition to his own argument cites the great Webster, who declared in the United States Senate in 1834:

"The very man of all others, who has the deepest interest in a sound currency, and who suffers most by mischievous legislation in money matters, is the man who earns his daily bread by his daily toil."

The Message recommended that the provisions of this Act be

suspended, and it was done, and the war to avenge the so-called crime of '73 was renewed by the silverites against Cleveland, and the distrust of a Democrat was so easily aroused, that upon his candidacy to succeed himself he was defeated at the polls, and was succeeded by General Benjamin Harrison, in whose administration a truce was effected on the silver question, by the Act of July 14, 1890, commanding the purchase monthly, by the Secretary of the Treasury, of 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion, paying in Treasury Notes, redeemable in gold or silver coin, etc.

Mr. Cleveland, in spite of his free silver antagonists, was re-elected in 1892, and in his inaugural address, without regard to the effect to be produced upon himself, in bugle notes sounded the alarm in these words:

"Manifestly nothing is more vital to our supremacy as a Nation, and to the beneficent purposes of our Government, than a sound and stable currency. Its exposure to degradation should at once arouse to activity the most enlightened statesmanship, and the danger of the depreciation in the purchasing power of the wages paid to toil should furnish the strongest incentive to prompt and conservative precaution."

After a careful consideration of the evils threatened, and of the preventives to soften, or avoid the effect of them, which he saw were sure to come, on the 8th day of August, 1893, he summoned a Special Session to repeal the law, which was the root of the evil, by destroying business confidence in our financial system. No man can read that Message and not fully endorse the foresight and judgment of the President. The law was repealed, by a Senate hostile, politically, to him, the correctness of his views being so manifest, and the impending danger being so great. But it was too late, the financial system was tottering, past bracing up. The crash came. It was a legacy bequeathed to him by his predecessor, but its effects were charged to Cleveland, and soon the war dance of Mr. Bryan was prepared, and the great crusade, which in his book he compares to the work of Peter the Hermit, to raise an army to retake Jerusalem and the tomb of our Savior from the Saracens.

The history of the world shows that in every age there has been, and by deduction it is safe to assume, there always will be, everywhere, not limited to place or class, or to the same supposed wrong, people who have a grievance.

A MEETING OF DISCONTENTS.

The old prophet Samuel gives the first record of a pristine Bryan assemblage, when he writes of the dwellers in the cave of Adullam:

“And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them.”

This meeting of “discontents” finds a perfect parallel in the basic formation of Bryan’s old guard, when the record is fully written, by the addition:

“And the captain lifted up his voice and promised them relief, with the great balsam of 16 to 1, and they all with one accord gave way to rejoicing.”

This organization caught the old Democratic Party at Chicago in 1896, sleeping outside the garrison, and captured all its camp and garrison equipage, and made captive many prisoners, who saved themselves from political orphanage by taking an oath of allegiance to the conquering chief. The members of the Party who were unwilling to forswear Democracy as it had been taught them by the fathers, organized themselves as National Democrats at Indianapolis, simply to preserve the sacred fires of the faith burning upon the Democratic altars, and keep them burning, to await the arrival of the bridegroom, when the folly, fanaticism and madness that led to the leprous union of Silver Republican, Socialist, Anarchist, Populist and quasi-Democrats, should be dissolved, and its tenets discarded and the old faith be restored. That body of National Democrats declared their faith and placed at the head of their ticket that gallant soldier, sound statesman and good citizen, General John M. Palmer. A few weeks since he passed away. The Nation bowed its head in respect for his memory, and great men of his State honored themselves by standing at the grave-side where his mortality was laid to rest. The loss

to the country and to sound Democracy, especially, was great. Honored in life—honored in death—he sleeps the sleep that knows no waking.

The result of '96 is as a thrice-told tale. Wisconsin, never lacking in its duty where State or National honor is concerned, set the Badger stamp of condemnation on Mr. Bryan's 16 to 1, endorsed by over 100,000 plurality. Are you ashamed of this record, and would you undo it? No, my fellow-Badgers, we will stand to our guns in the second battle as we did in the first.

CARL SCHURZ AND BOURKE COCHRAN.

Mr. Schurz in 1896 pointed out, in his clear-cut language, supported by his irresistible array of facts, from history and experience, the danger that would necessarily follow the election of a person so unfit as Mr. Bryan to the Presidency, by reason of his total ignorance of financial economics, and from the dangerous character of his advisers, to be the total destruction of national and private credit, and the sending of distress broadcast everywhere throughout the land.

In his great speech in New York a few days since, he ignores Mr. Bryan and his incompetency, and his dangerous following, and puts his opposition to Mr. McKinley, not on any newly acquired confidence in the man he now supports—far from it. He has no new-born respect for and trust in him, but he casts his eyes to the distant Philippines, and sees through the mist, looming up, a ghost pushing for a seat at the banquet table of the Nations, and that ghost, which he christens "Imperialism," will be, he fears, the only representative, and all that is left of the great American Republic, if Mr. McKinley succeeds. "How are the mighty fallen—what shadows we are—and what shadows we pursue."

Mr. Bourke Cochran follows in the same strain. He gives us no repentance for his denunciations of Bryan and his policy made in '96, and I am told through the public press, that the terrors that inspire these distinguished gentlemen are to be driven home more vividly and more forcibly upon the poor, ignorant Badger by Mr. Cochran in person, followed by the Senator of South Carolina, who has been sent for to explain to you Mr. McKinley's vio-

lation of the Constitution in the Philippines. An exposition of the Constitution by a gentleman from South Carolina may be and should be respectfully listened to by a Wisconsin audience, but there will ever and anon arise in the mind of the listener, "How came the Bryan leaders to think that Wisconsin was likely to fall in love with the Constitutional construction of a gentleman from South Carolina?"

MR BRYAN'S UNFITNESS.

Sixteen to 1, you say? What has that to do in this canvass? I will tell you, my friends, as we go along. He who knows Mr. Bryan knows that he has never abandoned 16 to 1. The carrying into effect his financial theories, is the great purpose of his life. He is honest, if not practical, and he has never said, and he never will say, he has abandoned it. He would not abandon it at Kansas City. The abandonment of the theory, and all this talk about silver being a dead issue, comes from the craft of the politician, who holds in his grasp that great political body in New York, that sports the name of the great Delaware Indian Chief and Prophet, Tamemund. These descendants and representatives of the prophet were largely born abroad, but have taken up their residence here to do honor to their dusky ancestry and receive the profits that follow fawning.

I have said that Mr. Bryan was an honest, if not a practical, man. What he says he believes he can do, and will never falter in his attempt to do it. He is a man of phenomenal oratorical power; in private and social life he is loved and respected; in his presence and speech his influence over those who hear and associate with him is almost hypnotic; he writes poetry; but this stamp of mind does not fit one to grapple the complex affairs of state and administer the Government of this great people in the internal and external clashing of interest and policy that constantly arise. He is a dreamy idealist. He talks and acts and believes, if he were President, by a wave of his magic wand, as 'twere, he can make a desert blossom; that he can do away with want and misery, and make all his subjects prosperous and happy. In other

words, that he is possessed of the mysterious power that can make the world an Utopia, if you give him a chance!

Such a man is a delightful companion, an estimable member of society, but a wild bull in a china shop would not be more dangerous to the safety of the crockery, than such would be to the safety of the state, if entrusted with the management of affairs.

Let us go back a little and bring up illustrations to prove his total want of qualification and mental unfitness. He has preached over and over again the doctrine that cheap money brings happiness to the wage earner and prosperity in business, and he believes it against our own experience, and the experience of the world.

AS PROVED BY MR. BRYAN HIMSELF.

Again, he said in a speech at Minneapolis: "The gold standard means dearer money, dearer money means cheaper property, cheaper property means harder times, hard times means more people out of work, more people out of work means more people destitute, more people destitute means more people desperate, more people desperate means more crime."

There can be no fault found with this diction; the figure is well painted, but the picture is a pure creature of imagination, for it has no facts to support it.

Again he says at Philadelphia: "I do not want any man to vote for me and then object to my doing what I expect to do if you elect me, and if I can prevent the maintenance of the gold standard, you can rely upon my doing it at the first opportunity given me." And he will do it, for he is a truthful man, without guile!

He has been playing the role of prophet as well, ever since he started out upon his crusade for the Presidency. In his campaign of 1896 he declared:

"If McKinley and the Republican Party are successful and put in power for the next four years, wages will be decreased, hard times will be upon us, and over the land the price of wheat will go down and the price of gold will go up; mortgages on our homes will be foreclosed by the money lenders; shops and factories will close. We will export no goods, and we will import from

foreign lands all the goods we use; thus will ruin, want and misery be with us."

And he believes it, for he is an honest, truthful man, and makes no statements he does not believe.

He said at Madison Square, New York:

"Wage earners know that while the gold standard raises the purchasing power of the dollar, they know that employment is less permanent and loss of work more probable, and re-employment less certain. * * * * It also discourages enterprise and paralyzes industry."

He said in the same speech: "We contend the free and unlimited coinage by the United States alone will raise the bullion value of silver to its coinage value, and thus make silver bullion worth \$1.29 per ounce in gold throughout the world. This proposition is in keeping with natural laws, not in defiance of them."

He has preached and illustrated the effect of the fall in the price of silver by the relative price of wheat and cotton, and all farm products which he said would follow. The experience of every farmer, every business man and every wage earner, has taught him that every prophecy, every statement of financial economics, made and believed in by Mr. Bryan, are wholly and wretchedly incorrect. Will you trust the finances of this great Government, and its people, in the power and control of such an ignorant economist, because he has winning ways, is an estimable gentleman and hypnotizing orator? You may, perchance, but I will not!

Credit, as I have said, is of slow growth, and to a commercial nation like ours, now sending the products of every industry and employment over every sea, and giving earnest that in the near future we shall rise to be what for years England has been—the greatest commercial nation in the world—and must be carefully protected. Credit and a sound currency is the main stay of trade, and the prosperity and happiness of our people rest upon it, and to the wage earner in a greater degree than to any other class of our citizens. Preservation of that credit and currency, and shunning all the experiments of dreamers and poets on our financial

system, is the question of gravest importance to this people involved in the coming election. We can bind up the wounds of the suffering Philippino at our leisure; we can repair any mistake, if the results show we have made any; there's plenty of time for that; but credit and confidence in a nation and among peoples, once lost, is difficult of restoration, and the crash following it reaches the poor and the man of moderate means infinitely more than it does the man of substantial wealth.

THE GHOST OF IMPERIALISM.

I am not an advanced optimist, but I have no fears of the ghost of a destroyed Republic intruding upon my presence by reason of any Philippino episode. Mr. Schurz and Mr. Cochran forget what you do not—that in the War of the Rebellion even the good old Horace Greeley believed the Republic was rent in twain, and petitioned Mr. Lincoln “that the erring States might go in peace” to prevent further and useless bloodshed. The Republic was ruined, cried the chicken hearts, and the Constitution destroyed! But out of the mists came no ghosts, but the old Republic, with new vigor and strength, passing all conjecture in its progress to the first plane among nations. A people that can suppress the greatest rebellion the world ever saw, and live and prosper, is not likely to be overthrown as the result of insurrection in the Philip-pines, nor in the purchase of territory and establishing a Government there that will protect the person and property of all well disposed persons in the newly acquired territory. So long as the heart of our people in the home Government is true and loyal, we need not fear for its safety, as consequent upon the acquirement of outside territory.

Mr. Bryan is quoted as saying in a public speech on Jackson Day, at Minneapolis:

“I am a firm believer in the enlargement of the limits of the Republic. I don't mean by that, the extension by the addition of contiguous territory, nor to limit myself to that. Wherever there is a people intelligent enough to form a part of this Republic, it is my belief that they should be taken in. Wherever there is a peo-

ple capable of having a voice and a representation in this Government, there the limits of the Republic may be extended."

CONGRESS ONLY CONFERS CITIZENSHIP.

What do you say to that, my anti-free-silver-brother, who is inclined to abandon the silver issue and vote for Mr. Bryan as anti-Expansionist!

I do not endorse this doctrine. The Dutch Republic held possessions in the East Indies from 1600, and they never weakened, but strengthened the Republic, but the inhabitants of the territory never enjoyed the rights of citizenship of the Republic, and I should feel loth ever to take in as citizens a people remote, speaking foreign tongues, and having habits and tastes and traditions of their own, as widely separated from ours as pole is from pole. Territory we have the right to acquire, but its acquirement per se does not constitute its inhabitants citizens of the United States. They are at sea, who argue that the Constitution extends citizenship to them by its own force. It requires, in addition, the act of the legislative power to confer the right of citizenship. People may have a domicile in our territory, but legislation only can make them citizens. The inhabitants of the Louisiana Purchase, and of the Florida Purchase, were provided for, and the rights of citizenship secured by Treaty. The people of Texas had their rights qualifiedly secured by Treaty and fully conferred by Resolution of Congress. Thus all the precedents made by this Republic clearly recognize and adopt as the rule of international and constitutional law, the position I have stated. This does away with much of the bugaboo cry about our failure to give the citizen of Porto Rico and of the Philippines, his full right as an American citizen under the Constitution.

THE REAL MENACE.

The danger to the peace and prosperity of the Republic in present conditions, comes from men who constitute themselves walking delegates, stirring up bad blood between employer and employed, pandering to the groundless complaints of the shiftless and n'er-to-do-well class, and they are in every community, inflam-

ing the passion by sympathy with wrongs that have no real existence, teaching them the doctrine that to possess wealth makes its owner their enemy and oppressor, and that his wealth is ill-gotten and stained with the blood and toil and suffering of the poor. This state of feeling, when it reaches its climax, means disorder, disregard of personal rights, disregard of judicial opinion, and with a bold and daring leader, means class against class in battle array, and bloodshed to follow. I do not charge that all the men who preach Populistic doctrines intend to produce such results, but they do not take into account the character, education, instincts and lack of moral control that their audiences possess, and when the evil comes, as it has come, and as it will come, increasing in virulence of temper and hostility of demonstration, extending to violence and bloodshed, these well-meaning persons shift the responsibility from themselves, and cry they never intended such means should be used, nor thought such results would follow. You know old Elder Swayne, a revivalist, always contended "that hell was paved all over with good intentions." And so with these men, like the bugler who sounded the charge, in the fable, seeks to escape imprisonment "because he did nothing." The answer was, "True, you did nothing but to spur others to do what perhaps you lacked the personal courage to do."

My remedy for this growing evil is employment.

"Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." And for the foolish teachers and preachers of Populism and community of property, apply the rule of the Celt, I think: "When you see a head, hit it."

The great head of the agitators is a candidate for your suffrage. His name is "William Jennings Bryan!" As you desire to suppress this growing ill-feeling between class and class, and to maintain harmony between employer and employed, upon a basis honorable and just to both, vote to suppress him and his doctrines and methods.

The country is prosperous, money is plenty, and good; interest has dropped to 5 per cent.; the market of our abundant crops has furnished the money to discharge old mortgages and build new

homes; labor finds employment in our State, and the laborer fixes the wages. Why should you desire a change unless it be for the better, and that better state you cannot hope to find in the balloon of the idealist, Mr. Bryan.

EXTENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Referring again to the mooted question of the extension of the Constitution, in its vigor, over newly acquired territory, the opinion of the great expounder of the Constitution may have some weight and throw some light. He declared from his place in the United States Senate, the following construction to be correct:

"The Constitution is extended over the United States, and over nothing else. It cannot be extended over anything except the old States and the new States that shall come hereafter, when they do come in. There is a want of accuracy of ideas in this respect that is quite remarkable, among eminent gentlemen, and especially professional and judicial gentlemen. It seems to be taken for granted, that the right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus and every principle designed to protect personal liberty, are extended by force of the Constitution, over every new territory. That proposition cannot be maintained at all. * * * * It is said this must be so, else the right of habeas corpus would be lost. Undoubtedly these rights must be conferred by law before they can be enjoyed in any territory."

And later in his public career he said:

"As to the power of Congress, I have nothing to add to what I said the other day. Congress has full power over the subject. It may establish any such government and any such laws in the territories, as in its discretion it may see fit. It is subject, of course, to the rules of justice and propriety, but it is under no Constitutional restraint."

"REGULAR" POPULISTS NOT DEMOCRATS.

But I have been digressing, and must come back to the effect of the fusion of 1896, and what it meant, and how it was understood by the contracting parties. In 1896 Mr. Bryan was placed in nomination at Chicago before the Populist Convention, but in

1900 the Populists, in the pride of their increased strength and vantage from position, led off and nominated Mr. Bryan. That their understanding of the situation may be made clear, I make reference to the opening address of the permanent chairman at Sioux Falls, wherein he declared, that in the Chicago Convention of 1896 (I quote his words), "The spirit of Populism sat upon their throne and in their Convention, and *under the name of Democracy* they commenced a contest for Populist principles, embodying in their platform nearly every one of the paramount issues that has been declared in the People's Party platform for four years before." Then glorifying the proud and commanding position obtained over their old foe, the Democratic Party, and alluding to the babits of the Alexanders and Caesars in trailing behind their chariot their most distinguished captives in their triumphal march, before a rejoicing multitude, he said (I quote his words) :

"If the People's Party were to indulge in such a parade, they would have the right to lead in procession before the assembled people and the Government, as the chief and greatest captives, the Democratic Party and the platform they had adopted."

My old brethren, you who followed Bryan *to be regular*, do you not shudder when you reflect that your allegiance to Bryan *made you regular Populists*, but made you irregular Democrats instead of regular Democrats?

The bonds that hold your chief in the Populistic creed are so strong that they do not fear, after your four years of captivity; they boldly taunt you as their captives taken, as they say, "under the name of Democracy." Will you longer wear the badge of Populistic servitude and remain "sawers of wood and drawers of water" in the camp of an enemy, whose name and doctrine was always a stench in the nostrils of every Jeffersonian Democrat? What would old Sam Tilden or Horatio Seymour say to you, if they could be rehabilitated on earth? You may answer nothing, but if that should be true, it would be because you would be ashamed to meet, but would avoid them.

It is useless to say that Mr. Bryan was not a party to the deal, exposed by the Chairman at Sioux Falls, because with the charge

ringing in his ears he renewed his affiliation with Populism, and accepted its nomination in 1900, without ever a dissenting word, to the boast made in the Convention which nominated him, by the Chairman, in the opening address. And what is more, he framed the platform of the Kansas City Convention, and embodied in it the identical doctrines of the Populist Party, of which the Chairman spoke with such pride as having been in '96 adopted "under the name of Democracy."

BRYAN AND 16 TO 1.

Can free silver, 16 to 1, be a dead issue when Populists and Silver Republicans make it a *sine qua non* of their support? Can it be a dead issue when Mr. Bryan made its adoption a *sine qua non* of his acceptance of the nomination? "Tell it not in Gath!" Mr. Bryan is an honorable, truthful man. He fights in the open, he has always said, and nothing to him is so disreputable as to pretend to be what he is not. The history of the campaign of 1896, and the compilation of his speeches under his own eye, in a book called "The First Battle," is full of his tenacity to principle, and his dislike of men who fight under cover.

In his Chicago speech he said:

"I may be wrong; I have never claimed infallibility; but when I examine a question and reach a conclusion, I am willing to stand by what I believe, I care not what may happen."

At Knoxville, Sept. 16, 1896, he said:

"If there is any who believes the gold standard is a good thing, or that it must be maintained, I warn him not to cast his vote for me, because I promise him it will *not* be maintained in this country longer than I am able to get rid of it."

He tells the truth, as an honorable man, he must wipe out the gold standard if elected. To use his own words, "caring not what may happen." But he has the courage of his convictions, as he so often assures us, and will certainly keep his faith with the Adullamites, who first made him captain! Duty, as he sees it, first; consequences may take care of themselves, is and has been the motto of his life.

The majority voice at Kansas City was against a declaration favoring 16 to 1, but under Mr. Bryan's command the Convention waived its judgment, and not only affirmed the Chicago platform with the 16 to 1 endorsement in it, but to prevent any misunderstanding, they repeat, so as to call the attention to the importance of the principle asserted:

"We *reiterate* the demand of that platform for an American financial system, made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as a part of such system, the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

What could be more sharply or clearer put! The fallacious doctrine overthrown by the people in 1896, without any attempt at disguise, and to emphasize its importance, the resolution *reiterates* the declaration. But immediately after the adoption a large number of delegates commenced shouting: "It is of no account, it don't mean anything." This was done, and it is still repeated, to cover the shame and disgrace that should justly fall upon them, and cover them as with a mantle for their abject cowardice in yielding to Bryan's ultimatum.

Do you believe that Mr. Bryan sent the body of a dead baby to Kansas City to have it embalmed? His pet political bantling? Well, I must confess, if you swallow that you are past hope of conversion.

HILL CAUGHT IN A TRAP.

Mr. Hill, of New York, who does not believe in 16 to 1, went to Kansas City, hopeful, prayerful. He found the omission of that resolution, or its adoption, depended upon Mr. Bryan's will. He stopped not—was not disheartened—but went on to Nebraska and preached and prayed with Czar, but of no avail; the great politician was bluffed and his purpose thwarted. He was caught in the trap. He ought to have known it. Like the crafty Ulysses of old, he knew that many of his sturdy henchmen had fallen victims to the wiles of Circe, and were lost in the labyrinthine halls of Populism at Kansas City, the key of which was held by the

"great and good Croker" (*sic*) in trust for Bryan, as keeper of his privy seal; and his trip to Kansas City was to relieve them from the bondage; but while Ulysses was successful, and brought Circe to his feet, Mr. Hill was caught in the labyrinth and could find no avenue of escape, without donning the uniform of Croker and Bryan, or breaking away into political orphanage again, which his heart could not endure. He kissed the hand that smote him, bowed his head to Croker, and put on the badge of servitude. "*Vae victis*," a weak spinal column has many sad things charged up to its account.

Sixteen to 1 lives, with all the life in it that Mr. Bryan can give to it. The imperialist dodge, Croker's denouncing trusts as the great and standing menace to our Government, are both tubs thrown to the whale, or as a horseman might say, they are used only to reduce the weight the 16 to 1 pony shall carry in the race.

It won't do, Mr. Croker; it won't do, Mr. Hill; it won't do, Mr. Cochran! The voters of Wisconsin will not be diverted from the issue that affects them at home. You may shed your tears at will over the probable ruin of the Republic resulting from the Philippine purchase, and the woes and sufferings of the treacherous Malay and Tagal. It's a pretty side play, and that's all. Your champion represents 16 to 1, and all other questions are mere political tassels to divert the unwary and hide the most important question—*shall we continue a sound and stable currency*, or shall we rehabilitate the old 16 to 1 barge, that was wrecked in 1896 by the result of the ballot box, and plunge again into the bogs that are certain to open for the destruction of our business and our private and national prosperity, in the pursuit of a will o' the wisp lantern, swung aloft by Bryan.

The words of Bourke Cochran, in one of his great speeches in opposition to Mr. Bryan in 1896, are just as true now as then:

"The American people will never consent to substitute the Republic of Washington, of Jefferson, of Jackson, for the Republic of an Altgeld, a Tillman or a Bryan."

You will pardon me, I know, in following my inclination and going back to "discontents" and "n'er-to-do-well" and "grumbler," which I have earlier mentioned as composing the Bryan guard. To thoroughly counteract them and their influence it is absolutely necessary that their antecedents be understood, and the sources from which their condition comes be explored and exposed. I do not know how to do it better than to summarize a little description of two men, and their outcome, given by Mr. Gilman in his work entitled, "Socialism and the American Spirit."

Two cousins, Johann and Wilhelm, landed in this country. The worthy Johann proceeds to adjust himself to the new atmosphere and the new earth. Free to talk to his heart's content, and to print all that he can pay for, in denunciation of every existing institution, he slowly learns the absurdity of much of his logic. He soon votes on a political level with other citizens; his ballot is as weighty as that of the richest man of the oldest family in the country. He is practically free from military service, and he is subject to no obligation of homage or obedience to an upper class. His children go to a free school in a western town, where he has settled on a farm, and they have an open field as young men and women, to show what ability is in them. Equality is the principle that prevades the political, and much of the industrial and social life in which Johann takes a part. He is a good while in squaring his creed with his condition. He likes to read a Socialistic newspaper, and unpack his heart of abuse for the tyrants that grind the faces of the poor and crush the people down; but when his little Karl becomes a prominent brewer, and his Gretchen has married the lawyer of the town, the honest, thrifty, temperate Johann's reliance is placed on observation, not on memory, and common sense rules the day. Johann forsakes the Socialist Labor Party and joins the party of reform, by whatever name it may be called. His less industrious cousin, Wilhelm, remains in the city, stimulating his imagination with copious draughts of lager beer. He declaims against the despots of the New World, who keep his idleness dangerously near the starvation line. Johann has become a

contemptible being, to his mind, because he is a capitalist, through his energy, his thrift and industry, and he is so hard-hearted as to think his impecunious cousin should have embraced the opportunity and done likewise. The eloquent Wilhelm has no relish for such equality. He continues in New York, plotting a millenium in which the idle and shiftless shall inherit the earth. His cousin has become "John," and John's children are Charles and Margaret, which shows the Americanization of the second generation in thought, in feeling. Wilhelm's children may have fallen away, but he continues to be a prominent orator at the meetings, and a regular contributor to the journals of the Socialists, and he and his sympathetic countrymen refuse to become Americanized as to see things as they are, and adjust their futile theories to the successful practice of more sagacious people, into whose inheritance they have cordially been invited. They lose strength as the more capable succumb to reason and prosperity, but their number is steadily renewed by more or less desirable new-comers. Thorough-going, scientific Socialism finds its most convinced disciples in such a medium as New York or Chicago, and I may add, here in Milwaukee. With the exception of the few individuals among them susceptible to argument, they are poor material for American citizens. The policeman is the final argument that must be kept in readiness to prevent the practical application of their principles, by violence.

Here will be seen the dividing line between industry and Socialistic theory. Here will be seen the result of industry and the result of loud-mouthed abuse of institutions which are illy understood, and which the person is illy-fitted to enjoy. It is to such as Wilhelm that the great hypnotic orator appeals, and meets with a response, and it is to open the eyes of his follower, so that he may see that honest industry, not spouting oratory, is the true and only path to success in America.

My German-American friend, which shall we choose to follow—John, or Wilhelm and Bryan? The question is fairly presented to you. Let us fail to give to Wilhelm and such as he, encouragement, by supporting Bryan. Let us give to him, and to the like

of him, no encouragement to keep on spouting and grumbling by crowning the brow of his model with the chaplets of victory won at the polls.

WEBSTER DESCRIBED BRYANISM.

I find a description of the type of men whom I have been attempting to describe, and their ways and methods resulting from the teachings of their leader, Bryan, so eloquently put by Mr. Webster in the Senate of the United States after the panic of 1837, that I cannot resist the inclination of imposing it upon you, if it be an imposition:

"There are persons who constantly clamor against this state of things. They call it aristocracy. They excite the poor to make war upon the rich, while in truth they know not who are either rich or poor. They complain of oppression, speculation and the pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations, and all the means by which small capitalists become united, in order to produce important and beneficent results. They carry on a mad hostility against all established institutions; they would choke up the fountains of industry and dry all its streams.

"In a country of unbounded liberty, they clamor against oppression. In a country of perfect equality, they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where property is more equally divided than anywhere else, they rend the air with the shouting of Agrarian doctrines. In a country where the wages of labor are high beyond all parallel, and where lands are cheap and the means of living low, they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave.

"What can such men want? What do they mean? They can want nothing but to enjoy the fruits of other men's labor. They can mean nothing but disturbance and disorder, the diffusion of corrupt principles and the destruction of moral sentiments and moral habits of society. A licentiousness of feeling and of action is sometimes produced by prosperity itself. Men cannot always resist the temptation to which they are exposed, by the very abundance of the bounties of Providence, and the very happiness of their

own condition; as the steed, full of pasture, will sometimes throw himself against his enclosures, break away from his confinement, and feeling now free from needless restraint, betake himself to the moors and barrens, where want ere long brings him to his senses, and starvation and death closes his career."

So we have Bryanism described by the prophet Samuel, in the earlier history of the world, by the declaration of Webster in the midway of the last century, and by Bryan himself in 1896 and 1900, and we are now to pass judgment upon them. May God grant that that judgment will break his power for public mischief, and relegate him to his quiet and peaceful home, where his virtues may shine, and the memory of his political follies be wiped out.

I have said that all of the appendages to the Resolution of the Kansas City Convention, declaring 16 to 1 as the true financial policy, were political tassels, meaning nothing but to distract and confuse the voter, and it is of course my duty to sustain myself, if I can, in that declaration:

TRUSTS AND BRYAN'S INCOMPETENCY.

The Republican Party have declared against trusts. The Bryanites say they are not honest in the declaration. "Let our man get in, and he will show you how to destroy trusts."

I am no friend of trusts, and if in public life where my opposition could have force, I would give my best study and judgment to the devising of means by which trusts, that are painted as monsters with a pleasant and attractive mien, could be prevented, or the extended operation of their plans be defeated.

I regard Mr. Bryan as dangerous in the management of trusts, if given to him, as I have insisted and attempted to show he would be in the management of finance, if submitted to him.

I listened to him at the Chicago Trust Non-Partisan Convention, and heard him attempt to grapple, with Bourke Cochran, on the question of what was a trust, and what was a monopoly, and what remedies should be provided to guard against both, and I was astonished that a candidate for the Presidency, '96, a candidate upon the stump for the same office from 1896 to 1900, had

not taken into his confidence some clean, level-headed man, and studied out a practical system, which he would recommend, to apply, to relieve them from what they believed to be the evils they are suffering from trusts. He said, "If necessary, I would amend the Constitution." Amend the Constitution, Mr. Bryan? How long would it take to do it? Did you forget that there is no one thing that the Democracy have been more tenacious in holding, than that the power of state must be preserved inviolably, as a check and balance against the tendencies of centralization of power in the general government? And if you did propose an amendment of the Constitution, and the requisite number of States should approve it (which would never be), would you embody in your amendment how the power was to be exercised? Not by whom, but how? Would you provide for the machinery? Would you provide for the Court? Would you provide for the trial? Would you provide for the judgment? Would you provide for the execution of the judgment? All those things are the machinery by which laws against trusts are to be carried into execution.

Unless you can strike out and strike down, and prevent the operation of trusts, all talk about trusts would have as little force and weight as Crocker's denunciation of trusts; and if you will look, Mr. Bryan, at your platform, you will see that you have declared against any power, or the exercise of it, which could carry into effect any judgment for the prevention of the evil.

The writ of injunction is a remedial writ. It is one of the great writs issued from Chancery—not so much to punish an evil, as to prevent the happening of a great evil, which the judgment of the common law could not reach, except in an action for damages. In your studied appeal to labor organizations, and in support of strikes, and to strike a blow at the Democratic President, Cleveland, you have declared and committed yourself against what you term, "Government by injunction," and without the use of that writ, trusts can thrive, and people can suffer, and they cry to Bryan from his subjects, for relief, will be as profitless as the rich man's appeal to Abraham to relieve him from his thirst.

Oh, no, Mr. Bryan, even if you could frame, you could not

carry into execution the necessary laws to protect the people. So that it is nonsense for you to denounce trusts—a mere vamping sound, coruscant and beautiful it may be, but, to use a homely but expressive phrase, “Your talk would butter no parsnips.”

Mr. Bryan in that debate did declare that he would put down trusts, I must confess; and to demonstrate how clearly he had defined his method of doing it, the great statesman (*sic*) told the story about seeing a great flock of hogs with something in their noses, and he asked of the farmer, “What is that for?” And he said, “We wring them so as to prevent their tearing up the grass.” And I will wring trusts, to prevent their doing any evil. My dear man, why didn’t you think, when you told what you would do in the way of wringing the trusts, that you can’t put salt upon a bird’s tail until you have caught the bird!

So I must announce my belief, that on the question of trusts, however his heart may be, I cannot support him, on the ground of his incompetency to execute the trust that he asks to be reposed in him. I would as soon select a stable-boy with a pitch-fork, to perform a delicate operation upon the eye, as to trust Mr. Bryan to deal with the complex and important question of trusts.

ONLY A POLITICAL TASSEL.

Everything is not a trust that is called a trust. There is a distinction between trust and monopoly. A trust may be a monopoly, but a monopoly is not necessarily a trust. A trust proper, is the representation of a combination of different independent interests under a common head for one purpose only, and that is to control management and for distribution of profits. Mere aggregation of capital is not a trust, though it is claimed it may, and does result, in its operation, to an infringement upon public and private right. If you wish legislation to check and control it, and reduce the evil complained of, you will see at once how delicate the touch must be that is to fix the amount of capital which can be aggregated; to fix the amount of product that it shall yield, and prevent the absorption of all business in its line by the power of aggregated wealth over the small capital of an individual.

The remedy is easily to be found when a trust is organized to control the market and increase price, and when it is organized to oppress labor and reduce the price of wage. In my opinion it should be stripped of all the protection which the Government now gives to the raw material and product used and put forth by the trusts; cancel the charter of its organization, and its franchise, under the power well recognized by the Courts—in the exercise of the power given them—to restrain and prevent that which is contrary to public policy. But here, then, we run amuck with the Bryan Resolutions, that we cannot have government by injunction. It seems from this review of the situation relating to trusts, that you will agree with me when I say, it is nothing but a political tassel.

THE MILITARISM BUGABOO.

There is a cry, too, against the dangers of militarism. The men who cry loudest are the men who probably would have taken up their residence in Canada, if they could have escaped the Provost Marshal during the War of the Rebellion.

I am opposed to a large standing army, because I do not believe that this nation needs a large standing army. But the term "large" as applied to standing army, is relative. What would have been a large standing army when this Government consisted of thirteen States east of the Alleghanies, would scarcely be sufficient now, in number, to police New York. So when we read the old warnings against standing armies, we must always, if we choose to be sensible, consider the surroundings to which they were applicable when made, and limit the meaning of the term to the conditions that it was intended to apply to.

We are a people of at least 75,000,000, and rapidly increasing. We are a military people. Our militia, which in a measure corresponds with the German land wehr, are not compelled by law to enter military service; when they choose to go into military service, they go of their own free will, whether it be in the Regular Army service, or whether it be in the local army organization, organized and composed by themselves, entirely independent of the Regular Army.

The Germans, whom it is attempted to frighten away from sound money, by reviving recollections of the severe military laws of the country from which they came, compelling service for a number of years, if they have studied, as I know most of them have, the true spirit of our country, and its laws and our people, know that no such laws as are in force there could be tolerated in this country for a moment. It is one of those stories like the stories that are used in the nurseries to frighten boys and girls, at the bidding of their nurses, to do what they do not want to do.

The young German-American, proud of his race and its traditions, when relieved from the severity of the military law of the land of his, or of his father's birth, rejoices in militarism, and in military exercises and drill, and never fails, if the opportunity is presented, to join himself to a Military Company, where he can gratify his military taste for drill and discipline, and equipment.

It was only last week that a Company from my own city, nearly all of them German, and of German descent, who volunteered in the Spanish War and have kept up their organization since, went to St. Louis to engage in a contest prize, dependent upon efficient military drill, character, dress and appearance, and they came back successful, and our people were so little inclined to discourage militarism, that at 11 o'clock at night they received them, with cheers and applause, congratulating them upon their success, as the German-American representative element of our city.

SUCH, A STANDING ARMY.

But I forget. You are undoubtedly here asking in your mind what I would call a proper standing army? It is a subject that I have thought over many times, and canvassed in my mind, as Chairman of the Committee of Military Affairs in the House of Representatives of the United States. I do not believe that 50,000 men could be called, relatively, a large standing army, representing a country of 75,000,000 people. I would have it armed, equipped, officered and disciplined so that it would be the *creme de la creme* of the armies of the world. I would have its officers men who did not hold their place simply to draw their salaries,

but I would have men whose whole heart and soul were given to the improvement and perfection of military organization and military science, and to the study necessary for its successful operation. Dead-heads, even if they were hatched at our great military school, would be scarce in such an army as I would choose to have.

Such an army is necessary to keep and maintain a nucleus for a large army, should the exigencies demand that it should be called to the field. It should be kept to use as a national police when riots run wild and life is unsafe and property is destroyed, and all other means to enforce the law should fail. I do not believe it would ever be necessary for such a purpose, and therefore I take little account of it in that direction, for the existence of such a force produces the moral effect which, of itself, obviates the necessity of the use of the power.

THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION

comes next. It would seem as if there were a large number of political refugees from the Republican Party who are stumbling over themselves to get into the Bryan Party on the plea of anti-Imperialism, when they cleaned themselves from all taint, and suspicion of taint, of his doctrines in 1896, as thoroughly as if they had been run through a course of calomel treatment by a country doctor, winding it up with a strong dose of thoroughwort tea.

It is fully in accord with the history of mankind everywhere, that things will excite our sympathy and attention, while the same thing directly at home is overlooked and neglected. Our missionaries struggle to convert the heathen. They take their lives in their hands and wage war against the devil in far-off lands, while in the same block or country village in which they lived when at home, the devil runs rampant over three-quarters of the territory. Our charities for the suffering far-off poor are enormous, but in the back alley behind our houses we can find poverty and suffering more than enough to absorb all the surplus that we have, if we are inclined to give it; but we either do not see it, or forget it, or else our negligence of it comes from a desire to see

our name in a public list as a donor in distant lands to a charity, which draws our attention away from them.

On this Philippine question, I must declare my standing distinctly. As an original question, I was opposed to it. As an original question, I was opposed to the Spanish War, for I feared the consequences that would result from it, and which have resulted from it. But it is an accepted fact now. The purchase is consummated and endorsed by the American people.

NO IMPERIALISM IN IT.

The right to purchase, or the right to acquire by conquest, cannot be denied, for it is in accordance with the doctrine of every international writer now living, or who has ever lived. The only question was the wisdom of it, and that is the only question involved now. There is nothing Imperialistic connected with it. The name was invented because it was a name that would catch the public ear, and people would go brawling about against Imperialism who hadn't the least conception in the world of the meaning of the word that they were talking about. Strange as it may seem, a word with unknown meaning applied to anything in this country, and perhaps in many others, particularly if it be a big word like "syndicate"—if that name has something which seems to grate upon the public ear, all you have to do to condemn a thing at first blush, is to christen it with the obnoxious name and denounce it; and the word, in its popular acceptance, is taken to be more and more awful, the less people understand its meaning.

If acquirement of territory is Imperialism, then Bryan is an Imperialist, and on that question there can be no choice between the candidates. Bryan proposes to withdraw the army and apply the doctrine to the treacherous Indian and Malay that we apply to educated people of our own race and under our own Government, that they shall form governments as a free, independent people, capable of governing themselves. Wild nonsense! That kind of people can only be held in check by the strong arm of the law, and that law must be military law; and to induce the fear of enforcement and punishment under that law, there must be a force

behind it which shall inspire fear of the application of the power to enforce it.

Mr. McKinley has tendered to them the olive branch of peace. He has sought to establish a Government for them. He has sought to let them establish a Government for themselves, but they have grown worse instead of better. The attempts, peaceably, to maintain order and enforce the law, have been rejected. The right of the United States over the purchased territory has been denied. The attempt to restore peace and order, and preserve life and property, has been met with hostile bolts and Mauser muskets.

THE ONLY THING TO DO.

What ought we to do, to maintain our own self-respect and preserve the respect of the Nations, who are beginning to look upon us as a power in the world? I answer the question this way:

Whenever you have an ugly wolf that you are holding by the ears to prevent his rending you asunder, I do not believe that the proper treatment to bring him into subjection is to rub his head with cologne and violet water. But I say, punish him, even to the death, if he will not yield.

Mr. Bryan advocated the Spanish War. The Bryan jingo, uniting with all other jingoes, forced Congress to declare War against Spain. Mr. McKinley, with his conservative mind, foreseeing the consequences likely to follow war, tried in vain to stem the tide, and substitute peaceful diplomacy for bloody war; but when war came, he followed his American teaching, that when "the war trumpet is sounded the stream must be crossed, and the leader should not linger afar." He struck the blows thick and fast, and when peace came, it came with glory to the old flag, and the Philippines followed as a consequence.

Then we have Bryan for the war, and of course he is chargeable with the legitimate consequences which ensued. We have McKinley against the war, in an endeavor to secure an adjustment, through diplomatic sources, and we find him now cursed by the same men because of the consequences resulting from their own act.

But I do not stop here, in Mr. Bryan's complicity in the evils of which he speaks. When the Treaty by which we acquired the Philippines hung in the balance in the United States Senate, lacking votes enough to approve it, Bryan rushed to Washington, as the owner and keeper of the so-called Democratic conscience, and aided in bringing his followers up to his wishes; and it was by their votes that the Treaty was adopted. Don't forget this, my anti-Imperialist friend, when you urge the support of Bryan because he is to save you from the consequences of a Treaty to which he was a party.

As Mr. Olney says: The isolated condition which the United States heretofore maintained has been departed from; the crust or shell has been broken, and the United States has come forth in her power, to maintain her position among the nations of the earth.

I agree with him. I agree with him that I should have preferred Cuba to be taken instead of the Philippines, but because the men who had control of the situation thought it better to take the Philippines than Cuba, I am not going to denounce the President as violating the Constitution, or as entertaining Imperial notions.

I think that if some critic should review Mr. Olney's last letter in connection with his article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, he could write an interesting critique upon the suggestion that I have here intimated, as to the charge made of a desire of Imperialism on the part of the President. And I may say here (it may be an idiosyncrasy of mine) that I believe that all Presidents since the division of the parties, have represented syndicates; that political parties are quasi-syndicates on either side; and when we consider this, the term "syndicate" is not a word of such ominous import as our country newspapers seem to make of it, from the expression used by Mr. Olney. But as I am speaking from my heart, I can say truly, that if compelled to choose, as we now are, between a government by any such syndicate as Bryan and Altgeld and Tillman, and men of that ilk, in position to execute the wishes of their discontented and shiftless following, I would flee from it to take refuge in a syndicate that represented industry, brain and business

character, which had enabled its members to acquire wealth. I would certainly prefer the latter to the former, if my allegiance was to be controlled by the term "syndicate."

Mr. Olney truly says, that with the position we now assume, and which this nation deserves to assume, we must have power—not theoretical power—but active, visible power, showing our ability to enforce our rights and to protect our commerce; and as I have said before, that the presence and existence of the power will be sufficient to accomplish the purposes of the power, without any active use of it except in extreme instances. That power will be naval—not upon land—and while I am in favor of only a small standing army, I most heartily endorse the doctrine of a very much enlarged navy, ready at any and all times, against any and all powers who may trench upon the rights of American citizens abroad, or may interfere with our commercial rights under the rules of international law, or shall attempt to exclude us from trade to which we are entitled, to defend and enforce the rights of our citizens, and of our commerce, in any and every sea, teaching respect to be paid to the American flag. And if the clash must come, nothing would fill my heart with greater exultation than to know that the Battleship Wisconsin will be the first at the head of the column to enforce American rights.

OUR FUTURE GREATNESS.

Year after year from my boyhood, I have advocated the open door for trade. I have advocated the limit of any imposition of tax or duty upon it to only such as should be necessary for the revenue purposes of the government. I have not changed my views, but on the contrary I see in our largely increasing commerce, that there is daily an objective lesson given to manufacturers and traders, to buyers and sellers, that the doctrine of a home market might have been well in the infantile stages of this country, and its manufacturing interests, but now that we have outgrown our baby clothes, and can dispense with our wrappings and bandages, and come forth with the full strength of national manhood and battle with the world in every market for supremacy in trade; and when without the aid of any protection or assistance,

except the genius, the inventive power, the energy and good judgment of an American trader, the reliance upon a home market will be a child of the past.

I have said that I did not agree with Mr. Bryan in his expansion ideas. I repeat my disagreement with him, but I do hope and look for, if not in my day, for those who may come after me, to see as I have said, America not only the mistress of the trade of the world, but the mistress of the seas. Nothing would please me more to see in life, or gratify me going to death, than to know that at some time the Island of Bermuda, and that of Nassau, and all those little islands which furnished, as it were, hives for hornets to hide in and prey upon the American commerce in the War of the Rebellion, shall belong to America, and not to any foreign power.

As Cleveland said, "We are sovereign on the Western Continent, and will not yield that sovereignty to any foreign nation who may infringe upon the doctrines and traditions of our government." And I would extend that sovereignty, as I have said, over the neighboring islands which in time of war will always be a menace to our shores, a menace to our cities, a menace to our trade.

VOTE FOR M'KINLEY.

I have given you, my fellow-citizens, my views upon the existing political situation, and now perhaps I can conclude no better than to use the language of my old friend, the former mayor of New York, Abram S. Hewitt, a Democrat and chosen friend of Tilden, whose political integrity has never been questioned. He says: "There is no longer any room for doubt as to the course which should be taken by men who believe in true Democracy and desire to preserve its principles for the benefit of those who are to come after us. We are compelled by every consideration of honor, of duty and of interest, to repudiate Bryanism and all that it represents," and to vote for McKinley and Roosevelt. And so say we all of us.



The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt-paying power to the dollar paid to any government creditor.
— WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

THE VITAL ISSUE

An Honest Dollar the Basis of Prosperity

By

HON. DAVID JAYNE HILL, LL.D.

Published by the

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CONTENTS:	PAGE		PAGE
Introduction	1	V. Experimental Legislation	14
I. First Bimetallic Experiment	7	VI. Debtors and Creditors	19
II. Adoption of the Gold Standard	10	VII. Prices and Wages	23
III. Causes of the Demonetization of Silver	11	VIII. Agricultural Prosperity	25
IV. Demonetization of Silver in Europe	13	IX. Commercial Honor	27
		X. Fallacies of the Free Coinage Theory	28
		XI. Conclusion	32

INTRODUCTION.

1. Present Importance of the Subject.—The real issue before the people between the Democratic party and its Populist allies on the one hand and the Republican party on the other, in the Presidential campaign of 1900, is the same that divided them in 1896. While maintaining its adherence to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, the Democratic party, for the sake of obscuring the issue, represents the pretended "Imperialism" of the Republican Administration as the important question to be determined by the people, hoping thereby to secure its own advent to power. *The only positive course of action proposed by the Kansas City Platform is the adoption of its theory of coinage;* every other doctrine of that political programme is purely negative and consists in a profession of opposition to certain views of public policy attributed to the party in power.

2. **The Scare Crow of "Imperialism."**—A campaign waged in the name of Anti-imperialism when no advocate of "Imperialism" exists cannot be other than delusive. In his speech of acceptance at Indianapolis Mr. Bryan reaffirms his approval of the Treaty of Paris, by which the Philippine islands became territory of the United States. Even before the ratification of that treaty the Government found itself confronted with an insurrection whose aim was to expel from those islands the troops which had accomplished their liberation from the oppression of Spain. This insurrection, inspired in part by misrepresentations of the intentions of this Government, was led by a self-constituted dictator, who assumed authority not only over the Tagalog tribe, to which he belonged, but over the entire Philippine Archipelago, which the United States, with Mr. Bryan's approval, had legally acquired by treaty. Article VI of the Constitution declares that "all treaties made under the authority of the United States shall be the supreme law of the land." The Treaty of Paris provides that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress." Upon the ratification of the treaty, therefore, it became the imperative duty of the President, as the chief executive, to enforce the rights and powers of Congress, which were secured by "the supreme law of the land," against armed usurpation, to protect the lives and property of peaceable inhabitants intrusted to the guardianship of this Government, and to sustain the American soldiers who had been violently attacked while maintaining the honor and defending the flag of their country. The course of the President and of Congress has been not only legal, but just and humane at every step in their difficult task of suppressing bloodshed and restoring peace and order. The only "Imperialism" justly attributable to the present Administration is that of the Constitution itself, which requires the President to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." Had he permitted a self-appointed dictator to usurp the powers of Congress, to destroy the lives and property of innocent inhabitants, or to drive American troops out of territory belonging to the United States without opposition, his opponents would have had a more potent battle-cry than the false, malicious and empty slogan of "Imperialism."

3. **The Vital Question.**—But the real purpose of the Democratic party is not a reversal of the Republican record in matters connected with the Spanish-American war and its results. That party does not exist for the well-being of distant islanders nor for the mere preservation of principles attributed to statesmen of the past. It manifests no distress over the disfranchisement of American citizens who do not vote the Democratic ticket and for the last four years it has repudiated most of the maxims dear to its greatest representatives. As it exists to-day, the Democratic party possesses but a *single constructive principle*, the one talisman of its present leader,—the theory that the free

coinage of silver at a ratio long outgrown in the markets of the world will cure the chief social ills of man. The reflecting voter who is unwilling to be misled by sophistries will perceive in this proposition the *Vital Issue* and will determine his action accordingly.

The most important question to every man is *the value of his labor and of that in which his labor is paid*. The political panacea of the Bryan Democracy is *the reduction of the value of the dollar*, which according to Mr. Bryan represents under the gold standard 200 cents. The subject comes home to the business and bosoms of men as no other does and justifies their most careful reflection. The purpose of the present pamphlet is to present the facts in so elementary a manner that the whole subject may be thoroughly understood in a few hours' reading.

4. The Nature and Uses of Money.—The exchange of commodities is essential to the existence of civilized life. Division of labor gives to all the great advantage of profiting by the special skill and facilities of each. In a civilized state of society, almost all the products of every creator of value are offered for exchange. When they are exchanged directly against each other, as wheat for cloth, the exchange is called *barter*. When the exchange is effected by the medium of some common measure of value, as gold or silver, it is called a *sale*, and the amount of the medium agreed upon is called the *price*. Such a common measure of value is called *money*.

It is evident that a medium of exchange would not be accepted unless it had some definite relation to a standard of value. Price is, therefore, partly a question of *arithmetic*, which determines how many *times* a unit of value is to be taken in order to be an equivalent medium of exchange; but it is primarily a question of *value*, that is, it has relation to some object of *desire*. Whatever this object of desire may be, in order to be a good medium of exchange it must be (1) *Measurable*, so as to be capable of arithmetical treatment; (2) *Divisible*, so as to be separable into arithmetical parts and again united in multiples of those parts; (3) *Homogeneous*, so as to be always the same thing, without variation in quality from time to time; (4) *Portable*, so that it can be removed from place to place, and thus really serve as a medium of exchange; (5) *Durable*, so that it will not easily perish during possession; (6) *Stable in value*, so that it will have the same purchasing power when it is paid as when it is promised; and (7) *Recognizable*, so that it can always be known and its value readily ascertained by sight.

In practice we have two kinds of mediums of exchange, both of which are called "money," but which need to be clearly distinguished. **Real Money** is always a *commodity* of some kind. **Representative Money** is a *promise* to pay this, either expressed in definite terms on the paper or metal which serves as representative money, or implied by an authorization of law, or general agreement. Human nature the

world over has settled upon the precious metals, gold and silver, as commodities fitted to constitute real money. If there is a doubt which of these two is to be preferred to the other, it must be settled by asking the question, Which is most *desired*? And if any attempt is made to determine how much *more* one is desired than the other, that can be ascertained only by discovering the *market price* of one in terms of the other, at the time in question.

The great bulk, probably ninety per cent, of all the business of the country is done *without* money. It is done on *credit*, that is, in the faith that promises to pay money will be fulfilled, *if required*. When the credit of a person or corporation is good, the payment of money is not required. Checks, drafts, bills of exchange, promissory notes, and other forms of credit, are the mediums by which the world does its largest business. The clearing-houses equate these, and *balances* only are paid in money.

5. Definition of Terms.—There are a few technical terms which, although in popular use, are often misunderstood, and therefore require to be exactly defined before monetary questions can be intelligently discussed.

(1) The distinction between “**Pure**” and “**Standard**” gold or silver is this: “**Pure**” gold or silver is free from all alloy, and consists of the one element alone; “**Standard**” gold or silver contains an amount of alloy consisting, under the present laws of the United States, of 100 parts to the thousand of copper in the case of silver, and of copper and silver in the case of gold, to give the coin greater hardness and durability in use. Coin of standard gold or silver is, therefore, 900 thousandths fine; that is, 1,000 ounces of standard coin contain 900 ounces of pure metal.

(2) “**Free Coinage**” means that any one bringing gold or silver bullion to the Mint may have it coined into standard coin, without charge. The owner of bullion, under a system of free coinage, would receive one dollar in coin for every 371.25 grains of pure silver brought to the Mint. If the coin is worth more than the bullion by weight, the owner of the bullion obtains all the profit. If a silver dollar contains 47 cents’ worth of silver, the depositor of bullion gets a profit of 53 cents on every dollar thus coined. The government gets nothing, but is expected to keep the silver dollar at par with gold dollars of nearly twice its intrinsic value.

(3) When gold or silver bullion is bought by the government and coined into money, if there is a difference between the price of the bullion and the value of the coin, the government makes this profit, which is called “**Seignorage**.” Originally, it was the charge which the “*seigneur*,” or lord of the realm, made for coining. Free coinage gives this profit to the owner of bullion.

(4) When two metals are used as standards of value, the arrangement is called a “**Double Standard**.” This of course involves fixing a

"Ratio" between them, to indicate how much of one is equivalent to a given amount of the other. As the production of both gold and silver varies from year to year, the market value of both is subject to some variation. That of gold, as being by far the more constant and unchangeable, is regarded as the unit in establishing this "ratio" between the two metals. By recommendation of Alexander Hamilton, in 1792, the legal ratio was fixed at 15 to 1; that is, fifteen pounds of silver were to be regarded as equivalent to one pound of gold. This was very near the true market ratio; but silver afterward fell in price from over-production, so that in 1834 the ratio was changed to 16 to 1. The market ratio has been subject to constant variation, and now stands at about 34 to 1.

(5) The terms **"Monometallism"** and **"Bimetallism"** are intended to represent, respectively, the doctrines held by believers in a single standard, and the adherents of a double standard. A "Monometallist" is a believer in a single standard, holding that it is impossible to fix a ratio by legislation which will not drive out one or the other of the two metals. The "Bimetallist" holds that it is possible to fix and maintain such a ratio. Most "Bimetallists," however, believe that the theory of a double standard is practicable only by international agreement to maintain a fixed ratio throughout the civilized world.

(6) The expression **"Legal-Tender"** is an important one to understand, because it gives rise to a very serious error. A "legal-tender" is a kind of money, real or representative, in which the payment of debts is prescribed or authorized by law. Thus, for example, the government notes known as "greenbacks," first issued during the Civil War, were mere promises to pay, without date. At that time the gold dollar was the accepted unit of value, containing 23.22 grains of pure gold, or 25.8 grains of standard gold. But as the "greenbacks" were made a *legal-tender* for all debts between citizens of the United States, they were considered as the legal money; and gold, which was difficult to obtain, was said to be *at a premium*.

(7) At the present time, the **"Unit of Value"** in our system of coinage is the gold dollar of 25.8 grains of standard gold. As we shall presently see, there is a great variety of representative money issued by the government of the United States, only part of which is "legal-tender." As long as the treasury is prepared to redeem in gold, directly or indirectly, all of these kinds of money, *they are equally good*, and the people will be satisfied to exchange them on terms of equality. But the moment public confidence is lost in the ability or intention of the government to keep all its money equal to the standard, that moment gold will be at a premium, and a part of the national currency will depreciate in the hands of the holders.

6. Present Forms of Money in the United States.—The following table exhibits the different kinds of money now current in the United States:—

I. REAL MONEY: GOLD COIN.
 II. REPRESENTATIVE MONEY.

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Metallic | { | (1) Standard Silver Dollars, unlimited legal-tender. ¹ |
| | | (2) Subsidiary Coin, legal-tender up to \$10. |
| | | (3) Minor Coin, legal-tender up to 25 cents. |
| 2. Non-metallic | { | (1) Gold Certificates, not legal-tender. |
| | | (2) Silver Certificates, not legal-tender. |
| | | (3) Silver Treasury Notes, unlimited legal-tender. ¹ |
| | | (4) United States Notes, unlimited legal-tender. ¹ |
| | | (5) Currency Certificates, not legal-tender. |
| | | (6) National Bank-Notes, not legal-tender. |

The only "real" money now circulating in the United States is gold coin; for this alone is worth its face value *apart from the element of credit*. All the other money is "representative;" for it does not possess value equal to its face apart from the element of credit.

The standard silver dollar is now worth *as bullion* less than one-half its face; for 480 grains of silver bullion can be bought for 61 cents, and the standard silver dollar contains only 371.25 grains, or 47 cents' worth, of pure silver. We trust the national government for the remainder.

The subsidiary coin contains a proportionally smaller part of pure metal, and is, therefore, still more charged with the credit element.

United States notes are promises to pay in coin; while the certificates of deposit simply call for what they indicate,—gold, silver, or currency. Of these, the gold certificates alone specifically call for gold; but even they contain a credit element,—faith in the ability and intention of the government to pay them in gold.

The national bank-notes are the promises of national banks to pay in lawful money of the United States, which includes all the legal-tender money already described. They have the endorsement of the government, and are amply secured by deposits of United States bonds.

About two-thirds of all the money now in use in the United States involves, to some extent, *the element of credit*. Hitherto, since the resumption of specie payments, Jan. 1, 1879, that credit has been above suspicion. It is now brought in question and threatened with destruction.

7. Opposing Platforms of 1896 and 1900.—In order to show the peril with which the national credit is now menaced, the platforms of the Republican and Democratic parties for 1896 and 1900, so far as they relate to this question, are presented below for comparison:—

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1896.

Adopted at St. Louis.

The Republican Party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1896.

Adopted at Chicago.

We are unalterably opposed to the Single Gold standard, which has locked fast the property of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold mono-metallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought our nation into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American,

¹Except by contract to the contrary.

our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of Silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world which we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such agreement can be obtained the existing Gold standard must be preserved.

All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States; and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard—the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM OF 1900.

Adopted at Philadelphia.

There is no longer any controversy as to the value of government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of Silver.

but anti-American; and can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that indomitable spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776, and won it in the War of the Revolution.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both Gold and Silver, under the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal-tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private; and we favor such legislation as will prevent the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1900.

Adopted at Kansas City.

We reaffirm the principles of the national Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of Silver and Gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

It will be seen that the issue joined between the parties is, whether or not the United States shall change the present standard and adopt the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1. Without partisan prejudice, we wish to determine in a strictly scientific manner, in the light of history and experience, whether or not this proposition to change our standard and open the mints of the United States to the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the proposed ratio is honorable and expedient.

1. FIRST BIMETALLIC EXPERIMENT.

The first bimetallic experiment of the United States, adopted in 1792, fixed a legal ratio between silver and gold which drove gold out of the country, and reduced the currency to the single silver standard.

1. **The Adoption of the Silver Dollar.**—From 1782 to 1786 the American colonies seriously contemplated the necessity of domestic coinage. During the War of the Revolution, the unit of common account was the "Spanish milled dollar." It was expected that the "Continental currency" would be redeemed in this coin, but the day of redemption did not dawn. Pounds, shillings, and pence were fixed

in the traditions of the people; but the English coins were driven out of circulation during the war, and did not return rapidly afterward. Numerous foreign coins were current,—French, Spanish, and Portuguese,—but the need of a native coinage was sorely felt.

In 1782 Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, made proposals for the establishment of an American mint, and these received the approval of the Congress of the Confederation. He believed that two metals, gold and silver, could not be used, because their ratio was not constant, and recommended silver as the standard. Jefferson proposed decimal denominations, and the dollar as the unit. He saw that the proportion between the values of gold and silver "*is a mercantile problem altogether,*" and said, "*Just principles will lead us to disregard legal proportions,*" proposing to adjust the ratio to the "*market price.*"

Nothing was done, however, until the adoption of the Constitution. In his *Report on the Establishment of a Mint*, dated May 5, 1791, Alexander Hamilton proposed a double standard, 15 pounds of silver being considered equivalent to 1 pound of gold. Hamilton saw that gold was "*less liable to variations of value than silver,*" and adopted it as the unit by which the ratio was to be determined. "*As long as gold,*" he said, "*either from its intrinsic superiority as a metal, from its rarity, or from the prejudices of mankind, retains so considerable a pre-eminence in value over silver as it has hitherto had, a natural consequence of this seems to be that its conditions will be more stationary.* The revolutions, therefore, which may take place in the comparative value of gold and silver, *will be changes in the state of the latter* rather than in that of the former." He was, nevertheless, disposed to utilize both metals as far as possible, as at that time silver was, from its prevalent use and value, not unsuited to the peculiar needs of the country, whose volume of exchanges was not great, and whose immature development required the retention of all its metallic wealth.

Three facts connected with this first coinage law of the United States are worthy of special note: (1) The legal ratio between gold and silver was *exactly adjusted to the market ratio*; (2) It was believed that *this ratio would continue for a long time in the future*; and (3) The *bullion value* of both metals was recognized as the *standard of measurement* upon which a just ratio should be based.

This is a fitting place to note the sophistry contained in the expression "**the money of the Constitution.**" The Constitution of the United States makes no provision for either a monometallic or a bimetallic standard of value, and prescribes no system of coinage. It provides that Congress, and not the legislatures of the separate States, shall have power "*to coin money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin.*" The Constitution nowhere defines the material of which money shall be made, and nowhere implies a preference with regard to it. The only use made of the words "gold" and "silver" in the Constitution is in *the prohibition to the States* to make anything else than coin a legal-

tender in the payment of debts; that is, it prohibits them from making their own issues of paper money a legal-tender. But there is not one word in the Constitution to indicate either the substance or the system of coinage which Congress might subsequently adopt. A demand for "the money of the Constitution," with the implication that the Constitution has established or proposed a legal ratio between gold and silver, or prescribed their concurrent use as standards of value is, therefore, merely a resort of the demagogue, who is either ignorant of the subject, or means to impose upon the ignorance of others.

2. The Operation of Gresham's Law.—The bimetallic system of Hamilton started well; but, after 1793, there was a steady decline in the value of silver as related to gold, broken only by a few spasmodic rallies, falling in 1813 to a ratio of 16.25 to 1. At no time between 1793 and 1834 was the market ratio so low as the legal ratio of 15 to 1; that is, during that whole period, silver was *overvalued* and gold was *undervalued* at the United States Mint.

Sir Thomas Gresham has laid down a principle, which has since been known as "**Gresham's Law**," as follows: "When two kinds of money of unequal value are put into circulation together, *the cheaper money always drives out the dearer.*" The truth of this statement may be very simply illustrated. If, in the same village, one storekeeper offers 25 cents per pound for butter, and another only 20 cents, the farmers of the neighborhood can gain 5 cents per pound by taking their butter to the first storekeeper. If this condition of things continues, all the butter will tend to go to the store where the higher price is paid. Now, the government Mint and the bullion market offered different prices for silver. The Mint offered one ounce of gold for every 15 ounces of silver, while the market offered 16 ounces of silver for one ounce of gold. One ounce of gold, therefore, would buy 16 ounces of silver in the market, 15 of which could be taken to the Mint and exchanged for another ounce of gold, leaving *one ounce of silver as a profit on the transaction*. The money broker may be trusted to conduct this business, whenever there is an appreciable difference between the Mint and the market ratios; that is, *as long as the Mint continues to be open*.

In 1806 the coinage of silver dollars was suspended by President Jefferson, and no more were coined until 1836. The whole number of silver dollars coined down to and including 1805 was 1,459,517. From that time to 1836, the largest silver coins issued from the Mint were half-dollars.

But Jefferson's suppression of the silver dollar did not, as intended, restrain the outflow of gold. According to Benton,¹ the circulation of gold "*became completely and totally extinguished* in the United States" in 1812.

¹ Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, vol. 1, chap. cv.

II. ADOPTION OF THE GOLD STANDARD.

The second bimetallic experiment of the United States, adopted in 1834, fixed a legal ratio between silver and gold which drove silver out of use and reduced the currency to the single gold standard.

1. **The Adoption of a New Ratio.**—The Coinage Act of 1834 did not, like that of 1792, attempt to fix a legal ratio adjusted to that of the market. The ratio adopted was that of 16 to 1 (accurately 15.988 to 1), which undervalued silver, the market ratio being then about 15.7 to 1. It was urged that the new ratio would anticipate the expected continued fall in the price of silver, which experience seemed to justify; and also that Spain, Portugal, Mexico, South America, and the West Indies had rated silver to gold at 16 to 1.

2. **The Suppression of Silver.**—The effect of changing the ratio was more sweeping than it was expected to be. Gresham's law was brought into operation, not, as in the period 1792-1834, to drive out gold, but, by the legal undervaluation of silver, to suppress its circulation. For \$1,570 in silver, one could buy gold bullion which the Mint valued at \$1,600. One had only to sell his silver for gold, in order to pay his debts at a discount of \$30 on every \$1,600, or nearly two per cent. Silver, therefore, ceased to be used as money, and became merely merchandise. The subsidiary coins also, since they contained the full proportion of silver, passed out of circulation and became merchandise, resulting in a "small change" famine. Few persons born after 1840 ever saw a silver dollar, except as a curiosity, until the coinage of standard silver dollars was resumed in 1878.

3. **The Debasement of Gold Coins.**—In order to adjust gold and silver coins to the new ratio, leaving the silver dollar unchanged at 371.25 grains of pure silver, the gold eagle was reduced from 247.5 to 232 grains of pure gold.

4. **The Changes of 1837.**—In 1837 the amount of alloy was made uniform for both gold and silver coins,—one-tenth alloy and nine-tenths pure metal,—making all standard coin, as at present, 900 thousandths fine. Previous to this time, gold coins were one-twelfth, and silver coins one-ninth, alloy. Leaving the amount of pure silver unchanged at 371.25, the weight of the silver dollar was thus made 412.5, instead of 416, grains.

5. **The Discoveries of Gold.**—The undervaluation of silver was rendered permanent for nearly forty years by the enormous discoveries of gold in Russia, Australia, and California. From an average annual production of about \$38,000,000 in 1840-1850, the gold supply was increased by an annual production of more than \$150,000,000 after 1850. The effect of the great gold discoveries was to give the United States a *single gold standard*, silver being out of circulation except as subsidiary coin, which last was kept in use only by reducing the amount of pure silver in such coin to a ratio of less than 15 to 1.

III. CAUSES OF THE DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER.

The disuse of silver dollars resulted solely from the commercial relations of gold and silver at the legal ratio of 16 to 1, and not from the so-called "Crime of 1873."

1. **The Act of 1853.**—A Coinage Act was passed in 1853, having for its purposes (1) The preservation of subsidiary silver as currency, and (2) The recognition of gold as the only standard of value. It was a practical abandonment of the double standard as a commercial impossibility at the 16 to 1 ratio. The Act met with but little opposition, and that was chiefly directed against the change of ratio for subsidiary silver.

Nothing was said of the silver dollar in the Act of 1853. That had entirely disappeared from circulation, and it was proposed to accept the fact. "*Gold is the only standard of value by which all property is now measured,*" said Mr. Skelton of New Jersey; "*it is virtually the only currency in the country.*"¹

2. **The Suspension of Specie Payments.**—Such was the condition of the standard of value when, on account of the Civil War, specie payments were suspended by the United States, Dec. 31, 1861. Then followed the issues of legal-tender notes and of bonds, to provide means for carrying on the war. Gold disappeared from the circulation; but it was still the standard of value, and the notes and bonds of the government were based upon that standard. Specie payments were resumed upon a gold basis, Jan. 1, 1879, under a law of 1875.

3. **The "Crime of 1873."**—The Act of Feb. 12, 1873, is referred to by the advocates of the free coinage of silver as the "Crime of 1873," because it is alleged to have demonetized the silver dollar. The facts are: (1) That the silver dollar was not driven out of circulation by the act of 1873, for it had not been in circulation for more than twenty-five years; (2) it did not then for the first time cease to be coined, for the coinage of silver dollars had been suspended by Jefferson in 1806 and only briefly resumed.

4. **The Crime of Omission.**—The reason for referring to the Act of 1873 as a "crime" is found exclusively in its omissions. Its capital offense was the omission of the silver dollar from among the coins thereafter to be coined by the United States. As this had not been in circulation, or coined for circulation, for many years, it is not easy to justify the accusation of "crime" by its omission.

But it is the circumstances of the omission that most arouse the indignation of the advocates of the standard silver dollar. That the step should ever have been taken with no opposition is the unpardonable wrong. The charge is, that the bill was "rushed" through the House, partly by secrecy, and partly by opposition to the wishes of the members.

¹ *Congressional Globe*, vol. xxvi., p. 629.

5. The Charge Refuted.—Although this charge of haste, secrecy, and arbitrariness was fully refuted by Professor Laughlin,¹ in 1885, and again by Mr. Horace White,² in 1895, it continues to be repeated and spread abroad, as if it were true and a just cause for public indignation. It is, therefore, necessary to repeat the refutation here.

The bill was printed *thirteen times* by the Treasury Department and by Congress, and the proceedings occupy *one hundred and forty-four columns* of the *Congressional Globe*. It was considered during *five sessions* of the Senate and House, and was in progress for more than *two years*. It was referred to in the Treasurer's reports for 1870, 1871, and 1872, and passed through the hands of *thirty experts* for criticism and suggestion. It was sent to the House and Senate in various forms, and *laid on the desks of all the members*. It was debated by at least four members in the House, *who called attention to the fact that the gold dollar was the only standard recognized in the bill*.

There was no opposition in either Senate or House to the omission of the silver dollar from the list of coins. It was explained by Mr. Hooper, of Massachusetts, who had charge of the bill, that "the committee, after careful consideration, concluded that twenty-five and eight-tenths grains of standard gold, *constituting the gold dollar*, should be declared *the money unit*, or metallic representative of the dollar of account."³ He also called attention to the discontinuance of the silver dollar of 412.5 grains.

The Law of 1873 never having been repealed, although the further coinage of silver dollars, as we shall see, was subsequently authorized, is still the law of the United States with regard to the standard of value. The coinage of silver in the three years 1873-1875, in spite of the "Crime of 1873," was \$17,019,664, an excess over the three years before 1873 of nearly \$10,000,000.

6. The Trade Dollar.—To avoid all possible confusion, it is important to note that the so-called "trade dollar," authorized in 1873, was not intended as a legal-tender coin. "The trade dollar was in reality an ingot, shaped like a dollar piece, but with different devices than those on the dollar of 412.5 grains; it weighed 420 grains standard weight (that is, 900 fine), and, consequently, contained 378 grains of pure silver. The cost of manufacturing the coin at the various mints was charged upon the owner of the bullion presented for coinage, so that the expense of melting, refining, and assaying the silver, and the expense of making the dollar, was borne entirely by the owners of bullion, and not by the United States."⁴ It was not intended for circulation in the United States, but for trade with China and other silver nations, from which fact it derived its name.

¹ *History of Bimetallism*, pp. 97-101.

² *Money and Banking*, pp. 213-223.

³ *Congressional Globe*, part iii., Second Session, 42d Congress, pp. 2305, 2306.

⁴ Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism*, p. 104.

IV. DEMONETIZATION OF SILVER IN EUROPE.

The demonetization of silver by the leading commercial nations of the world, between 1870 and 1880, was the effect of the depreciation of silver, which was occasioned by its inferiority to gold as money, and its overproduction.

1. The Change from Silver to Gold in France.—Between 1852 and 1864 France imported about \$680,000,000 of gold, and exported \$345,000,000 of silver. This was the first decided movement, outside of England, toward the gold standard; but it indicated an unmistakable tendency. In 1867 the International Monetary Conference at Paris recorded its preference for the single gold standard; and, from that time forward, this was the monetary ideal of every European nation. But France was not able to pass out of the double standard stage, on account of her enormous stock of silver. Before the transition to a single gold standard could be effected, the Franco-Prussian War broke out, which ended in the humiliation and defeat of France.

2. The Action of Germany.—The initiative for which France was preparing was reserved for Germany, her conqueror, to take. The opportunity came when \$54,000,000 was paid to Germany in French gold coin, as a part of the war indemnity. For this advantage she had long been waiting, having been upon the silver basis since 1857, through a monetary treaty with Austria, and the expediency of the change having been discussed and accepted since 1868. The silver coinage of the German states was far from uniform. The coins were cumbersome and inconvenient, and the needs of the new Empire demanded a gold standard. The measures preparatory to the change were passed Dec. 4, 1871; but the gold standard was not definitely adopted until July 9, 1873.

The value of silver began to fall as early as November, 1872. By July, 1876, it had depreciated more than 22 per cent. This depreciation was, without doubt, partly owing to the increase in the production of gold, which displaced silver. Between 1850 and 1875 about \$3,000,000,000 of gold had been added to the world's stock. Germany therefore made her transition from silver to gold with perfect ease.

3. The Latin Union.—As we have already seen, France was making preparations for the adoption of the gold standard when the Franco-Prussian War broke out. "The public applauded the introduction of gold in the place of silver, for the same reasons that had earlier attracted the English people, namely, gold pieces are more easily handled, a certain amount can be carried more conveniently, and counting takes less time."¹ The Latin Union had been created in 1865 by France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, afterward adding Greece. Dec. 23, 1865, a treaty between the four countries first named was signed, adopting a uniform token coinage of silver. In 1873 the

1 M. Chevalier in *Journal des Economistes*, June, 1876, p. 444

Mints of the Union were crowded with silver bullion. On Jan. 30, 1874, a meeting of delegates was called, and limited the number of five-franc silver pieces that should be coined during that year. This was a *suspension of free coinage*, and it has never been resumed. In 1877 the Latin Union entirely suspended the coinage of five-franc pieces for that year, except in Italy; and in a treaty of Nov. 5, 1878, in order to prevent gold from disappearing and being replaced by silver, *complete suspension was adopted*.

4. The Action of Other Countries.—A table, prepared by the Treasury Department, giving the population and total commerce of each of the gold and silver standard countries of the world, respectively, and their commerce with the United States, and especially their imports from the United States, shows that only 5 per cent of the world's commerce is carried on by silver-standard countries, and that the silver-standard countries take but 4.8 per cent of the exports of the United States.

An examination of the list will show that all the most highly civilized nations whose people have extensive commercial interests are upon the gold standard, while most of the others are semi-civilized or barbaric. The full significance of this fact is well stated by Professor Laughlin when he says, "In considering this movement in monetary progress, the substitution of gold for silver, and comparing it with similar events in industrial progress in almost every branch of activity, no illustration seems to me more exactly to describe the change caused by the introduction of gold than that of steam. In former days the world carried on its exchanges by the slow, uncertain, and clumsy methods of coaches, wagons, and sails; now all is done at less expense, more rapidly and conveniently, by railways and steamships. Both coaches and railways existed to transfer passengers and freight; so both gold and silver were used to interchange goods. Formerly coaches were our chief dependence; so was it with silver. In later years the railway has supplanted the coach, because it does the same service much better, leaving the coach to do minor work in other directions; in the same way gold is supplanting silver, because it serves the needs of commerce better, and silver is relegated to use as subsidiary coin for retail transactions. Consequently, when there is offered to a commercial country the choice between using gold and using silver, we should as soon expect it to prefer silver as we should expect merchants to-day to send their goods to New York or to Chicago by wagons instead of by railways."¹

V. EXPERIMENTAL LEGISLATION.

The movement for the free and unlimited coinage of silver in the United States is the lineal descendant of greenback inflation, and the experimental legislation of 1878 and 1890 was a compromise in palliation of this extreme.

1. The Greenback Delusion.—At the close of the Civil War, the

¹ *History of Bimetallism*, p. 168.

United States found itself burdened with an enormous debt (\$2,841,649,626), and with a paper currency worth about seventy-five cents on the dollar. A speculative period followed, in which real estate and other property were greatly overvalued, and vast sums were borrowed for speculative purposes. The Western States were in particular the field for ambitious enterprises, undertaken in a spirit of adventurous excitement. The collapse of credit and prices in 1873, not occasioned by the demonetization of silver,—which, as we have seen, was more largely coined than ever before,—but by the overstrain of the credit system, involved the great distress of debtors, particularly in the West. When the crisis came, the debtors, having consumed what they had borrowed, and finding themselves without means of payment, began to feel that it was cruel in the creditor to require his own, and that he should be paid off in the cheapest money possible. They were, therefore, opposed to the resumption of specie payments, which was authorized by the Resumption Act of 1875. “Weighed down by debt, and led by skillful politicians, or impelled by selfish interest, the greenback faction demanded that the government should come to the aid of debtors, and, by plentiful issues of United States notes, create an inflation which should enable them to get off the shoals of debt on the tide of rising prices.” How the greenbacks were ever to get into the hands of the people, unless the government distributed them by mail to the unfortunate debtors that demanded them, still remains a mystery. The government might print its notes by the billion, with no other result than to destroy its own credit, unless they were paid out of the treasury. They were to be used in paying off the United States bonds, which were drawn in coin. The greenback advocates were not, however, solicitous about this point of honor. If greenbacks were good enough for the people, they were good enough for the bondholders. But, as the debtors that wanted money were not bondholders, this redemption of bonds in greenbacks would not put money directly into their hands. It would, however, accomplish two things: (1) It would *inflate the currency*, and (2) It would effect a *partial repudiation* of the war debt. Upon the tide of cheaper money they dreamily hoped to float into prosperity!

2. The Rise of the Free Coinage Movement.—The greenback delusion was effectually dissipated in its original form by President Grant’s veto of the bill, and by defeat in the elections of 1876. “The demand for the coinage of silver dollars began where the cry for unlimited paper money left off.” The debtors and the demagogues continued their mission, but with a new and unexpected alliance. They had objected to the purchase and coinage of silver in the Greenback Platform of 1876; but when it was perceived that a silver dollar was worth only *ninety cents* as bullion, the inflationists saw their opportunity. The greenback idea was gradually abandoned, and its former

advocates have since been rallied under the banner of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The friends of inflation and repudiation saw in silver a new means of accomplishing their end. Now, for the first time, it was discovered that a "crime" had been committed in 1873, when the standard silver dollar was dropped from the list of coins. Being at that time (1876) a ninety-cent dollar, it represented to them at least *ten per cent* of inflation and repudiation. They could now make both appear vastly more respectable. Government notes should be issued, based on a deposit of *coin*; the United States bonds should be paid in *coin*: but it should be *silver*, and not *gold*.

3. The Bland-Allison Bill.—On the 25th of July, 1876, a bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Richard P. Bland of Missouri. Dec. 13, 1876, a substitute was adopted, authorizing the free coinage of standard silver dollars of 412.5 grains, as provided in the Act of 1837.

The Senate, however, gave the bill no attention; and it was again introduced in the House, and passed without debate, Nov. 5, 1877. The bill reached the Senate Dec. 6, 1877. It was reported by Mr. Allison of Iowa for the Committee on Finance, with important amendments. The free coinage provision was removed; and the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to purchase from time to time, at the market price, not less than two million nor more than four million dollars' worth of silver bullion per month, and cause the same to be coined monthly, as fast as purchased, into dollars of 412.5 grains each. Provision was made also for payment into the treasury of seignorage arising from this process, and a limit was fixed which the amount of money invested in silver should not exceed. Silver certificates were authorized, corresponding with the denominations of United States notes, receivable for all public dues, but not a legal-tender. Thus amended, and with a provision for an international monetary conference for agreement with other countries regarding a common ratio between gold and silver, the bill passed the Senate Feb. 15, 1878.

Although unsatisfactory to the silver party in the House, because it was stripped of its free coinage elements, it was accepted, and went to the President to sign; but was returned with his veto Feb. 28, 1878. In his message of the preceding December, President Hayes had said: "If the United States had the undoubted right to pay its bonds in silver coin, the little benefit from that process would be greatly overbalanced by the injurious effect of such payment, if made or proposed against the honest convictions of the public creditors."

It was feared by the President and the Secretary of the Treasury that the assurances which had been given when the bonds were sold would be set aside if the Bland Act became a law. Mr. Bland had said in the House: "I give notice here and now that this war will never cease, so long as I have a voice in this Congress, until the rights of the people are fully restored and the silver dollar shall take its place

alongside the gold dollar. Meanwhile, let us take what we have, and supplement it immediately on appropriation bills; and if we cannot do that, *I am in favor of issuing paper money enough to stuff down the bondholders until they are sick.*"¹

It was fear of this sentiment of repudiation that led President Hayes to veto the bill. In the veto message he said: "The silver dollar authorized is worth eight or ten cents less than it purports to be worth, and is made a legal-tender for debts contracted when the law did not recognize such coin as lawful money. It is my firm conviction that if the country is to be benefited by a silver coinage, it can only be done by the issue of silver dollars of *full value, which will defraud no man*. A currency worth less than it purports to be worth will in the end *defraud not only creditors, but all who are engaged in legitimate business, and none more surely than those who are dependent on their daily labor for their daily bread.*"

The bill was passed over the veto by both branches of Congress on the day it was returned by the President, and thus became a law.

4. The Reasons for Compromise.—The fact that the Bland-Allison Act was passed by both branches of Congress over the President's veto shows that the bill was a political necessity. The only other alternative was an out-and-out free coinage bill. It must be remembered also that it was a great gain over the issue of greenbacks, and satisfied some at least of the requirements for "hard money." There was a general and irresistible clamor for "more money;" and this was not without reason, for the *per capita* of currency in circulation was only \$15.32 in 1878, as against \$20.57 in 1865. It was not evident to all that silver might not rally and come back to its recently lost value. It was only a few years since it had been out of circulation, *simply on account of its high value*. The Monetary Commission of 1875 had made a report favorable to the coinage of silver, and there were hopes of an international agreement that would restore the use of silver as money in Europe. It may be easy to dismiss these considerations now, but it was not so easy then. It is not a just ground of reproach to have believed in 1878 that the free coinage of silver might prove a public benefit, as many able men honestly did believe who do not believe it now. But this does not exculpate the men who advocated the free coinage of silver *because it would be an instrument of inflation and repudiation*. It is fortunate that wisdom sufficiently prevailed to avoid such a result. The only practicable course was that of compromise, and that course was pursued.

5. The Sherman Act.—In 1890 a free coinage bill was passed by the Senate on the 17th of June. The House refused to concur; but a Conference Committee reported a bill now known as the Sherman Act, which became law July 14. This measure provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver each month, at

¹ *Congressional Globe*, vol. cxxxvii., p. 1250.

the market price, and pay for it with "Treasury notes," to be redeemed by the Secretary of the Treasury in either gold or silver coin, at his discretion; "it being the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals *on a parity with each other* upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law." The Treasury notes were made "legal-tender in payment of all debts, public or private, except where otherwise expressly stipulated in the contract." Under this Act, 168,000,000 ounces of silver were bought, 28,000,000 ounces were coined, producing \$36,000,000 in silver dollars; and \$156,000,000 of Treasury notes were issued. The law was repealed Nov. 1, 1893.

6. The Gold Reserve.—In 1882 Congress created a fund of \$100,000,000, known as the "Gold Reserve." It was intended as a safety fund for the redemption of United States notes, and has been called "the barometer of public confidence." Its presence has sustained the assurance that the United States will continue its "policy" of keeping all its issues of money of equal value. When this reserve falls below the amount indicated, \$100,000,000, the Secretary of the Treasury is required to suspend the issue of gold certificates. The gold reserve has been several times reduced, and under the Cleveland administration was restored by the sale of bonds, a necessity which has not since arisen.

7. The Results of Silver Legislation.—The results of the Bland-Allison and Sherman bills may be specified as follows:—

(1) The government of the United States now has in its possession *the largest stock of full legal-tender silver* of any civilized nation in the world,—in the aggregate, \$624,000,000, exceeded only by India and China.

(2) The government has bought the greater part of this silver *on a falling market*, the annual average ratio of silver to gold having fallen from 17.94 to 1 in the year 1878, when the Bland-Allison law was passed, to 1894, when it was 32.56 to 1. Or, to state it differently, the silver dollar, apart from the element of credit,—that is, as silver bullion,—was worth *ninety-three cents* in 1878, and was worth *forty-nine cents* in 1894. To put the matter in a still different form, a dollar that should have contained 416.66 grains of pure silver in 1876 would require nearly 800 grains, to be of equal value in 1900. The reason for this depreciation is apparent, when it is remembered that the silver production of the United States and of the world has *more than doubled* since 1878; while that of Europe has *more than quadrupled*, with not a single European mint open to the free coinage of silver. By the depreciation of silver now owned by the United States, the government has lost between fifty and sixty millions of dollars.

(3) The fluctuations of the gold reserve, occasioned by the heavy exportations of gold under the Cleveland administration, indicated a

timidity on the part of foreign holders and buyers of American securities; for, as we have seen, the gold reserve is, to some extent, an indicator of public confidence in the ability and purpose of the government to maintain the gold standard. While it has not been destructive, it cannot be said that the silver legislation has been favorable to the foreign credit of the United States. The intimations are plain, that a further move in the direction of the free coinage of silver would drain the country still further of its gold, instead of increasing other exports.

(4) It should be clearly noted that the silver legislation of the United States has had *no permanent effect in restoring the price of silver or arresting its decline*. It has steadily fallen, in spite of all efforts to sustain the market by purchase. The Sherman Act in 1890 produced a temporary rally, but this was purely speculative and of short duration. During 1891 the price fell back to its former level, and went on falling, until the law was repealed. It is evident that nothing but strictly "unlimited coinage," if confined to the United States, could appreciably raise the price of silver, except in the same spasmodic way.

8. The Policy of Parity.—If, in the light of all these facts, we ask the question, What has maintained an honest dollar in the United States? that is, a dollar of uniform and international value, we must answer, *It is the policy of parity between all dollars issued by the government*. Any time within the last twenty-five years, the free coinage of silver would have sent gold to a premium, and enforced upon the people a debased dollar, inflicting a partial repudiation of debts and the destruction of credit. We can see, in the consequences of compromise legislation, which has hitherto been the only available means of resisting free coinage, what a complete concession would have involved. The government has put *its credit* between the people and financial ruin, and the people have trusted it. The issue before the people now is, *Shall the policy of parity be maintained?*

VI. DEBTORS AND CREDITORS.

The free coinage of silver would work injustice between debtors and creditors, but it is not certain which would suffer most.

1. The Delusion of Cheap Money.—It is evident that the free coinage of silver would increase the amount of credit money in the country without increasing credit, and that it would, therefore, be more difficult than now to maintain the parity of silver dollars with gold. It is thought by many that this is not necessary. If the government issues dollars in great quantities, prices will rise; and so, relatively to other things, money will be plenty, that is, it will be *cheap*. One dollar, if it is a legal-tender, will do as well as another to pay debts with; and when dollars are plenty, it will be easier to pay debts.

All this is true, and yet the statement contains a most vicious fallacy. If we double the amount of money in circulation, it would seem as if we could *buy twice as much*. We cannot do so, however; because everything, except labor, will *cost twice as much*. What is the advantage of having two dollars, each worth fifty cents, over having one dollar worth one hundred cents? It is certain that, by doubling the amount of money in circulation, *we shall not be able to obtain with our money as much as we do now*. When silver bullion is taken to the United States Mint, and fifty cents worth of it is paid for by the government with a silver dollar, who gets the money? The dealer in bullion or the mine-owner that sends it there? But how will that help *you* to get any more money? The silver speculator may make millions, but you are no better off than before. But he will, perhaps, *spend* his money, and it will go into the circulation. How is this money to get into *your possession*? That is the interesting question. It may be deposited in a bank, or carried to Europe in a letter of credit; but you will not be benefited by that.

At the present time the United States has a larger *per capita* circulation than Great Britain, which has \$17.05 to each person, while we have \$25.42. France and Belgium have a larger *per capita* circulation than either Great Britain or the United States, and yet they are not so wealthy, nor is wealth more evenly distributed. The people of those countries hide their gold and silver in their beds, and bury it in the fields; while the American people put their money in the banks and pay it out in checks, so that a small amount of money does a great deal of service in balancing exchanges. Moreover, we have never, since the settlement of the country, had so large an amount of money in circulation as in the last few years. In 1860, it was only \$13.85 to each person; in 1865, when greenbacks were plenty, it was only \$20.57. It cannot be said with truth that there is too little money. The chief difficulty has been to get possession of it; but doubling its quantity in the hands of speculators will not help us to do that.

2. The Motive of Inflation.—When we touch the bottom of the matter, it becomes evident that the great motive to silver inflation, apart from the owners of mines and of bullion, is that *it will make easier the payment of debt*. It cannot, of course, be pretended that this is a just or an honorable motive; for what the debtor is supposed to gain, the creditor is supposed to lose. It is justified by the ignorant and by the sophistical, by referring to the "Crime of 1873," and by the pretence that gold has appreciated so that it is more difficult to get than it was in former years; for which the only proof is that general prices are lower, which may as easily be caused by good crops and general productiveness as by a rise in the value of gold. At the present time, thanks to the large balance of trade in our favor, the United States possesses the largest stock of gold of any nation in the world.

Nor does it cover the point of honor to say that existing debts were contracted upon a silver basis, and are now required to be paid in gold. Most existing debts were contracted in "lawful money of the United States," which, at the time they were contracted, was gold, silver, and paper, *kept at parity* by the prudent policy of the government. Justice requires that these debts be paid in the same kind of money that was borrowed; but this argument cannot be expected to prevail with the Dick Turpin consciences of political demagogues, who pretend to rob the rich for the benefit of the poor, while, in truth, they are robbing both for the benefit of themselves.

3. Debtors and Creditors.—Nearly every man in a civilized state of society stands constantly in the double relation of debtor and creditor. He always owes some one, and some one always owes him. The only exception is the absolute pauper. A man who owes more than is owing to him will not be likely to pay his debts in any kind of money, however cheap. He is insolvent. A man to whom more is owing than he owes is not, on that account, a proper mark for fraud, unless prosperity is a crime to be punished by those not guilty of it. All men, therefore, are deeply interested in that relation between debtor and creditor called "credit." Primarily, it is faith in human sincerity and honesty. In savage and barbaric communities it does not exist. It is the highest fruit of civilized society, and, therefore, the most sacred. When the debtor makes war on the creditor, "credit" is destroyed, and is not easily restored. The extinction of credit shows itself first in a panic, every one seeking, as soon as possible, to recover his own before it is too late. This inevitably involves financial ruin to men of all classes; for it means paralysis of production, distribution, and consumption, an arrest of all economic functions *except the collection of debts*.

Can it be supposed for a moment that men will wait for what is due them *when money is steadily depreciating in value*? The sooner debts are recovered under such circumstances, the better for the creditor. Will he be likely to wait for the slow machinery of legislation to invalidate his debt, or will he collect it as soon as possible? Now, the proposition for the free and unlimited coinage of silver operates for the invalidation of debts by making them payable in a cheaper money. The Chicago platform contained a threat to *force* this inferior money upon every one, by making it illegal to draw contracts in any other money. Can that be *good* money, which must be *forced* upon people against their will? Is not this a threat to debase the currency? If not, why is it necessary to *compel* people to make contracts in it, and *forbid* their employing the present standard? A bad dollar that no one wants to take is a dishonest dollar when a debtor is forced to take it. It impairs every existing contract, and the freedom of contract. It is a blow at the right of property, and at simple equity between man and man, and has in it the seed of anarchy.

Let us now suppose that such inflation and consequent depreciation are forced upon the business world: how would it operate? Every creditor would be disposed, as quickly as possible, to collect his debt *before* money had lost its present value. Most mortgage debts are now collectible, being usually drawn for one to three years. Foreclosures would follow; numerous properties would be thrown upon the market; buyers would be few; the creditors would bid in the properties, and the debtors would lose their equities in them. All gold would be withdrawn at once from the circulation, which would involve a serious contraction of the volume of currency. For a time, money would be less plenty than it is now. *Credit would be extinguished*, and it must be remembered that *ninety per cent of the business of the country is done on credit*. It is no exaggeration to say that the debtor would be crushed under his burdens. What is propagated as the debtor's deliverance would, in all probability, prove to be the debtor's doom.

4. Who are the Debtors?—It is important just here to consider who are the greatest debtors in the United States. First come the United States Government, the States, and the municipalities. Considered with reference to their bonds, when not drawn in gold, the free coinage of silver is meant to be a measure of partial repudiation. But many State and municipal bonds are drawn in gold for long terms. Unless some legal quibble should defraud the debtor, gold would have to be bought at a premium for the interest and principal of such bonds, creating an additional burden of taxation.

Among the largest debtors are the railways. Their bonds are largely drawn in gold; and a premium upon it would not only wipe out all dividends, but, in most cases, render the companies insolvent, with the consequences of insolvency to their employees, stockholders, and bondholders. When it is remembered how many thousands of widows, orphans, and prudent people who have saved a little money hold municipal or railroad securities, the enormity of the proposition to defraud the creditor becomes apparent.

The next class of debtors on the list is the banks of deposit. Nearly all the money of the people is intrusted to them, with nothing to show for it but a credit on the bank's books. Suppose all these depositors want their money, in anticipation of its depreciation: what would happen? The banks would, of necessity, be closed, and all payments suspended. It may be said, Why should people want to withdraw their money under a free coinage law, when they can be paid in silver *now*? The answer is very simple. Because *a silver dollar is now as good as a gold dollar*, on account of the policy of parity which the government has established and thus far maintained; but *the free coinage of silver would destroy this parity*. No one wants "cheaper money" who can get back the good money he parted with. For that

reason, every one who can will try to get it back, when it is in serious danger, and will refuse to wait until its full recovery is impossible.

5. Who are the Creditors?—But now let us see who the greatest creditors are. Prominent among them are the savings banks, with 5,687,818 depositors, and \$2,230,366,954 of deposits, mostly loaned on bond and mortgage. Who are these depositors who constitute so large a class of creditors? They are chiefly laboring people, who, by economy and prudence, have saved little sums averaging from \$50 to \$500. These are the creditors who are to receive their hard earnings in “cheap money,”—in dollars worth fifty cents!

Another large class of creditors is the life insurance companies. In the United States they have policies in force to the amount of \$14,694,465,770, and affecting probably 30,000,000 persons. The funds of these companies are chiefly invested in mortgage bonds. Could these companies ever pay their risks, if they were defrauded of half their investments? Most of them would certainly become insolvent, and fail to pay the policy holders. Those that survived could pay only in proportion to what they received *as creditors*. And who are these policy holders? They are men of all classes,—ministers, teachers, professional men, merchants, farmers, clerks, whose savings have been sufficient to enable them to take out a policy of insurance on their lives, for the sake of their wives and children when their hands fall helpless and their busy brains are still. And these rapacious creditors, also, are to be paid in “cheap money.”

VII. PRICES AND WAGES.

The free coinage of silver would increase the cost of living, but would not increase proportionally the wages of labor.

1. The Wage-earner as Creditor.—It is important to remember that, among the creditors of the country, the largest class consists of the wage-earning part of the population. More than any other class, the wage-earners are shareholders in the great creditor institutions for saving and for mutual insurance; but, apart from this, they are directly and personally prospective creditors to the whole extent of their income. All who are paid for their services, whether by the day, week, month, or year, at fixed rates, belong to the class of expectant creditors. For them, and for all who would deal justly by them, the question is, How would they be affected by the free coinage of silver?

2. The Difference between Commodities and Services.—Whoever has a commodity for sale can put upon it an anticipatory price. He may not get it to-day, but, if he holds on, he may get it to-morrow. This is what leads to speculation in wheat, cotton, bullion, and other commodities. An anticipatory price is a speculative price.

It is impossible to speculate in personal services with any success. A man who withholds his labor in the hope of getting a higher price for it, usually loses his place, and is thrown out of work. By uniting

with others, he may sometimes and for a while force an increase of wages; but, while this process of forcing is going on, he remains idle, and, consequently, without pay. He must sell his services to-day, or he loses to-day's income.

This important difference between commodities that can be kept for a profit and labor that cannot be withheld except at a loss, is the principle that operates *to raise prices without raising wages, or to raise prices much more rapidly than wages.*

3. The Verdict of Experience.—This principle is not merely theoretical; it is proved and illustrated by universal experience. A few examples will serve to establish this.

The statistics of wages and prices for the period from the beginning of the Civil War and the issue of legal-tender notes are exceptionally full and accurate. Says Professor Taussig:—

“Money wages responded with unmistakable slowness to the inflating influences of the Civil War. In 1865, when prices stood at 217 as compared with 100 in 1860, wages had only touched 143. The course of events at this time shows the truth of the common statement, that, in times of inflation, *wages rise less quickly than prices*, and that the period of transition is *one of hardship to the wage-receiving class.*”¹

A comparison of wages paid for all kinds of labor shows that they are uniformly higher in gold standard countries than in countries on a silver basis, and higher in the United States than anywhere else in the world.²

The experience of Japan teaches an important lesson. While on the silver basis the price of staples increased 28 per cent and wages only 14 per cent, *or only half as rapidly.* As a result of experience Japan has adopted the gold standard.

Mexico is a sufficiently near neighbor of the United States to be particularly instructive. Wages have risen nominally in Mexico within the last few years, as silver has depreciated, but *far less rapidly than prices*; and they are from one-third to one-half lower than they are in the United States. The exchange value of a Mexican silver dollar, containing more silver than the American dollar, is about 48 cents.

If wages rose in this country under a system of free coinage, which is uncertain, it would be much more slowly than the prices of commodities. To sustain the present scale of living, it would be necessary that they should be more than *doubled*. No sane man can dream of this. The injustice of free coinage to the wage-earner is, therefore, evident. *It would double his cost of living without doubling his income.*

4. Our Experience Under the Gold Standard.—Ever since the resumption of specie payments in 1879 favorable conditions have

¹ Quoted by White, *Money and Banking*, pp. 163, 164. ² *World Almanac* for 1896, pp. 158, 159.

repeatedly produced an increase of wages upon a gold basis. The chief cause of such increase has been *a spirit of confidence* on the part of producers in the wisdom of legislation. The most remarkable advance in wages in the history of recent times is exhibited in the information furnished by labor unions and showing the increase in wages made in the years 1897, 1898 and 1899 under the existing sound money policy.

VIII. AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY.

The free coinage of silver would not conduce to the agricultural prosperity of the United States, which will profit most from general prosperity.

1. The Agrarian Argument.—The movement for the free coinage of silver has been promoted by a propaganda originating in the silver-producing States, and addressing itself largely to the agricultural classes. Aside from the incitement of sectional jealousy and hostility, the movement has proceeded mainly along this line of argument: (1) Parallel with the fall in the value of silver, there has been a decline in the price of agricultural products, especially wheat; (2) This decline is owing to the demonetization of silver by the "Crime of 1873," the appreciation of gold, and the efforts of Wall Street and foreign powers to keep the United States on a gold standard; (3) The only cure for this unjust state of things is to overcome the political supremacy of the East, through the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1.

These teachings have been spread throughout the country, especially in the West and South, by a wide distribution of literature, and the personal work of agents maintained by the wealth of the silver-producing interests. Large numbers of honest men, unfamiliar with the facts of our monetary history, or with the great principles that underlie economic relations, have been deceived by the misrepresentation of facts and the fallacies of reasoning contained in these teachings.

2. The Relation of Wheat and Silver.—The representations of the advocates of free coinage have created the impression, in many minds, that there is a natural relation of equivalence between 412.5 grains of standard silver and a bushel of wheat. This great staple, which was worth a dollar a bushel in 1872, has at times been worth only about fifty cents. Wheat, therefore, seems, at first sight, to have followed the fortunes of the silver dollar; and if we could once more make that dollar the standard, it would seem as if we might thereby restore the price of wheat.

The absurdity of this idea, however striking at first thought, becomes apparent when we consider that there is *no causal relation between the two orders of fact*. Wheat and silver rise and fall in value quite independently of each other, according to *the fluctuations of demand and supply*. The prices current show this clearly. In 1861

wheat was as low as 55 cents a bushel, yet a silver dollar was then worth more than a gold dollar. In 1882 wheat was worth \$1.40, and a silver dollar was worth only 85 cents in gold. In 1894 wheat was as low as 50 cents a bushel, and a silver dollar was equal to only 46 cents in gold. It is evident that there is no natural relation, not to speak of a divinely appointed harmony, between the silver dollar and a bushel of wheat!

The fact of a temporary decline in the price of wheat is evident, but the inference as to its cause is wholly false. What, then, is the true explanation? Since 1872 the grain-growing area has increased with a rapidity unprecedented in the history of the world. Enormous new tracts have been devoted to the raising of wheat in both North and South America and in Asia. In the United States alone, the development has been remarkable. In 1875 the acreage of wheat growing in this country was 26,381,512 acres. In 1891 it was 39,916,897 acres, an increase of more than 50 per cent. The crop, in 1875, was 12,126,000 bushels, the largest in many years; but in 1891 it was more than 100 per cent greater, being 611,780,000 bushels. There has been, also, a large increase in the production of other cereals, some of which are competitive with wheat.

3. The Free Coinage of Silver not a Cure.—If the free silver theorist is mistaken in his diagnosis, his prescription has no value. But he is more oblivious of facts in his remedy than in explaining the disease. He argues that the free coinage of silver would increase the price of agricultural products, and thus relieve the farmer from the curse of low prices. Let us see if this is so.

The free coinage of silver would either restore the ratio of 16 to 1, or it would not. Let us suppose for a moment that it would. The silver dollar will then continue to be as good as a gold dollar, *but it will be no better*. What, then, is to increase the price of wheat? If the inflation of the currency raises the price of wheat above the gold price in the world's market, this currency being equal in value to gold, *the importation of wheat at gold prices will afford a profit*. Importation may be depended upon, until the price is depressed to the gold price in the world's market. The American farmer would thereby create a competitor in his own domestic market. Nothing could save him from returning to the gold price in the world's market, *except a protective tariff on breadstuffs*, but this is no part of the free silver programme.

Let us now suppose, which is practically certain, that the free coinage of silver would *not* restore the ratio of 16 to 1. What would follow from this? The money of the United States being thereby *depreciated in value*, it would require *more of it* to represent present value; therefore prices would rise, as they always will when the currency is depreciated. Would that increase the demand for wheat?

Not at all. If foreign countries imported American grain, it would be at no higher price than *the gold price in the world's market,—that is, at the present price.* Reduced to a gold basis, the price would be no higher than it is now. Everything would be *valued* on a gold basis, but *paid for* on a silver basis. It should be clearly seen, once for all, that *no commodity can possibly rise above its gold price in the world's market without attracting competition and a consequent fall to this basis, except upon one condition, namely, that its price is maintained by a PROTECTIVE TARIFF.* Upon a gold basis, or upon an international bimetallic basis, a protective tariff can accomplish this result; but it can never be accomplished by inflating the currency. The interest of the American farmer, therefore, lies in building up a diversified industry in the United States, which will secure a better market by withdrawing competition in the field and promoting prosperity in the workshop; and in extending American commerce, loading our own ships with our own grain, and making Chicago, instead of London, the grain mart of the world.

IX. COMMERCIAL HONOR.

The only foundation of commercial success is commercial honor, which the free coinage of silver would openly violate.

1. **The Foundation of Credit.**—The commercial system of the world would be impossible, and we should return to the barbaric method of primitive times in matters of exchange, if it were not for the existence of what is known as “credit.” When subjected to analysis, this is found to be public faith in a system of legally sustained equity between men and nations. It is the product of a long moral and intellectual evolution, and represents the best development of the human conscience and the human intellect. It assumes the right of personal property, the protection of contracts under the law, and the justice of ultimate legal tribunals. Men believe in it because they believe in them, and a blow at any one of them is an injury to public and private credit to that extent.

Every thoughtful man is able to see, in the Chicago Platform, hostility to all of the three assumptions upon which public and private credit rests. In so far as it proposes the payment of debts contracted upon a gold basis with money conformed to a silver standard, in the face of the present disparity between them, it is an assault, however covert, upon the right of property. In so far as it proposes to pay the bonds of the United States in money inferior to that with which they were bought, it assaults the legal protection of contracts. In so far as it brings under criticism the decisions of the Supreme Court, the highest tribunal in the land, and proposes to modify its judgments, it aims a blow at public confidence in our system of justice. The principles and purposes alleged are, therefore, revolutionary in their nature, and would tend to unsettle the credit of the men, communities, or nation that should deliberately apply them.

2. Free Coinage as Repudiation.—In the light of the foregoing pages, there can remain no doubt that the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, when a standard silver dollar is worth only about fifty cents as bullion, and when there is not a mint in Europe open to free coinage, would be an act of repudiation. The only meaning of the proposition is that the United States is to *lend unlimited credit to an issue of money without anything in return, and is to pay her debts with such money.* If the ratio were maintained, the depositor of silver at the Mint *would take away double the value he brought, without making any return to the government.* Why should the government throw away its credit in this fashion? and having become careless of it to an “unlimited” extent, how could it preserve its credit? If the ratio were not maintained, the result would be a depreciation of all the national money except gold, which would then be at a premium. In that case the government would either have to bear a new burden to obtain gold for the payment of its gold debt, or partially repudiate that debt by payment in an inferior money. In the present condition of things a dollar of 412.5 grains of silver is, of necessity, a credit dollar. Its unlimited issue would make it a dishonest dollar. Dishonest payment is the ruin of credit, and the ruin of credit is the ruin of prosperity.

X. FALLACIES OF THE FREE COINAGE THEORY.

The injustice and inexpediency of the free and unlimited coinage of silver are evident from the analysis of the question already given. It remains, however, to point out that the strategic points upon which the advocates of the theory base their reasoning are transparently fallacious.

1. The Fallacy of Method.—A subject of such profound practical importance demands the patient and impartial examination of facts. This the advocates of the free coinage of silver carefully avoid. In place of the facts, they set up sectional and class prejudices, proposing to use animosity in the place of conviction. The accepted Bible of the silver movement is *Coin's Financial School*, by W. H. Harvey, which deals mainly in caricature, sophistry, and inflammatory perversions of fact. It is skilfully adapted to appeal to the ignorant and discontented, but never ventures upon solid argument.

In speaking of the monetary unit, Mr. Harvey implies that silver was chosen as the original and exclusive unit of value, *because*, “in the days of Washington and Jefferson, our Revolutionary forefathers had a hatred of England, and an intimate knowledge of her designs on this country!” Then follows this flourish of rhetoric: “They had fought eight long years for their independence from British domination in this country; and when they had seen the last redcoat leave our shores, they settled down to establish a permanent government, and among the first things they did was to make 371.25 grains of silver the unit of values. That much silver was to constitute a dollar. And

each dollar was a unit. They then provided for all other money to be counted from this unit of a silver dollar!"¹

Aside from the utterly unhistorical character of these statements, they appeal to no other impulse than that of hatred and vindictiveness. The silver dollar is represented as having a sacredness to Americans like the Stars and Stripes; so that it becomes a patriotic duty to coin it without limit, even at a loss, because our forefathers adopted it as a sign of independence and as an act of rebuke to a foreign power!

But what are the facts? England did not adopt the single gold standard until 1816. The adoption of the silver dollar by Congress in 1792 was not "among the first things" our Revolutionary forefathers did; they did not adopt silver to show "their independence;" they did not discard gold on account of "designs on this country," or from "hatred of England;" and they did not make silver "the unit of values," or decide that 371.25 grains of silver should alone "constitute a dollar."

2. The Fallacy of the Unit.—The unit in the system of coinage established by the law of 1792 is not 371.25 grains of silver. The unit is the "dollar;" and the dollar is related to a bimetallic standard of value, gold and silver, at a ratio of 15 of silver to 1 of gold, by weight. The coin first named is the gold "eagle." This was to *contain* "two hundred and forty-seven and four-eighths of a grain of pure, or two hundred and seventy grains of standard, gold." The silver dollar was to *contain* "three hundred and seventy-one grains and four-sixteenths parts of a grain of pure, or four hundred and sixteen grains of standard, silver. . . . The proportional value of gold to silver in all coins which shall by law be current as money within the United States shall be *as fifteen to one*, according to quantity in weight, of pure gold or pure silver; that is to say, every fifteen pounds weight of pure silver shall be of equal value in all payments *with one pound weight of pure gold.*"²

Is it true, in the light of this law, that the unit of value is 371.25 grains of silver; or that, "in considering which of these two metals they would *thus favor* by making it the *unit*, they were led to adopt silver *because it was the most reliable?*" "The one selected," says Mr. Harvey, "would thereafter be *unchangeable in value*. . . . The metal in it *could not be worth less than a dollar*, for it would be the unit of value!"³ We have, then, the preposterous statement, that 371.25 grains of silver can *never change its value*; because it is the unit!

But a careful reading of the law shows that the *ultimate unit of value* is "*one pound weight of pure gold.*" Hamilton himself so understood it; for he said of the Spanish silver dollar, "*That species of coin has never had any settled or standard value, . . . while gold has a fixed price by weight.*"⁴ He fixed his ratio by taking 15 pounds of silver to 1 of gold.

¹ *Coin's Financial School*, p. 7.
³ *Coin's Financial School*, p. 8.

² Act of April, 1792.
⁴ *Report on the Establishment of a Mint*.

The following table shows the true relations of the whole subject:—

Arithmetical unit	= the dollar.	Physical unit	= a dollar of gold or of silver.
Physical parts of a dollar	= { half dollar. quarter-dollar. dime. half-dime. cent.	Physical multiples of a dollar	= { eagle (\$10). double eagle (\$20) half eagle (\$5). quarter-eagle (\$2.50)
Bimetallic standard	= { 15 pounds of silver equivalent to 1 pound of gold	Ultimate Standard of value	= { 1 pound of gold.

Hamilton started with *gold* as the basis of all his calculations. Finding that 24.75 grains of gold had been regarded as equal to a Spanish milled dollar, a coin in current use, not by *choice*, but by circumstances of trade, he fixed the value of the dollar as equivalent to 24.75 grains of gold. Multiplying this by 15,—the ratio decided upon,—he arrived at the result, 371.25 grains of silver, as the proper weight of the silver dollar. Had his mental operation been what the silver theorists represent, he would have taken as his basis of calculation, without any reason, 371.25 grains of pure silver.

3. The Fallacy of the Quantitative Ratio.—The most convincing thing in the free coinage theory at first sight is the brilliant demonstration that all the silver in the world stands to all the gold in the world at a ratio of 15 2-3 to 1.¹ Supposing that Mr. Harvey, or any other living man, knows exactly how much of the two metals there is in the world,—which is highly improbable,—this ratio merely proves that, *if all the people in the world would use gold and silver interchangeably at this ratio, the metals would have this relative value.* As a ground for *universal bimetallism*,—assuming that the facts are as stated, and that more money is universally needed,—this quantitative ratio may be of interest.

4. The Fallacy of the Restored Ratio.—The fact brought to light in the last paragraph,—assuming it to be a fact,—is, however, profoundly significant in relation to the adoption of free coinage by the United States alone. If the normal ratio of value is 15 2-3 to 1, based upon *all the gold and silver in the world*, it is evident that free coinage of silver by the United States *alone*, when all the European mints are *closed* to silver, would attract a disproportionate amount to our mints; so that the quantity of silver would prevent the re-establishment of the ratio. In order to establish and sustain it, we should have to coin *all the surplus stock and annual product of the world!* If Mr. Harvey's figures are right, *universal* free coinage of both gold and silver would be required to keep the market ratio at the quantitative ratio. Does he expect the United States to do this *alone*? His expectation is evident from his alternative: "Gold may go out of circulation," he says, "but its doing so does not disturb the practical effect of bimetallic prices. There should be a law making it a forfeiture of the debt to discriminate in favor of one form of national currency against another. The present law allowing gold to be named in the bond is

¹ *Coin's Financial School*, Appendix.

statutory treason."¹ His remedy for want of parity is, "*Put less gold in the gold dollar. Bring the weight of the gold dollar down till they are on a parity.*"²

5. The Fallacy of Falling Prices.—There is an appearance of serious and honest argument in the tables of comparative prices, by which an attempt is made to show that a given amount of silver will buy the same amount of commodities, roughly speaking, as it would twenty years ago; while a given amount of gold will buy a greater quantity. It looks for a moment as if silver is, after all, a less variable standard of deferred payments than gold, and as if gold had become too rare to meet the demands of commercial life.

The following table³ shows that, while most articles fell in price during the period 1865-1890, the value of a man's labor increased from 66 upon the scale of 100 in 1865 to 172.1 in 1890 as measured by the gold standard. The chief decline was in manufactured articles:

	1845	1850	1855	1860	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890
Meat.....	79.4	86.6	104.7	100	197	174.3	140.4	108.6	107.6	99.5
Other food.....	82.8	80.7	114.5	100	240.3	146.3	135	116.9	97.2	103.4
Cloths and clothing.....	97.1	91.3	94.7	100	299.2	139.4	120.1	104.5	84.8	82.5
Fuel and lighting.....	102.6	102.6	121.1	100	237.8	196.5	156.5	100.2	89.6	92.6
Metals and implements.....	110.8	114.8	117.8	100	191.4	127.8	117.5	96.3	77.4	73.2
Lumber and building materials..	106.7	102.2	103.4	100	182.1	148.3	143.7	130.9	126.6	123.7
Drugs and chemicals.....	121	123.6	129.2	100	271.6	149.6	144.2	113.1	86.9	87.5
House Furnishings.....	102.3	125.6	121.1	100	181.1	121.6	95	85.2	70.1	69.9
Miscellaneous.....	114.8	107.7	115.2	100	202.8	148.7	122.9	109.8	97.5	89.7
Average of all prices.....	102.8	102.3	113.1	100	216.8	142.3	127.6	106.9	93	92.3
Paper money.....	100	100	100	100	49.5	81.1	88.8	100	100	100
Purchasing power of wages.....	84.4	90.6	86.6	100	66	114.1	124.1	132.3	162	172.1

The obvious reason for the fall in prices of manufactured articles is the improved processes of production. Better machinery, better methods, close competition, new transportation facilities, have combined to cheapen this class of articles. Therefore, a dollar will buy more of them than it ever would before. And yet, there is no scarcity of money. The whole case is comprised in the statement, that improved means of production have made a dollar go farther than it did twenty years ago, and this cannot be regarded as a public calamity. If the American people prefer a dollar which they can spend more quickly and get less for, the free coinage policy provides for it.

But, if prices have fallen, does that justify the free and unlimited coinage of silver? Will that constitute a just and expedient relief? This has not been shown by any argument thus far advanced in defense of the free coinage theory. On the other hand, it is evident that a financial panic, the loss of our foreign credit, the instability of values, the open sea of "unlimited" cheap money, would be worse for all classes than the present condition of public and private security. An even and honorable measure of values is the strong foundation of business prosperity. It will be wise for the American people to see

¹ *Coin's Financial School*, pp. 137, 138. ² *Idem*, p. 138. ³ *Abstract of the Eleventh Census*, p. 192.

their course plainly, before they indulge in legislative experiments to give an artificial value to products which the growth of enterprise has cheapened, and to absolve the debtor from his honorable obligations. The only advantages which could possibly follow from a free coinage law are such as belong to a depreciated currency.

XI. CONCLUSION.

It will doubtless be represented in the coming campaign that the proposed free coinage law would give us an "honest dollar." Those who have read this pamphlet will be able to form their own opinion of that; but, certainly, the *intentions* of a political party should be evident from its platform. We have presented elsewhere the financial planks of the two leading parties. Before deciding where to look for an "honest dollar," it may be well to compare those platforms again.

In order to interpret aright the intention of the two parties, we must go back to the platforms of 1896, for these show the purposes of both in their naked truthfulness. They display the motives which the Bryan Democracy is now disposed to conceal beneath the fantastic mask of "Imperialism."

The Republican platform of 1896, reaffirmed in 1900, is "unreservedly for sound money," "unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency, or impair the credit of our country." It proposes to keep our silver and paper currency "at parity with gold." It promises to maintain "inviolably the obligations of the United States." Now, what has the Democratic platform to say about "sound money," or the "credit of the country," or "parity" between the different forms of money, or inviolable "obligations?" *Not one word.* On the contrary, it speaks of the "burden of debt, public and private," the "enrichment" and "impoverishment" of classes of citizens by each other, and "financial servitude to London." It demands that a debased coinage shall be made legal tender for all debts, public and private, and proposes to force this inferior money upon the people by prohibiting contracts in any other. It is not difficult to determine from the platforms of these two parties which is the guardian and which is the enemy of a uniform standard of value, of the credit of the country, and of the obligation of contracts. The one has the clear ring of business honor; the other defines its aims and purposes in terms of personal greed and public irresponsibility. The one stands for law and equity; the other declaims of revolution. The one is the champion of political order; the other is the pupil of social anarchy. The one calls upon the American people to unite in mutual trust and helpfulness to maintain the public credit; the other sets class against class, and sows the seeds of mutual hatred and distrust. Between them every man must choose.

We have been moving in untried paths, but our
steps have been guided by honor and duty.

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Problems in the Orient

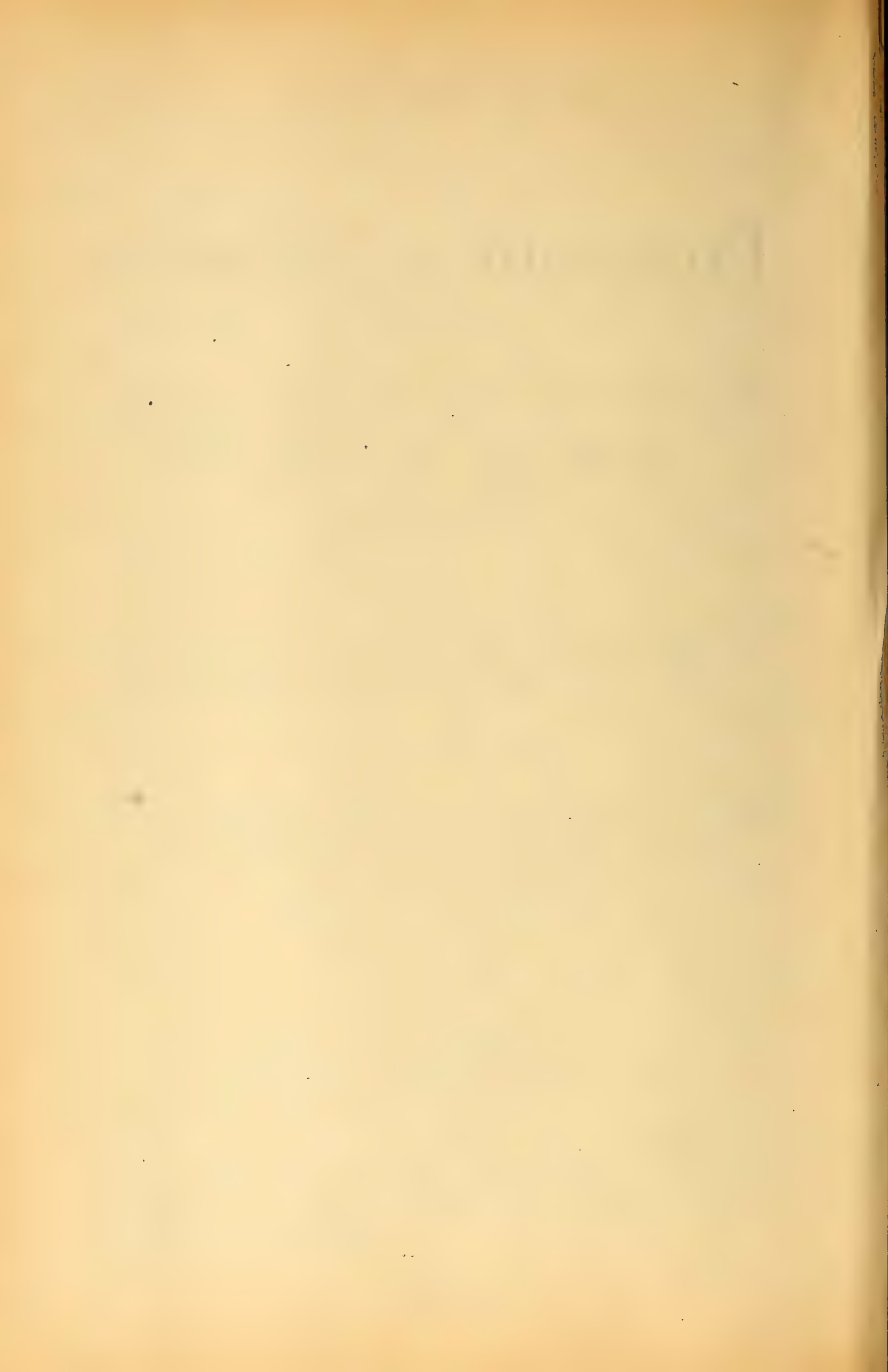
Hawaii Safely on the Smooth Highway of American Enterprise and Prosperity

With Pacification in the Philippines Come Questions of
Land, Labor, Education and Good Government

Hints for Us from Java and Ceylon—Malays Will Work and Make
Exemplary Citizens—Slavery and Polygamy Doomed—Uncle
Sam's Territorial Class—Manila's Great Future—
A Flexible Policy Vital—China's
Open Door Dependent.

By THEODORE W. NOYES.

(From Editorial Correspondence of the *Washington Evening Star*.)



PROBLEMS IN THE ORIENT.

THE HALF-WAY HOUSE.

Hawaii Under Annexation—Evidences of Prosperity—William H. Seward's Prophetic Utterance.

When the Nippon Maru steamed into Honolulu harbor yesterday morning ample evidence was furnished of the vigorous impulse which recent events have given to the development of the Pacific communities from San Francisco to Manila. A week ago, when we passed through the Golden Gate, not only San Francisco, but the whole Pacific coast from San Diego to Seattle, was in a ferment of business activity. New blood, warm and rich, was pulsating through the veins of commerce. The section after a period of lethargy had awakened to its work as the strong man refreshed by sleep. Everybody was busy, pushing hopeful. Everywhere seemingly boundless energy and cheerful confidence prevailed.

Here in Honolulu harbor similar conditions were met. Many of the external appearances were unchanged. The waves still rolled lazily up the sands of Waikiki. Unclad youngsters still paddled about in their rough coffin-shaped boats and invited opportunities to dive for coins. Hawaiian canoes, with their balancing outriggers, darted here and there.

Punch Bowl still looked down upon a city buried in a park, with here a roof and there a tower or steeple showing through the green and irregular surface of the dominating foliage. But the harbor, once a harmonious part of a scene of peaceful beauty, a lazy Elysium, is now overflowing with ships, which fill the air with smoke and unaccustomed noises, and which banish the possibility of the old day-dreaming through the hustle and bustle of intense business activity. The change is brought home practically to the Nippon Maru, for every docking-place in the harbor is occupied, and she is compelled to anchor out in the channel and to land her passengers in small boats.

The hostilities in the Philippines are responsible in part for the present over-crowding of the harbor. Irrespective, however, of this temporary and

extraordinary demand upon Honolulu's docks, the commercial growth of the city is such, it is said, that the docking facilities are becoming inadequate with the result that ships are often subjected to long delays in discharging their cargoes, and the demand is urgent for an enlargement by dredging of the present harbor.

HONOLULU'S GROWTH.

The population of Honolulu has been rapidly increasing and must now, Mr. Thurston estimates, exceed 40,000. Everything rentable is rented and the demand is not satisfied. Several hundred new buildings, including business blocks, have been erected since I visited here two years ago. Suburban subdivisions are climbing high up the hillsides. Real estate values have vastly increased. Enlargement of population is indicated by the extraordinary demand for letter-boxes at the postoffice. Notwithstanding the large number of additional boxes which have been furnished there are still over a hundred applicants unsatisfied. Business development is shown by the crowding of the harbor with ships, and by the fact that the island government has accumulated nearly two millions of surplus, largely customs duties upon the expanded volume of imports.

A long drive through Honolulu, new and old, to Punch Bowl and to Waikiki gave visible corroboration of what had been said concerning Honolulu's boom. Here and there were semi-tropical suggestions, as, for example, growing taro, Chinese men, women and tiny children gathering rice, canal-furrowed banana orchards, lofty cocoanut palms and a wonderful luxuriance of vegetation and foliage. But pervading and dominating the scene was a distinctly American city, vigorous, bustling, springing up and pushing outward in every direction.

We can deal the more promptly and confidently with the first of our recent island acquisitions because it is already Americanized, and the natives, educated, Christianized and civilized through the labors of American missionaries, are ready, under the wise limitations which were applied in the recent republic, to participate in a territorial form of self-government. They have not been massacred or oppressed by the whites. They have not been rendered sullen and mistrustful by centuries of Spanish misrule. They are prosperous and content. The dominant whites have learned how to co-operate with them and to influence them, and have not abused their control. The difficult problem which is to be solved by us in

our other island possessions has been worked out for us in advance by Americans in Hawaii. The easiest, quickest and wisest way to govern satisfactorily in the islands is to adapt existing conditions to American forms, to continue as far as possible the methods which have commended themselves by their results, and to utilize to a large degree in public service the men who have so well learned the lesson of sustaining the white man's rule in the tropics without degrading or ill-treating the natives.

THE ESSENTIAL LINK.

Probably the London or New York of the future Pacific will not spring up in Hawaii. The comparatively small size and limited resources of the islands perhaps forbid. But a large, prosperous city, not alone as the market of steadily increasing domestic imports and exports, but as the Half-Way House between America and Asia at which every Pacific-traversing ship will naturally call is reasonably certain to be developed and to prosper in exact accordance with the expansion of Pacific trade.

When the commerce of this ocean was represented by a single Spanish galleon, sailing annually from Manila to Acapulco, the author of Anson's Voyage said in 1746:

"It is indeed most remarkable that by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators there is not one port betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California; so that from the time the Manila ship first loses sight of land she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California."

Now when this commerce has been multiplied by the thousand and will speedily be multiplied by the tens and hundreds of thousand, we have happily changed all that and an admirable and attractive intermediate port is provided.

In 1852 William H. Seward said: "Henceforth European commerce, European politics, European thought and European activity, although actually gaining force, and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region beyond will become the chief theater of events in the world's great hereafter." This bold prediction, visionary at the date of its delivery, is rapidly being verified. The Pacific is steadily outstripping the Atlantic in volume of trade. The acquisition of the Philippines, in connection with the new

development of Japan, the re-making of China, the near-by completion of the Siberian railroad and the construction of an isthmian canal will tremendously increase the commerce between America and Asia, and Honolulu will be an essential link in the American commercial chain connecting the two hemispheres, and will participate in Pacific business activity and prosperity.

PHILIPPINE PROBLEMS.

Land Tenure the First of Them—A Court to Pass on Titles—Prejudice Against Friars Not Against Religion—Enforcement of Law and Order.

General MacArthur thinks well of the capabilities of the Filipinos, but warns against going ahead too fast in the attempt to impose the American system and methods upon an Asiatic people, at this time sensitive and distrustful. The local civil governments which are being established will, he thinks, prove excellent schools of instruction in American methods.

General MacArthur pointed out that many of the rich mestizos—half-castes with Chinese blood—who, next to the Spaniards, have been in control in Luzon, are to be reckoned as an obstructive factor in our solution of the Philippine problem. They have no desire for American methods with honest administration for the benefit of the whole people. They have bought special privileges and exemptions from the executive and judicial representatives under the Spanish rule when the occasion required, and the proposition that they shall be treated like every one else under a system of even-handed justice which aims to benefit the people and not a few individuals comes as a shock and a disappointment to such persons.

Concerning the land problem, General MacArthur thinks that there should be a properly constituted court—like the Court of Claims—which, upon formal application, will look into questions of title in respect to the tracts claimed by the monastic orders.

He is of the opinion that the Chinese must not be allowed to come in to any greater extent than in the United States. Labor openings and opportunities must be guarded and preserved for the Filipinos and they must be judiciously pushed into work. We are not to conduct Philippine affairs with immediate personal gain to ourselves in view, but are to so

regulate conditions that the material prosperity of the Filipinos may be enhanced. The English firms which control Philippine trade naturally wish Chinese cheap and reliable labor in unlimited quantities, but for the good of the Filipinos, which is the motive for our intervention, the Chinese must not be permitted to come in without restriction and to drive the Filipinos entirely out of the labor field.

LANDLORDISM TO BE MET.

The evil of the holding by monastic orders of title to boundless tracts, including whole provinces of the most valuable lands in Luzon, endangers the future of the island. The soil cannot remain indefinitely the property of alien landlords, whether ecclesiastical or lay. Luzon is not to become another Ireland, with the evil conditions of that unhappy island magnified a hundredfold. The people who inhabit the land, who cultivate it and develop it, must have an interest in it. It is said that the orders have not valid record title to much of the confiscated land of which they have taken possession by virtue of their relations with the Spanish Government. As has been suggested, some sort of a tribunal should examine into the whole question of these titles. If no other effective method is discovered these extensive alien land holdings may be broken up by the imposition of a very heavy ground tax. Land is almost neglected as a source of revenue under the Spanish tax system which we are enforcing.

The Filipino hatred of the friars is not directed against them as Roman Catholics. The mass of the Filipinos are nominal Catholics, and there is no religious revolt whatsoever. The churches are well attended. For example, I observed hundreds flocking at an early hour in the morning to mass at the church in Calasiao. The Roman Catholic Church will, in its own interest, do well to consider how far it is wise to alienate a Catholic population by attempting to force upon the people as its representatives men who are feared and detested. Of course, generalizations about the friars as a body will fail to fit the cases of some individual priests, who, as good men, may be personally acceptable to their parishes. But on the broad question of making the cause of the friars its own the decision of the Roman Church is eagerly awaited, both by the Filipino people and by the Protestant denominations of the world, which are ready to take advantage of any blunder in policy which may be committed.

There is no reason why American Catholics should side with the friars. These men are Spaniards, with more than the natural national grudge

against us. They are the essence of Spanish misgovernment in the Philippines, which we have overthrown. They hate us and spit upon our flag. In most cases, if returned to the villages, they will become centers of anti-American sentiment and influence. If Luzon is to be gradually Americanized, this task will be aided, so far as the influence of the Roman Church extends, only through English-speaking priests.

HOW PREJUDICE MAY BE REMOVED.

In Panay, as in Luzon, the monastic orders claim ownership of the most valuable lands in the island, and have been driven out by the people. Speaking to me on this subject at Iloilo, General Hughes said that in his opinion the Catholic Church should put in every parish a sensible English-speaking priest, to dispel gradually the prejudice against the Spanish friars and to counteract the influence of the native priests, who are almost all insurrectos, and in many cases ignorant and corrupt.

Everyone who undergoes the experiences of the railroad trip to Daguapan becomes unfailingly the enthusiastic advocate of the policy of discriminating as soon as possible between the scattered Filipino bands still in arms and the insurgent army. Treat the war against the latter organization as over, declare amnesty, maintain no grudge or animosity against former hostiles submitting in good faith, and by prompt fulfillment in specific shape of general promises of good government and redress of old Spanish grievances make such submission easy and permanent. On the other hand, the wandering bands who kill and rob Filipinos as well as Americans, who attempt to wreck and pillage even native trains, and who brutally murder their American prisoners when closely pursued, should be treated, when captured, not as prisoners of war, but as bandits, to be pursued and exterminated like train-wreckers and similar murderous robbers in our Western States. This policy is in the interest and for the protection of the Filipinos as well as of the Americans.

While declaring that the Filipino war is over, let us remember that it is not over permanently or in truth unless we take advantage of the opportunity to remove as far as possible the causes of war. By dispersing the insurgent army we have gained the chance, hitherto lacking, to demonstrate to the people of the Philippines the good faith of our assurances and the beneficence of our control. Certain Filipino leaders have endeavored to seize arbitrary power in the islands for themselves, raising the delusive cry of independence. War has determined that their

ambitions are not to be gratified. But there is nothing in the results of the war which alters the attitude of the United States toward the Filipino people. The Republic is still bound to correct as far as possible the evils of Spanish misrule and to satisfy the reasonable aspirations of the Filipinos for better and freer government.

MAHOMETAN FILIPINOS.

The Treaty with the Sultan—Problem of Slavery and Polygamy— Some Suggestions of Policy—The Grounds for Confidence.

When the Senate ratified the treaty with Spain we annexed, in addition to other acquisitions, a half million followers of Mahomet, a miscellaneous assortment of sultans, dattos (chiefs), and their followers, a nineteenth century reproduction of the feudal system which regulates their relation to one another, and certain fruitful and beautiful tropical islands which they inhabit.

The Sulu Archipelago proper, Mindanao and Palawan (for the exact location, size, and population of which see the geographies and the encyclopedias), contain the bulk of the Moros or Mahometan Filipinos.

The conditions of the problem set for us in this part of the Philippines differ widely from those which confront us in Luzon. Here are no insurgents and no friars to vex us; but in their place Mahometan polygamy and the semi-slavery of the feudal system promise the possibility of trouble for the future.

Spain's sovereignty here, to which we have succeeded, though fully recognized, was exceedingly feeble, and was bolstered up by agreements with and concessions to the Moro sultans or dattos, and especially the potentate who lives on this island of Jolo.

The sultan of the Sulu Archipelago claims political and religious jurisdiction not only over that group of islands, among which he includes Mindanao, but also over Palawan and North Borneo. His religious control, as representative of the prophet, is more widely recognized than his political and military sway. Mindanao, which has sultans of its own, does not recognize him at all. Palawan also has a sultan. Even in the sultan's own island of Jolo there are dattos who, while grudgingly owning allegiance to him, like the most powerful of the barons of the middle ages, believe them-

selves stronger than their liege lord, and quarrel with him, and are entirely ready to fight their nominal superior. The sultan has, however, in the Sulu group 120,000 people and 20,000 fighting men, of Mahometan contempt for death and of piratical and blood-letting tendency and inclination, who would probably respond enthusiastically to his call to arms, especially if a holy war were declared; so that, in spite of his troubles as a ruler, he is entitled to receive and has received a certain degree of consideration from the meddlesome Americans who have intervened so recently and so vigorously in Asiatic affairs.

PEACE IN MAHOMETAN AMERICA.

Through the wise diplomacy of General Bates and the tact of officers serving under him in dealing with the problem the relations between the United States and the Moros are distinctly amicable, and a dangerous period in the history of American operations in the Philippines has been safely passed. With the Tagalogs on the warpath it was essential that the Moros should not become actively hostile. With the Sulu sultan, who had expected to succeed to Spanish sovereignty in the Sulu group, and who was disappointed and sulky over the advent of the Americans, General Bates succeeded in making a written agreement, subject to the approval of the President and Congress, renewing several of the features of the treaty by which Spanish sovereignty had been recognized. General Bates has also given verbal and effectively pacifying assurances to other sultans and dattos, as, for example, of religious liberty under American control. The Moro idea of a Christian, based on their experience with the Spanish, pictures a fanatic whose highest aspiration is to cut down the hated Moslem in the same fashion that their own juramentadoes seek with certain confidence the joys of highest heaven through a death achieved while slaying Christians. A Christian proclaiming religious liberty is inconceivable to them and unrecognizable by them. And thus it happened that the Sultan of Sulu assured his people that the Americans were not Christians, but Presbyterians, and our sovereignty is for the time throughout all of the Mahometan Philippines cheerfully accepted.

SUGGESTIONS OF POLICY.

A few conclusions, based upon what one sees and hears here, impress themselves as obviously reliable, even upon the casual, hasty observer who can penetrate but little beneath the surface of things,

It is evident, for instance, that an agreement with the Sultan of Sulu will not suffice to bind in amity more than a fraction of our half million Moros in the Philippines, and that rupture of this tentative agreement will not be absolutely certain to render hostile more than the same fraction. It follows that the simple, verbal understandings reached by General Bates and his subordinates with Mindanao Sultans and dattos, and also with some of the Sulu dattos, are as valuable in their way and should be followed up as carefully as the more elaborate written agreement with the Sulu Sultan, which requires the red tape accompaniments of a treaty, is submitted for consideration and approval by the senate, and, when approved, becomes a binding record fixing the Sultan's treaty-making status. It follows, further, that we should cultivate friendly relations and secure and retain strong influence over all the Sultans and dattos, not making formal written conventions with them (unless it is absolutely essential, as appeared to be the case in dealing with the Sulu Sultan while the Tagalog revolt was at its height), and neither unduly magnifying the latter Sultan to the detriment of the other chiefs, with the result of inflaming his vanity and avarice and of rendering him doubly difficult to deal with, nor unwisely depreciating his religious and political influence, with the result of upturning friendly relations and of precipitating hostilities, which, while crushing the Sultan, would be bloody and protracted.

It appears that a discrimination must be made in laws and form of government between Moroland and the rest of the Philippines. The conditions are entirely different in the two sections. Legislation which would be wholesome in one would threaten immediate war in the other.

GO SLOWLY WITH THE MORO.

To withdraw from the southern Philippines and to wash our hands of responsibility for the control of them is apparently an impossible alternative. If we hold the islands (as we will) we must, however, exercise our authority in such a way as to save life and promote happiness on both sides of the Pacific and to spread the blessings of civilization in such fashion that they do not become curses to our beneficiaries.

Slavery is hateful to the American idea. Unmistakable slavery, though of the mild feudal type, exists in the southern Philippines. Shall we abolish it offhand, shedding American blood to reconcile the Moros to what they will look upon as confiscation of their property? Or shall we proceed cautiously and peaceably to eradicate the evil, perhaps through some

moderate measure of compensated emancipation, such as that which with many safeguards of economy was put in operation by the Dutch in Java?

Polygamy is antagonistic to American sentiment. It is part of the religion of Mahomet and prevails among the comparatively wealthy few in our Mahometan islands. Shall we bring on "a holy war" in the Philippines by demanding the immediate eradication of polygamy and the exodus from the harems of all but wife No. 1? Or shall we follow the example of exceeding forbearance set by other Christian nations with Asiatic and Mahometan dependencies and our own precedent in winking for a time at the social customs of the American Indians? Polygamy is a luxury of the rich. Education and contact with civilization will render it more and more expensive every year, will steadily increase the discontent among the plural wives, and will doubtless gradually abolish the evil of many simultaneous wives.

If we decide that the immediate extirpation of neither slavery nor polygamy from the Philippines is worth the shedding of a drop of American blood, we may also conclude, with advantage, to go slowly at first in regard to the imposition of unaccustomed taxes upon the Moros. An export tax in practical effect reduces the price of what they sell; an import tax is made to increase the price of what they buy. The Chinese middleman with the duties as a pretext swindles the Moro by making the reduction of the selling price and the increase of the buying price respectively much more than the amount of the duty in each case. The military authorities will doubtless find a way of preventing this imposition. In regard to the equities of taxation, it is, of course, to be remembered that American occupation brings and will continue to bring to the Moros trade, prosperity, circulation of money, and enlargement of taxpaying capacity, and that the islands must as soon as possible produce the revenues necessary to meet the expense of their economical government. But it is far more important for the immediate present that the Moro should not conceive the idea that he is being taxed and oppressed in novel ways to which even the Spaniards did not resort, than that funds should be secured for public improvements in the Sulu Archipelago, which can well wait that more convenient season when all will be quiet in the Philippines.

THE JAVA EXPERIMENT.

Results which Point the Way for Luzon—Natives Recognized—The Land Distributed—How Slavery and Polygamy Ceased.

America's comparative inexperience in dealing intimately with Asiatic peoples and in grappling with and mastering for the highest use and benefit the conditions of soil and temperature which prevail under a tropical sun

gives to all the pertinent precedents for the wisest solution of the Philippine problem an indefinitely multiplied value.

What the Dutch have well done and ill done in Java—an island not much larger than Luzon and inhabited by a people in whom, as in the Filipinos, Malay blood predominates—can not fail to furnish both example and warning in meeting in the Philippines similar difficulties to those which have been solved for good or evil in the beautiful southern island.

So what the English have well done and ill done in the tropical garden of Ceylon and in dealing with the Cinghalese is profitably to be considered in deciding what will be wise and beneficial for our own tropical islands and the peoples who look to us for guidance and development.

Batavia, where one lands in Java, is the political and financial capital and commercial metropolis. The modern residence city, with low, wide-spreading white houses, each setting well back from the broad tree-lined street and surrounded by an extensive tropical garden, stretches over a vast area, whose surface is further diversified by occasional canals, which are an especially notable feature of the old Dutch city. There are sections which need only a sprinkling of windmills and cows to suggest Holland. Batavia consists of the ancient city, now a business section, reputed to be unhealthful, in which are the old stadthuis and other historic structures and memorials; Chinese and Arab settlements, and the modern residence city already mentioned, which includes numerous attractive suburbs, and which is adorned by the usual complement of parks and parade grounds, statues, and public buildings, including a fine museum.

WORLD'S FINEST BOTANICAL GARDEN.

Forty miles inland is the summer capital, Buitenzorg, built among the hills at a cool and healthful altitude. Here is the summer residence of the governor-general in the finest botanical garden in the Orient, where the Dutch (who are noted botanists and gardeners) have worked wonderful results from the productive, tropical soil, and have concentrated in a few hundred acres a miniature Java, displaying the finest specimens of all tropical products. Every Javanese garden is a delight to the botanist, but here the luxuriant growths are scientifically classified, and experiments in the cultivation of new plants of economic value to the planters of the island are made. Here are the tallest kanari trees, arching over the finest avenues, the largest lotus leaves, groves of tree ferns, avenues of royal palms, the banian-like warringen trees, wonderful clusters of bamboo, and the greatest profusion of tropical fruits and spices.

The railroad between Batavia and Buitenzorg traverses a low-lying level section of the island, upon which rice and cacao especially are grown. It resembles the rice and sugar-growing portion of Luzon north of Manila, which is crossed by the railroad to Dagupan. In contrast with the densely populated and closely cultivated acres of Java the corresponding section

of war-stricken Luzon seems now deserted and neglected, but there are the same terraced rice fields in both islands, and hundreds of the same gray and clumsy water buffalo are everywhere in evidence.

ALL MALAYS.

In comparison with Java, which in 1898 contained 26,000,000 people and has now probably passed Belgium as the most densely populated portion of the world, the Philippines, even in times of peace, are thinly inhabited. But the men, women and children who swarm in Java, on the streets, in the fields, the houses, and the markets, are distinctly of the same race as the scantier populations which people the Philippines from Luzon to the Sulu archipelago. All are Malays, though they differ in some details of dress, in language, and in religion.

The government of Java employs natives as far as possible in the official positions which come into immediate contact with the native population. Every province is divided into regencies, with a native regent in nominal charge who receives a monthly salary of from 1,000 to 1,200 guilders or \$400 to \$480. The real governor of the regency is the Dutch resident, who represents in it the governor-general. Every regency is divided into districts, over each of which a native wedana presides, at a monthly salary of from 200 to 250 guilders, or from \$80 to \$100. Assistant wedanas have charge of subdistricts, at a monthly salary from 100 to 150 guilders, or from \$40 to \$60.

The small annual land tax or rent paid by the Javanese for the government land leased out to them for cultivation is received by a native collector called a lurah (a government official) and turned over by him to the wedana, the native chief of the district. It often occurs that the cultivator pays his annual land tax by giving the lurah a certain proportion of the produce. This official turns the goods thus tendered into cash, paying the wedana the annual land tax.

The extent to which the natives are utilized by the Dutch in subordinate positions is to be noted; also the liberal compensation made for the services rendered, and the good policy of thus reducing friction by intrusting to natives unpopular tasks, like collecting taxes from their own people. The regents and wedanas are men of standing and influence in the community, and through them the Dutch exercise unlimited control over the natives. The Spanish in Luzon destroyed the petty native rulers and substituted in their stead Spain's rule. They also, under the Maura municipal government law of 1893, utilized the natives in many of the same functions intrusted to them by the Dutch; but while the latter with these offices conferred high honor and a salary, the Spanish imposed unpaid and obligatory positions upon unwilling recipients, many of whom were financially ruined through holding an office which they could not safely refuse. This small difference of detail caused the Spanish policy in this matter to increase the native's detestation of his rulers, while the policy of the Dutch wonderfully strengthens their hold upon the Javanese.

POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.

The Javanese are nominally all Mahometans. Polygamy has always prevailed among them, but outside of Djokja and Solo there are few polygamists, except among the very rich. The luxury is too expensive. There is no challenge to arouse their fanaticism over polygamy as an article of faith by the Dutch Government, which leaves their religion and everything which in any shape is connected with it severely alone.

The same kind of slavery prevailed in Java as now exists in the southern Philippines until abolished by edict shortly before our civil war. Compensation was provided to the owners of the emancipated slaves in the following amounts, expressed in guilders, a guilder being about 40 cents:

Slave under 10, 50 to 120 guilders; between 10 and 20, 100 to 220 guilders; between 20 and 30, 150 to 350 guilders; between 30 and 40, 125 to 300 guilders; between 40 and 50, 100 to 200 guilders; above 50, 40 to 100 guilders.

But such limiting and restricting conditions were attached that very little money was paid for this compensation. For instance, a registration of slaves had been ordered; but a great part had not been registered. The Government would only pay for slaves registered, and would not pay for those suffering from any permanent disease (as leprosy), nor for escaped slaves longer than three months after date of the edict, nor for slaves condemned to forced work (convicts), nor for slaves on which on January 1, 1859, taxes had not been paid for four years.

In most cases, while the edict nominally freed the slave, the latter continued to the end of his days in practically the same relation of feudal servitude to his master. But with the growth of the new generation the law gradually became operative and slavery was ended.

WILL MALAYS WORK?

They Do in Java—They May in the Philippines—Their Historian Defends Them—Spanish Oppression Destroyed Industry.

The record of Java throws light on a syllogism which is supposed to have an obvious and practical bearing upon the labor problem in the Philippines: "Malays will not work; Filipinos are Malays; Filipinos will not work."

The generalization that Malays will not work is reached by calling Malays who will work by some other name and attaching to the title only the characteristics of the worthless remnant. There is a Malaysian archipelago as well as a Malaysian peninsula, and the bulk of the Filipinos may turn out to be Malays after the order of those who live and labor in Java and not in the class of the Malay loafers of the Straits Settlements,

A like hasty generalization ascribes to the Chinaman, universally, in contrast with the Malay, the attributes of industry, commercial probity, and capacity to labor effectively anywhere, unaffected by fatigue, tropical heat, and disease germs. This generalization lumps indiscriminately the myriads of Chinese water rats and ex-pirates, and the millions in whom decades of official robbery and oppression have ingrained untruthfulness and deceit with the comparatively small commercial class, in whom training has made business honesty instinctive, and with the coolie, who may be either lying or truthful, but who has developed in the school of hard necessity into perhaps the most effective and least expensive human laboring machine in the world.

The disposition among all men in the languor-breeding tropics is to work only as necessity requires, which in favored sections, if one's wants are few, is very little, nature supplying freely the means of supporting life.

There are also differences in the aptitudes and inclinations of the different tropical people as to the kind of life-supporting labor to which they will have recourse when forced by necessity to work. One will cultivate the soil, another will draw his food from the sea with the hook or net, and another will hire the service of his muscles in exchange for food or the money with which to buy food.

But the record of Java shows that the Malay under pressure can occupy satisfactorily every field of labor and can develop a tropical garden which is the admiration and delight of every visitor and which supports well one of the densest populations on the face of the globe.

Ramon Lala defends his countrymen against the charge of indolence other than lassitude which is bred in everyone, Europeans included, by the tropical heat.

FILIPINOS' APPARENT LAZINESS.

In explanation of the Filipinos' apparent laziness he says:

"Deprived by the Spaniards from all active participation in the affairs of government, and robbed of the fruits of industry, all incentive to advancement and progress was taken away. He therefore yields with composure to the crushing conditions of his environment, preferring the lazy joys of indolence rather than labor for the benefit of his oppressors. * * *

"In the more civilized districts where modern and humane business methods prevail hundreds of thousands are employed to the profit both of themselves and their employers."

Unwillingness to work without pay in advance, which is sometimes cited as rendering unsatisfactory the Filipino laborer, is pronounced by Lala to be "undoubtedly the result of generations of Spanish robbery, where these people were forced to labor for their employers—frequently the priests—having no reward save the lash or promises of a golden crown in heaven."

If Lala's diagnosis of the case is accurate, it is easy to see how, without any great trouble, we can largely increase the Filipino's working efficiency by supplying the incentive of full security to life and property and the enjoyment of the fruits of his toil.

In the Philippines, which extend from the northern edge of the tropics to a point less than 5 degrees from the equator and include a vast variety of soils, of altitudes, and of temperatures, which work out varying results upon the men who live subject to their environment, a diversity in the human products as well as in the fruits of the soil is naturally expected and realized. Not all the Filipinos will labor in the same way, and some will not work at all. But if we must generalize let us say, and make it good, that the Filipinos in general will work, like the Javanese; not binding ourselves by this generalization to force the Filipinos to the total exclusion of other peoples into occupations for which they are conspicuously unfitted—without guaranteeing, for instance, that a Mabini or an Aguinaldo would make an efficient wharf coolie, or that an ex-pirate follower of the Sultan of Sulu would prove a reliable comprador or a model house servant.

THE LESSON FROM CEYLON.

Wise Handling of the Public Lands—The Ophir of the Ancients— Natives in the Offices—Luzon May Equal It.

Ceylon lies approximately between 6 and 9 degrees north of the equator; Java between 6 and 9 degrees south of the equator. The wet and dry seasons in the two islands do not coincide, though both claim to be always wet, if sometimes wetter. Ceylon, however, in March, when I visited it, was suffering prolonged drouth in its hottest month, during the interval between the two monsoons which bring it rain, and failed to display the overflowing richness of tropical vegetation which was in evidence in Java during the rainy season in February. The plantation and labor exhibits of the island seem on a smaller scale than those of Java, which is twice the size of Ceylon and has eight times its population. With these limitations the effect produced upon the observer by Ceylon is similar to that which has been noted in the case of Java. Both islands are beautiful tropical gardens, cultivated to the highest degree, and displaying intense human industry directed by the keenest intelligence.

Colombo, the seaport and metropolis, with its excellent hotels, fine drives, and attractive shops, corresponds to Batavia. Kandy, hidden in tropical foliage, 75 miles away in the hills, beautifully and healthfully located, represents Buitenzorg. Even the counterpart of the latter's

famous botanical gardens is found at Peradenya, near Kandy. In mountain sanitariums there is Nuwera Eliya in Ceylon to offset the Sindanglaya and Tosari in Java. The ruins of the ancient Buddhist city of Anuradhapura in Ceylon tell the same story of an ancient and superior civilization once flourishing in that island which is proclaimed concerning Java by Boro-Boedor and Brambanan. The mountain and valley scenery and the tropical vegetation seen on the trip from Colombo to Nuwera Eliya are to be compared with those observed in Java.

Terraced rice fields, extensive tea plantations, a small showing of coffee, bananas, palms, and bamboo are conspicuous in the vegetation of both islands, and even the same peculiar red earth is to be seen.

THE OPHIR OF THE ANCIENTS.

Ceylon, with its rubies, sapphires, amethysts, and other precious stones, its elephants, its cinnamon and other spices, is believed to be the Ophir of the ancients.

It is estimated that about 800,000 acres of land (say 600,000 suitable for hill-country products, tea, cinchona, coffee, etc., and pasturage, and 200,000 lower down for tea, cocoa as well as cocoanuts, and cinnamon) are held by European planters, against nearly three times this aggregate held by natives.

It is estimated that the total area of the island which may be cultivated is from five to five and one-half million acres, of which from two and one-half to three and one-half million acres, according to varying estimates, are under cultivation. Thus there are approximately 2,000,000 acres of land in Ceylon still held by the government which may be taken up and cultivated.

Though the government did not become a direct cultivator of the land, through a series of active and intelligent governors-general and other officials it co-operated heartily with the large individual land-owners in developing the agricultural resources of the island.

The British planters in Ceylon have associated themselves to experiment and investigate in order to work their property to the best advantage, and through their intelligent and co-operative labors much has been done for the development and prosperity of the island. When blight had destroyed the coffee plants, which were their main product, and Ceylon's resources seemed exhausted and the island threatened with bankruptcy, they abandoned coffee, revolutionized the agriculture of the island, substituted tea, and pushed the new experimental product with tremendous vigor, with the result of rehabilitating the island financially and introducing an era of renewed prosperity.

The Cinghalese are free from famines and epidemics, industrious and well-employed. They are apparently prosperous and happy in spite of the habit of growling, which may be accepted as evidence of the extent to which they have been Anglicised,

MORE THAN SELF-SUPPORTING.

Ceylon as a colony pays ; that is, its receipts readily meet its expenditures, and its possession, instead of involving any drain on the imperial treasury, is a financial gain to England.

Though it contains 3,000,000 of Asiatics, its affairs are so well regulated and its docile population has so little real cause for discontent that a single regiment constitutes Great Britain's military representation on the island. The force in Ceylon in 1898 was composed of 1,483 Europeans and 238 natives. There is also a volunteer regiment, paid for by the island, which in 1898 numbered nearly 1,100, including officers, made up of British-born Eurasians, Malays, Tamils, Cinghalese, and others, and a police force of 1,600 men, of whom only 42 are Europeans.

The English in Ceylon, as in India, have respected the rights, traditions, and religions of the natives, and have increased local prosperity, while expanding imperial trade by creating extensive public works, which have developed to the utmost the resources of the colonies. India imports more from Great Britain than any nation of the world, and stands third in exports, being surpassed (1895) only by the United States and France.

The lessons taught by India are many and valuable, but when I traveled through it in the spring it was cursed with famine, plague, cholera, smallpox, dust and heat, and its external appearance and the condition of its people forbade its use as a shining example of a prosperous and obviously well-managed colony. Attractive Ceylon furnished much greater inspiration to the study and emulation of British colonial methods.

The English policy in respect to the education of the natives, which includes teaching them systematically the English language, is clearly, as I have already said, that which the United States should adopt, rather than the Spanish and old Dutch policies of forbidding the natives instruction in the language of the dominating whites and of keeping them ignorant in order that they might continue docile. There is a confession involved in the abandonment by the Dutch of this policy.

LUZON CAN EQUAL JAVA OR CEYLON.

The geographical position of the Philippines is such as to give to the islands a wonderful variety of climates and temperatures and a corresponding diversity in products. Their greatest dimension is along the north and south line. They stretch from near the northern edge of the torrid zone at 21 degrees north latitude for more than a thousand miles to a latitude less than 5 degrees from the equator. Luzon covers nearly twice as many degrees of latitude as the larger Java, which stretches east and west. It is also farther from the equator, and approaching as it does to the edge of the temperate zone, through the addition of the low temperature contributed by the altitudes attained by its hills and mountains it has a wide range of products—from rice, sugar and coffee to tobacco and hemp, from tropical

growths to many which flourish in the temperate zone. It is located in the same volcano belt with Java, and its soil on this account displays the same extraordinary fertility and productiveness. It has as large a percentage of arable land and as favorable conditions of sun and rain, and, as stated, it is fitted by nature to produce a wider diversity of crops than either Java or Ceylon. There is no reason why Luzon should not be developed into a tropical garden, highly and scientifically cultivated like Java and Ceylon, just as beautiful to the eye, just as prosperous and profitable commercially, with people at least as well governed and just as well fed and content.

POLYGAMY AND SLAVERY.

How They Became Extinct in Java and Ceylon—The Policy of Mutual Interests—Good Roads as a Factor.

On other points of doubt in our Philippines problem besides the vital ones of land and labor, Java and Ceylon speak with equal distinctness. Concerning Mahometan polygamy they say: Ignore it; permit it to die out naturally, as a barbarous and costly luxury. Concerning slavery of the mild type that prevails in the Philippines they say: While not countenancing it (and never forgetting that the Constitution does not permit it to exist), do not be impatient if its complete abolition is not accomplished in twenty minutes. "Britons can never be slaves," and "the slave's fetters drop from him as soon as he passes under the British flag." Yet Ceylon was fifteen years a British possession before the abolition of slavery was proclaimed, and another fifteen years and a legislative enactment were required to make the proclamation effective. The suggestion of compensated emancipation in General Bates' agreement with the Sultan of Sulu is in line with the precedents. Both Java and Ceylon offered to compensate the slave owners, though in both cases, for the reasons stated, they managed to accomplish emancipation with the payment of very little cash. I was told by a British official in Singapore that at the present time through compensated emancipation England is slowly making Britons (who can never be slaves) of a section of the population of Zanzibar.

NATIVES AS OFFICIALS AND AS SOLDIERS.

Java and Ceylon not only advise the most considerate treatment of the natives in all relations with them—protection of their means of support and their employment wherever possible in civil official positions—but also give a hint concerning the extent to which they can be safely utilized in the military force as auxiliaries. Two-thirds of the Dutch army in Netherlands-India are natives. The single imperial regiment in Ceylon has over 200

natives associated with it, and by its side is a volunteer regiment of Ceylon Asiatics. (Spain, prior to the last insurrection, maintained in the Philippines a civil guard numbering 3,482 and an army of 13,291, of whom only 2,210 were Europeans.) Exclusively European officers are employed as a natural safeguard, and as a similar precaution native troops are stationed elsewhere than in their home province. Java and Ceylon suggest for the Philippines, after the islands are quieted and on a genuine peace footing, the extensive use of natives as auxiliaries, with American officers, and with Tagalog and Visayan soldiers stationed in the southern Philippines and Moro soldiers in the Tagalog and Visayan islands. The good policy of the immediate use of native troops, on the same basis as the Macabebes, arming them at first, perhaps, with an inferior rifle using different ammunition from the Regular Army supply and difficult to replenish by deserters, has been strongly urged in conversation with me by several capable army officers.

MUTUAL INTERESTS.

The teaching of the Dutch and English policies in the Java and Ceylon of to-day is that American welfare and that of the Filipinos coincide and are promoted together; that whatever advances the material interests of the Philippines will benefit the Republic also, and that the nation can not permanently and with success selfishly separate its interests from those of the islands, but must profit by sharing in the local prosperity, which in co-operation with the Filipinos it will create and develop.

At every step of the present stage of Luzon's development the experience of Ceylon and Java will repay study.

If the uses to which the precedents of the Dutch and English islands may be put, superficially suggested by me, are systematically and thoroughly developed, Java and Ceylon may hold a lantern to guide Luzon's footsteps in safety over many a dark and difficult path.

The development of Java and Ceylon is due largely to the network of railroads and connected highways—broad, hard, smooth roads—which cover the surface of the island, and are gradually opening up every nook and corner. In this important work the government can, directly or indirectly, most effectively co-operate. The extensive railroad and highway system in Java has been already touched upon. In comparatively small Ceylon there were over 297 miles of railroad open in 1896, the construction of 71 miles in addition had been sanctioned, extensions of 152 miles had been surveyed, reported on, and recommended to the secretary of state, extensions of 130 miles had been roughly surveyed and estimated, and of 50 additional miles projected. The planters are urging the construction of other lines, aggregating 260 miles, including one which will give direct communication with India by way of Adam's Reef. The government operates and extends the railroad system at a profit. The net earnings of 1896 were 3,690,042 rupees. There has been a profit every year of the government's control except the first two, 1865 and 1866.

GOOD ROADS.

The same vigor is shown in the extension of roads. In 1896, 1,239,800 rupees were spent upon 3,492 miles of road. Since 1883 an average of a million rupees a year has been spent on highways. Between that year and 1896 nearly a thousand miles have been added to the highly improved (metalled) roads. The system has also the benefit of a thoroughfares ordinance, imposing a poll tax, under which 635,002 persons were enrolled in Ceylon in 1896 as liable to perform labor.

Before Luzon's resources can be equally developed it must be blessed with railroads and highways like those of Java and Ceylon. Its harbors along the sea and its interior waterways give it a start in facilities of communication. But its 120 miles of railroad must be multiplied, and it must be opened up everywhere by a system of good roads in place of its present wretched apologies for such highways. The municipalities of Luzon have not availed themselves of the permission granted by law to levy a tax on real estate for the construction of highways and other public improvements, and there are few worse roads to be found anywhere. Both in Java and Ceylon a poll tax, involving the liability to do unpaid work for the public, is imposed as a substitute for the old system of compulsory labor. So in Luzon every adult male Filipino, with certain exceptions, was under obligation to give to the State fifteen days' labor a year or commute the service by money. But much of the fund thus collected was diverted from its legitimate purpose, and the road work done by individual Filipinos was not systematically and effectively utilized, and from its haphazard application was practically wasted. Through the authorized municipal tax and through judicious use of the unpaid workmen, commuting their poll tax, Luzon should readily equip itself with a system of good roads, a monument to compulsory human labor which will bless the workmen.

UNCLE SAM'S PUPILS.

The Territorial Class—Cases of Compulsory Education—For the Good of the Governed—Alaska and the Philippines.

The Philippines enter at the foot of Uncle Sam's primary class in republicanism and self-government. At the head of the class stand organized territories like New Mexico; in the middle are Hawaii, the District of Columbia, Alaska and Porto Rico. They are all in the same class because the ultimate government of them lies in a body outside of themselves in which they are not represented and in whose acts they do not participate. A territorial delegate, unrecognized by the Constitution and voteless, is not a part of Congress, does not constitute representation in

Congress, and is merely a petitioning agent of the territory, with the privileges of the floor of the national legislature. The actual status of the territory in its relation to the Union does not turn upon the possession or non-possession of a delegate, or of any privilege granted by a legislature in which it is not represented. If any territory is in slavery all are slaves, notwithstanding variations in the number and weight of their respective shackles.

It is an honor to be entered in the republic's school, even in the primary class and at its foot. No one who understands what the Filipinos have gained in escaping to Uncle Sam's premises from Spanish monastic rule, from the bloody dictatorship of Aguinaldo, from anarchy, or from the threatened blood-and-iron domination of a European military despotism, has any tears to shed over the alleged unhappy lot of the people of the Philippines.

To be a territorial citizen of the United States is to enjoy a dignity less only than that of being a state citizen or a national citizen of the United States.

TERRITORIAL CITIZENSHIP.

Injustice to Uncle Sam and deception of this newcomer to his own injury are involved in the efforts which have been made to foster discontent in the republic's latest pupil, and to convince him that he is the victim of outrageously unfair treatment. He is taunted with entering the national kindergarten under compulsion, and with being humiliated and degraded among his associates by this neglect to secure his consent.

In establishing the jurisdiction of Congress over the Philippines as territory belonging to the United States the same "consent of the governed" will have been obtained from the Filipinos as was secured from the inhabitants of the land contained in the Louisiana purchase, of Florida when annexed, of the territory conquered and purchased from Mexico, of Alaska, and from the Indians who were the first occupants of the original thirteen states. The same consent to government by Congress which the District of Columbia and Alaska now give will be given by the Filipinos. In all of these cases the benefits of the proposed government are held to be so obvious that the consent of the governed is assumed. Forcible resistance, contradicting this assumption, is immaterial. Nevertheless and notwithstanding and in accordance with the precedents the consent of the rebellious Tagalogs to government by the United States will be presumed, as was that of the people of the south after the civil war, and that of the rebelling Mexicans in California and New Mexico after our acquisition of that territory.

It appears that all the members of Uncle Sam's primary class were entered therein without their consent, and that there is at least nothing peculiar or discriminating in the course pursued toward the Filipinos.

ALASKA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

In the case of both Alaska and the Philippines the republic's undertaking is to furnish a government for the territory without participation by the people therein until the time when the population shall become fitted in numbers and character to take part in the government. If that time never arrives, then the territory will continue indefinitely without direct participation in the government of the republic. When Alaska was annexed there was no more reason, than in the case of the Philippines, to expect that it would ever acquire sufficient population, of the kind entitled to representation in Congress, to enable states of the Union to be carved from it. The objects sought in the annexation were national; the local interest and the Alaskan's rights under the Constitution were not at all considered.

If the Constitution was not smashed into fragments by the annexation of non-contiguous Alaska without the consent of the Alaskans, and by American government of Alaska without participation therein of the Alaskans, then the Constitution is uninjured by a similar annexation of the non-consenting Philippines and their government by the United States without Filipino participation.

There are more Filipinos than Alaskans, but the constitutional question cannot turn on the numbers of persons involved. The Constitution is as badly shattered in principle by the purchase and governing without their consent of a hundred Alaskans as of a thousand Filipinos.

The people of the temperate zones cannot live and labor to advantage either near the pole or under the equator. For sound national reasons, distinct from the desire to form new states of the Union, we have annexed a large slice (580,000 square miles) of the arctic regions, with the white and red men who inhabit it, and now a small slice (114,000 square miles) of the tropics peopled by yellow and black men.

ON AMERICAN PRINCIPLES.

We will hold and govern both, not, for the present at least, as an integral part of the union of states, but on American principles, in the manner best adapted to their conditions, and promoting to the fullest extent the welfare of their inhabitants and of the republic as a whole.

Though there is not the slightest promise of immediate action in the direction of so wise and equitable a policy, the District of Columbia, with increase of its permanent resident population, may some day, without necessarily losing its status as national territory governed directly by Congress, be permitted to enjoy the privilege of participation in the national councils as a quasi-state. The discovery of gold in Alaska and the rush of population toward it give some slight promise of similar privileges in time to that region, which would have appeared impossible and preposterous if suggested concerning it when it was purchased. The Philippines seem

hopeless now as the seat of future states. I do not believe that the islands will ever be states of the Union. But in the light of the prospect of the happening of the impossible in Alaska, who will venture to predict with confidence on the subject?

But if the Philippines never graduate from the primary class in self-government during the existence of the republic, and the archipelago is left in time as the sole member thereof through the promotion of its classmates, it will nevertheless have been during the entire period of tutelage far better governed, more prosperous, more peaceful, more content and more free than under any alternative form of government which is among the reasonable possibilities of its future.

OUR ORIENTAL CAPITAL.

The Bright Future of Manila—Some Things Needed—Variety in Surroundings—Possibilities of Development,

Manila will grow in wealth, population, and commercial importance, not merely in proportion to the development of the Philippines, but corresponding to the increase of American trade in the Pacific, and especially with China, for which it will naturally be the principal distributing point. With the opening of an isthmian canal under American control, with the laying of necessary American cables in the Pacific, with the creation of an American merchant marine, and with the sincere application of the principles of the merit system to our foreign consular and diplomatic service, and especially to the delicate task of governing the Philippines, the desired result of American supremacy in Pacific trade will be attained, and Manila will wrest the commercial scepter from the strongest and most prosperous of her competitors among Asiatic cities.

Manila possesses some features of unique interest. It can show to the tourist a Spanish walled city of the middle ages, with moat and bastions, fort and dungeons, and with palaces, churches, and residences of Spanish architecture and suggesting nothing else than a Spanish town. There will not be seen anywhere a greater mixture of races than in Binondo, the cosmopolitan, modern, business section of Manila, where Asia, Europe, America, Africa, and Australia come together. Tobacco factories furnish Asiatic rivals in interest to those of Seville and Habana. Native markets supply scenes of unique interest to the European or American. When "this cruel war is over" and a period of peaceful development follows the series of struggles which have cursed Luzon and checked progress in Manila, the fine gardens about the handsome residences of Manila, now in many cases neglected, will blossom and bloom in tropical luxuriance. A fraction of the intelligent care bestowed on its vegetation by Honolulu (which lies on the dry side of Oahu) will render Manila a tropical paradise.

THE CITY'S NEEDS.

Among the city's conspicuous needs are one or more carefully managed, clean, and comfortable American hotels. A strong national bank, with American correspondents in the great cities of Asia, is as necessary to Manila as it is for the reaping of the full benefits by Americans of the vastly increased trade with Asia, which the United States is to enjoy. The bankers are the money-makers of Asia. We must create and use our own merchant marine and our own banking system in the competition for Asiatic trade. It must not be permitted that the American shall continue to find his gold dollar worth less in silver in the banks of Manila than in the banks of any other large Asiatic city.

Manila bay is much too large for a safe harbor at certain seasons of the year. A perfected harbor improvement, such as that which has built up Colombo, is much to be desired. Botanical and culture gardens like those of Buitenzorg, Peradenya, Calcutta, Penang, and Singapore are to be fostered in Manila, not only, as already pointed out, for a useful, practical, economic purpose in the highest development of the agricultural resources and capabilities of the island, but also as providing an attractive park and breathing place, both for resident and tourist visitor.

The botanical gardens and the water-works reservoir, beautiful as at Singapore, should add new drives to that provided along the water's edge outside the walled city by the famous Luneta.

Manila has close at hand and soon to be in quick communication with it a wonderful variety of sites suitable for sanatoriums. Mountains, hills and lakes are in the immediate vicinity. At the mouth of Manila Bay lies mountainous Corregidor, demonstrated through its use by our army for hospital purposes to be always cool and healthful, the ideal site of a summer resort, which mingles in desirable proportions the atmosphere of the hills and of the sea. Within easy reach farther in the interior are picturesque mountain towns, like Majajay, with the waterfall of Botocan, 600 feet high and 60 feet wide, as an additional attraction. A 20-mile ride in any direction from Manila will give any required temperature, any desired mixture of sea and mountain air. In his suburban residence the business man of the Manila of the future will be able to sleep, after an hour's railroad ride from the city, in a temperature of 40° F. Cool and healthful spots may also be found close at hand and easily accessible through the Pasig, fringing the great basin of Laguna de Bay.

MANILA'S SURROUNDINGS.

Forty-five miles south of Manila is Lake Bombon, with a most interesting smoking volcano, Taal, on an island in its center. South Luzon boasts two other volcanoes, Bulusan and Mayon, the latter 8,900 feet high. This Luzon Vesuvius is next to Apo in Mindanao (over 10,000 feet in

height), the highest mountain in the Philippines. (America boasts the highest mountain in the Pacific Ocean in Mauna Kea, on Hawaii, 13,805 feet high.) A funicular road to Mayon's crater, may reasonably be expected. There are also sulphur springs to add to the attractions of Mayon. The tobacco-growing region of North Luzon, with its great river, the largest in Luzon, and its mountains and hills, has not yet been developed as to its sanatorium capabilities, but the whole region lies in the coolest latitudes attainable in the Philippines, the altitude of its mountains is considerable, its scenery is magnificent, and in connection with the development of Aparri, at the mouth of the Cagayan, into a city of great commercial importance from its location and as the nearest point in Luzon to San Francisco, to Honolulu, to Hongkong, and to Japan, there will doubtless be found an abundance of convenient health resorts there to refresh the weary citizens.

The mountain region of Benguet, in North Luzon, lies at a general elevation of 4,000 feet above the sea level, and has some peaks 7,000 feet high. It is said to be always cool and comfortable, with pure air and fine water. The Spanish planned to build a sanatorium there. In the winter season there is frost and sometimes snow and ice. In the warm season the average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit; and in winter the mercury goes down to about freezing point. The province is also rich in mineral springs, carrying sulphur and iron especially. Tea and coffee, apples and other fruits of the temperate zone grow well there. Gold is found in the Benguet district. A mountain railway connecting by a short level line with Dagupan would enable one to reach Benguet from Manila in twelve hours.

A steamer ride of 14 miles up the Pasig River from Manila brings one to Laguna de Bay, the largest body of fresh water in the Philippines, 25 miles long by 21 miles broad. Its eastern shore line rises in mountains and at one of its southern ports some famous hot springs issue.

THE REAL PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

**How to Govern—Not Shall We Abandon—Wise Discriminating Laws
—Flexibility Vital.**

I do not intend to discuss the constitutional question or to attempt to forecast the Supreme Court's decision upon it, but if the welfare of the parties in interest, both Filipinos and Americans, is to be considered in the matter, the United States will not be held to include the Philippines either for the purposes of uniformity in duties or for conferring upon the Filipinos indiscriminately national citizenship.

In the discussion of this matter the dangers to American industries and interests have been thoroughly considered, but not enough attention has been paid to the injury with which the Filipinos are threatened.

To extend the Dingley law to the islands would, to cite for example a single important item, increase the duty on rice (the Filipino's bread) a thousand per cent over the Spanish rate. It would work disaster, discontent, and probable riots in the northern and central Philippines and certain bloodshed in Moroland, whose people, unaccustomed to taxation, were worked up almost to the point of revolt by our attempt to collect the comparatively light duties exacted by the Spanish law in Luzon and the Visayan Islands.

Under the treaty ceding Louisiana at the beginning of the century and under the first congressional legislation concerning Hawaii at the century's end the duties to be paid in these possessions were not uniform with those exacted in the United States. If the uniformity provision of the Constitution did not apply to this territory of the United States from the moment of annexation, it does not apply to the Philippines. If Congress could specifically authorize the collection of Hawaiian duties in Hawaii instead of the rates imposed by the Dingley law and could continue these non-uniform rates until it was ready in its wisdom to extend the American tariff with an organized territorial government to these islands, then the same course may constitutionally be pursued in respect to the Philippines. And for this considerate treatment petitioning Filipinos should ever pray.

FILIPINO CITIZENSHIP.

Full national citizenship would be a burden upon the mass of Filipinos, and conferring it would tend to deteriorate and discredit that citizenship.

In handling this branch of the Philippine problem we should treat national citizenship as a precious thing, not to be lightly conferred, not to be imposed where it would become an unbearable burden. The injunction not to cast pearls before swine not only warns the pearl owner against wasteful extravagance, but recognizes that swine are not for their own welfare to be fed on pearls.

The interests and welfare of the Filipinos themselves demand this treatment, in order that there may be a considerate flexibility in the government and laws applied to them which would be impossible if the islands, as an integral part of the United States, were subjected to the constitutional limitation concerning uniformity of duties and the other restrictive provisions applicable to the states of the Union.

CHINA'S OPEN DOOR.

The Philippines Relation to It—Uncle Sam Plants a Heavy Foot on the Threshold.

The Philippines not only hold out promise of vast direct commerce like that which Netherlands-India has furnished to Holland, but in connection with the Hawaiian Islands, Guam, Tutuila, Alaska and the Aleutian Islands they place the republic in such relations of proximity and intimate touch with Asia, and in such a commanding position from the naval and military standpoint that its rights as a Pacific power, commercial or otherwise, are sure to be respected.

With England and Japan the United States desires open ports in Asia. It stands with them against the dismemberment of China and for equality of trade.

Every diplomatic and consular officer of the United States in Asia, every individual American there, whether merchant, missionary or concession seeker is more respected and safer in his rights as a result of the possession of the Philippines and of the events which led up to it. Even the powers of Europe recognize our increased prestige in Asiatic affairs, and comply as they would not have dreamed of doing two years ago with our request for pledges of scrupulous observance of the treaty rights of the United States in the sections of China leased to foreign powers.

The weak and corrupt central government of China is pushed and pulled this way and that by the representatives of the European powers at Peking, and has little control over the vast population and immense areas of the celestial empire. There is no spirit of nationality or patriotic loyalty permeating the people. North and South China provinces speak different dialects and hate one another cordially and to the murder point. The Chinese detest the Tartar soldiers of the Manchu government at Peking and the sentiment is reciprocated.

The beginnings of a wonderful American trade with this people have been made. They are fast learning, for instance, to use our flour and our cotton goods. Southern cotton and western wheat, after passing through American mills, find here entrance to an unlimited market.

PHYSICAL POWER IN CHINA.

Existing conditions in China make eternal vigilance and decisive action the price of trade retention. Our merchants, no less than our missionaries, need ready and prompt protection, and against the maneuvers of foreign powers at Peking no less than against the rioting secret societies, rendered doubly dangerous by the weakness and personal apprehensions of the Chinese governing clique.

In China even in commercial affairs and in trade concessions the physical power to hold what has been granted or won by untiring and intelligent

energy is essential to its retention, and the people of the impotent nation in the clash of conflicting interests inevitably go to the wall.

Through possession of the Philippines the United States has now a trading emporium, an army and a navy at the very door of China. In combination of land and naval forces quickly available we are to-day not lower than the third power in Asia; and when American lives are threatened or attacked by Boxers or any other Asiatics, and when our commercial holdings in Asia are menaced from any quarter, the value of Manila as a safeguard of American interests is and will be demonstrated more and more convincingly.

Occupancy of the Philippines increases our chances of retaining our present trade in China and of vastly enlarging it, and tends to prevent the closing of the open Chinese door in European spheres of influence, the forcible annexation of the previously leased sections and the inevitably resulting dismemberment of the Chinese empire, accompanied by international war.

Thus the Philippines are a valuable asset for the purpose of tropical commerce in themselves, with their vast area of rich and productive acres; they are a serviceable asset for bargaining for reciprocal open doors with other powers in the Orient; and they are an important factor in the fight for the vast trade of the Asiatic continent, since by means of them Uncle Sam plants a heavy foot across the threshold of the open door in China, and will perhaps prevent it from being closed.



PLANS AND POLICY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

By Hon. Cushman K. Davis, United States Senator,
of Minnesota.

It is tritely said, and as often denied, that the stability of the Republic is involved in each pending national election. There is more than a grain of truth in this hackneyed assertion. In a free government every moment is fraught with progressive or retrograde tendencies and the strain of these contending forces often tests severely the endurance of political institutions. The subject of our destiny is therefore a proper one for earnest consideration.

This campaign is portentous. Others have been conducted on a few issues, economic or moral. In this one the Democratic party and its candidate demand the reversal of every policy, domestic and foreign, monetary, financial, protective and expansive, which has made the administration of President McKinley one of the most glorious in our history, by the splendor of its naval and military achievements, by its revival of dying industries, by its financial legislation, by its making the United States the first money power in the world, by its extension of our sovereignty, and by our advancement to the very forefront of international influence.

Attack on our Achievements.

The measures and policies which have wrought these imposing political results are severally and respectively condemned, either in themselves or in their just consequences, and their abrogation is demanded by the declaration of Democratic principles made at Kansas City.

This declaration does not denounce the administration of President McKinley for its failures. It condemns it for its achievements. It declares them to be destructive of true prosperity and subversive of our institutions. It demands that the gold standard shall be abolished, and that protection to American industry shall cease.

Want the Flag Lowered.

For the first time the sovereignty of the United States over territory held by an unquestionable title is to be abandoned and the flag lowered and that, too, in capitulation to a flagrant insurrection against its authority—all this, and more than this, is demanded by the Democratic party as a reason for its investiture with power and is promised to the American people in case power is given to do it. Such demands, such promises, such threats, such consequences will receive the most considerate condemnation of the people.

No Democratic platform, no Democratic speaker expresses any satisfaction with our triumphs in war, or with the abounding prosperity of our people, or with our international ascendancy. How can they rejoice in a prosperity which falsifies every prediction they made four years ago, and the approval of which now would refute every claim they can possibly make for their political restoration?

McKinley Has Kept Faith.

The present administration has kept the faith in which the American people invested it with power, has performed every act to which it was pledged and has fulfilled every expectation which has arisen from sudden events which were not foreseen four years ago.

It has enacted a statute which protects American industries, capital and labor, and under its operation this country has become prosperous to a degree that no one dared to predict or even hope in 1896.

It has, by statute, placed this country upon the foundation of the gold standard, the standard of stability and civilization.

Foreign Relations Conserved.

It has so wisely conducted our foreign relations that there is not now between us and any European power any menace to our peace or safety.

It has forever quieted, by treaty, the vexatious situation in Samoa, which had for a long time been a cause of irritation between this country and Germany.

It has negotiated treaties of reciprocity with France and other nations which will open wider the European markets to our manufactured and agricultural products.

It has released its diplomatic agents and other American citizens in China.

It has conducted a great war to a triumphant conclusion within four months from its commencement, without a single military or naval reverse, and, as a result, has expanded our possessions, and increased immeasurably our prestige as a nation.

Growth of Our Business.

The limitations of this brochure do not permit me to exhibit the details of our wonderful prosperity during the eventful years of President McKinley's administration. I must restrict myself to a brief statement of the increase of our foreign trade and of its nature.

The total foreign commerce of the last fiscal year surpasses by \$319,729,250 that of any preceding year and exceeds in the aggregate \$2,000,000,000: The imports of the year were \$849,714,670, and the exports were \$1,394,186,371.

An analysis of this astonishing aggregate discloses an enormous growth in our exports of manufactured articles. The total export of these articles for the year amounted to \$432,284,306, an increase of more than ninety-two millions of dollars over those of the preceding year. This was thirty-one and one-half per cent. of the total exportation and an increase of 150 per cent. over the exports in 1891.

After the World's Markets.

American manufacturers now find a market in every part of the world. They compete successfully in many markets with rivals who have been long established, and this is but the beginning of a commercial expansion which can be checked or limited only by a disastrous reversal of the economic policies of this country which alone have rendered such expansion possible. For what has been predicted by the advocates of protection from the beginning has come to pass; the protection of home industries has diversified and increased production, has given variety of employment and higher wages to labor, has made what were once articles of luxury utilities of common enjoyment, has enabled our manufacturers to supply the domestic market, and this perfection of the policy, having thus been obtained as to that market, our people were enabled to and did become competitors in the foreign markets of the entire world. This exhibit of our prosperity as to exports demonstrates what must have been the volume of our internal commerce during the same period. There are no statistics to accurately express this, but the great internal commercial and industrial activity for the last three years, the abounding prosperity which it has created, sufficiently demonstrate the immensity of these transactions.

Prosperity Hitherto Unparalleled.

In every element which goes to constitute our prosperity as a nation the *last three years* have been the most productive in American history. At the close of the last Democratic administration we were a debtor nation. Our gold was being exported and the outflow could not be checked. Our securities of all kinds were held abroad as investments. We have paid our debts within the last three years. To do this we took up first those securities in part payment; payment was made to us in gold for a portion of what remained due and for the balance we became and are a great creditor nation. We are becoming the banker of the world. Our capitalists undertake a great Russian loan, and have bid three times the amount of the English loan of fifty millions of dollars now upon the market. No man need to be told that these great financial operations could not possibly have been conducted, or even thought of, had the United States been upon the free coinage basis in the ratio of 16 to 1.

"Imperialism" not Paramount.

The real, the paramount question before the American people is not "imperialism." It is whether these conditions and the policies which have produced them are to be abandoned or even put to the chance of abandonment in the pursuit of—theories, I was about to say, but not of theories—in the repetition of experiment which have always proved disastrous in the very respects in which our prosperity is now so abounding, for it is never to be forgotten that the Kansas City platform, while it denounces expansion and what it calls "imperialism," also specifically condemns the policy of protection as enforced by the statute which passed immediately after the inauguration of President McKinley; condemns our financial policy and the gold standard under which money has become more abundant than it was ever before and interest lower; and twice demands the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. This implies that, in case of Democratic success, these policies are to be reversed and the American people taken back again to the beginning of the road which started in depression and disaster and which has been traversed wearily, yet triumphantly, until it has taken us to the very heights of prosperity.

Condition of Merchant Marine.

This unprecedented development enforced the immediate consideration of the increase of our merchant marine, in view of the fact that nearly all these enormous freights had been carried by the ships of foreign nations. The flag of the United States was almost a tolerated alien in its own ports.

The Republican party has always cherished the maritime interests of this country. It has believed in the efficiency of the sea power whether for peace or war. It has not seen with any satisfaction the disappearance of our flag from ports and seas where it formally shone like a glorious constellation; nor the payment annually by the people of this country of more than \$100,000,000 freight money, seamen's wages, supplies and insurance premiums to subjects of foreign states; nor the diminishing numbers of American seamen who over and over again in our history have been the very right arm of our defence and power. It has always contended that the American product ought to be carried in American ships.

Ship Building Encouraged.

And now when, as the fruit of the Protective system, it has come to pass that articles of American manufacture are filling every market of the world; when the American iron bridge spans the upper Nile; when American iron pipes are laid beneath the streets of Glasgow and across the immense plains of Western Australia; when cotton fabrics, manufactured in the Southern States, are sold in China and Japan; when locomotive engines built in the United States are traversing Siberia and our iron rails are laid in Burmah and India; when war vessels are built in our ship yards for Russia and Japan; when our machinery is at work in the mines of Africa—the Republican party, by a bill pending in Congress, purposes to advance our merchant marine (at the same time creating an auxiliary to our naval power), to a position somewhat commensurate with the necessities of this great commercial expansion. Every other maritime state long ago adopted this policy upon the soundest civil and military principles. The

same enlightened principle was the foundation of the Republican policy of aid by grants of land and in some cases by subsidies of money in the construction of canals and railways. The results as to land transportation and the expansion of the populated area of the country have been miracles of this miracle-working age. The land now needs the sea to dispose of its overwhelming production and the American people need their share of the lucrative returns to those "who go down to the sea in ships." But the Democratic party, subject to its incurable and degenerate atavism, standing as always with its face to the past and its back to the future, denounces this policy in the Kansas City platform as a "false pretense of prospering American ship building would put unearned millions into pockets of favored contributors to the Republican campaign fund." There is nothing small in a Democratic platform when it treats of money in any amount and this talk of increased millions "being put into the pockets of contributors to a Republican campaign fund" is simply magnificent mendacity.

Dollar and Man Together.

Mr. Bryan asserted at Indianapolis that there is a present conflict between the man and the dollar. As in these bounteous times of Republican policies dollarless men are scarce, it is pertinent to inquire how few dollars must a man have in order to be wronged by every other fellow who has a few more or many more dollars? What is Mr. Bryan's minimum? What is his maximum? Is it the field against \$5,000 or a farm or home worth \$5,000?

The fact is that the dollar and the man have been working together beautifully and profitably to each other for the last three years. How they did not so work for four years before everybody knows. More dollars have been paid for wages and for higher wages in the United States during President McKinley's administration than anywhere in any equal period of the world's history. That part of Mr. Bryan's speech at Indianapolis would have been heard with delight at Paterson, New Jersey, before a midnight conclave of anarchists.

But if the dollar is devouring the man, now at this instant, why not release the man by 16 to 1 right off? The Philippines and Aguinaldo can surely wait until the American citizen is released from the fangs of his own property. Why was Mr. Bryan silent at Indianapolis in the presence of such a devouring and paramount laceration?

What of Discarded "Issues."

And why like reticence respecting the income tax, that other panacea of reform and relief? 16 to 1 was taken out of the rag bag of the Chicago platform and exhibited at Kansas City, but the income tax was suffered to remain in that chiffonier of unfashionable, discredited, tattered and infected old clothes. Neither income tax nor 16 to 1 was produced at Indianapolis. Like the woman who rushed for the train hugging her band-box of finery and forgetting her twins, who were squalling for her in the waiting room of the station, Mr. Bryan starts on his political journey waving an imperial mantle and utterly forgets to fold to his breast and take with him this legitimate and duplex progeny.

The question as to the trusts (so-called) is one of the most important and difficult of the present time. It is not a question upon which parties are divided and opposed, for both parties condemn them. In the sense of being combinations to regulate production by crushing competition and to raise prices when competition ceases, they are unquestionably an evil of the greatest magnitude. They have always existed in every industrial and manufacturing nation and they have always been unlawful. There is another kind of combination to which the word "trust" in its later misuse does not properly apply, and that is those large consolidations of capital, intelligence and labor, made necessary by the vast extension of modern commerce, which stimulate the production of the raw material and change it into various forms of utility, and which, employing in a thousand ways skilled and unskilled labor of every description, pays immense sums in wages and cheapens the price of the ultimate and finished product.

Trusts of Two Sorts.

The trust of the first class is hostile to every material and social interest. The trust of the second kind is a most efficient agent in the creation of national

and personal prosperity. Demagogues may attempt to confound them, but the people will say that they differ essentially. The two are in fact hostile to each other, and nothing is more certain, unless all history is false, than that in time and by natural and economic processes the latter will exterminate the former even in their most thoroughly entrenched strongholds.

But in the meantime the action of government is necessary to assist as far as possible in extirpating the harmful and unlawful combinations.

The President in his last annual message called the attention of Congress to this subject in wise and comprehensive terms. That the only legislation which can completely remedy the evil was defeated is due entirely to the vote of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives.

The Republican party, by the Sherman act, passed during the administration of President Harrison, afforded remedial legislation upon this subject. That the remedy was not complete was not the fault of the statute, but was due to the limitations of our system of government.

The Constitution empowers Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states. The power of Congress is limited to that regulation. Production and commerce within any state are exclusively subject to state jurisdiction and are entirely exempt from federal regulation or interference. This has been so often decided by the Supreme Court as to become matter of common knowledge.

Power of State Control.

The forty-five states, exercising power within their exclusive sphere, have, with few exceptions, placed no limit upon the right or purposes of incorporation, or upon the capitalization of corporations or their power to do business in any manner or place, or upon their power to consolidate with each other. The states have seldom reserved any efficient right of visitatorial control.

Hence it is that Congress cannot adequately legislate as to the production and commerce within a state, even as to cases where the purposed ultimate destination of the product is another state, its power being limited to the regulation of interstate and foreign commerce. The state, on the other hand, cannot legislate respecting interstate and foreign commerce.

The deadlock thus produced by our constitutional system was so effectual that it was perfectly apparent that, if anything fully efficient were to be done by federal legislation, it must be under the authority of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The President having, as I have said, laid this subject before Congress, such an amendment was proposed by the Republicans in the House of Representatives during the last session. It provided that "Congress shall have power to define, regulate, prohibit or dissolve trusts, monopolies or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise. The several states may continue to exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States."

Democrats Favored the Trusts.

Here was such an opportunity as the Democracy had never had to demonstrate the sincerity of their declarations. The amendment came to a vote. The Democracy (with one or two exceptions) voted solidly against it. The Republicans (with one or two exceptions) voted for it. The Democrats could have furnished the votes necessary for the two-thirds vote required by the Constitution. They did not. They voted against the proposition with practical unanimity.

And upon what ground? Upon the ground that the proposed amendment would diminish the existing sovereignty of the states upon this subject. This is an assertion by them that it is a subject of state jurisdiction under the Constitution as it is, except as to interstate and foreign commerce. The Supreme Court has defined the limitations of legislation, as I have stated. The legislation which the Democracy vaguely promises would be void when tested by their own arguments and votes upon the amendment. In other words, the Democracy purpose, and have voted, to leave the power of legislation just where it now is, while the Republican party proposed to vest it in Congress to the fullest extent necessary.

In such a situation thus produced by them, how can they pretend that it is such a vital federal question, or that they, if in power, could give any federal

relief? They leave the remedy where it is, and the utter impossibility of unanimity of state action demonstrates that the Kansas City platform upon this subject is the merest "sounding brass."

Trusts Could Go Abroad.

But it is said place the products of unlawful combinations on the free list? This would attack the protective system and would not produce the desired result as to the combinations. The result would be to give business abroad to trusts formed or to be formed for purposes of manufacture there and exportation to this country. The European laborer and artisan would get the wages now paid to the American, and the American public would be under an uncontrollable dictation of prices by foreign combinations.

The Democratic party is an artist's model and will pose for any study. While it is declaiming against protection, trusts, monopolies, special interests and the tyranny of the dollar over the man, it is the champion and serf of the greatest of existing special unitary interests—that of the silver mine and of that hybrid, the mulatto 16 to 1 dollar. Its declared intention was four years ago, and now is, to make the people of the United States the enforced purchaser, by the United States, of all the silver that exists, or can be produced at a price about double its present market value, payment to be made by the government to the owner of silver.

Democrats in Many Trusts.

It is plain that trusts are not a party question. Men of all parties promote and otherwise engage in them. The late Governor Flower, an eminent Democrat, asserted, a short time before his death, that trusts are justifiable and beneficial to the public and advised every young man to get into one as quickly as he could. Trusts are not the offspring of Protection. There is no duty on petroleum and yet the Standard Oil Company has grown to be the most colossal monopoly the world has ever seen. Mr. Havemeyer, of the sugar trust, is a faithful Democrat. His raw material is unrefined sugar and it is taxed by a tariff. He wants free sugar for the profit of his trust and accordingly proclaims the tariff to be the mother of trusts—that is, of all trusts excepting his trust. There is no tariff on ice, yet the Democratic ice trust of New York is a flourishing concern. Mr. Van Wyck is one of its creators and is in it deep. He was a delegate to the Kansas City convention and, to prove that the great Democratic heart beat true to Humanity, oppressed by trusts, he was placed on the committee on resolutions to express correct principles upon a subject in which he is so deeply interested and of which he knows so much.

And so the Tammany tiger, with this Kansas City declaration about his neck, is imbedded and visible in a transparent block of Democratic trust ice.

Duty in the Boer War.

The administration of President McKinley has done its full duty to this country in the matter of the Boer war, and it owed no duty to any nation excepting the United States.

All history attests that humanity is so constituted that nations from the beginning of time have made wars upon other nations which were not justified by any standard of international morality or even by mere expediency. The people of neutral nations, who have no material concern in such wars, rightfully express their individual sympathies with one or the other belligerents. This moral force sometimes produces the most beneficial results. It sometimes, however, embitters the controversy and aggravates the injustice of the victor.

The duty of nations, as nations toward each other in such case is prescribed by rules which all experience has taught to be absolutely essential to maintain the peace of the world. The first and great rule is that each nation owes a primary duty to its own people, to preserve their peace and in every proper way to secure their advantage. From this cardinal obligation has grown the doctrine of neutrality, of absolute abstention from becoming a party to controversies between other states, except in cases where it is clearly demanded by the most imperative considerations of national safety or honor. The general observance of this duty has done more to keep the world at peace than any other human agency. Were it not observed mankind, as represented by nations, would be universally and continually at war.

Nations Their Own Judges.

Nations are independent of each other. Each judges for itself whether it shall go to war, continue at war and upon what terms war shall cease. In this equality of the independence of states no nation has the right to pass judgment upon the actions of any other nation. So long as wars shall be waged, they will in some cases be just and in other instances unjust and oppressive.

The United States has always observed this great and conservative principle of neutrality more scrupulously than any other nation. It has also inflexibly required its observance by other states in all controversies in which it has ever been engaged. It has been and it is now the great armed Neutral of the world, and from that status it has derived much of the high consideration in which it has been held by all other nations, and which it has never enjoyed so completely as it does today.

We were neutral between Spain and Cuba, when every impulse of human sympathy struggled against this performance of international duty. It was not until long after the conduct of Spain had become dangerous to our peace and safety; it was not until after American citizens had been imprisoned and executed in violation of the law of nations and of the specific guarantee of treaties; it was not until after that act of compendious murder, by the destruction of the Maine in the harbor of Havana, that the United States intervened by the war, the results of which have been so glorious to this government and to humanity.

Neutral in Many Instances.

In the year 1899 England and the South African Republics went to war with each other. I believe it to have been an unnecessary war and the Boers have had the sympathy of the American people. People sympathize with each other rightfully in such cases, but governments are great and distinct political personalities which, as to each other, are entitled to rights and are subject to liabilities. And when the popular sympathy, as it has so often done, demanded certain official action by this government as to the Boer war it asked the government to go beyond its legitimate scope of action.

France, at the close of the last century, was our ally. She rose from the dungeons of oppression and trampled upon their ruins. She smote her oppressors with the manacles which had bound her. She confronted confederated Europe. The world knew that with all the cruelties with which this infuriated priestess of liberty immolated her victims, she was fighting for human freedom, and for the rights of the common man and woman of our race. And yet the United States, under the advice and restraint of Washington, was neutral in act and expression, in opposition to the most insistent demands that we should array this government in favor of our ally by treaty, especially as against Great Britain, so recently our enemy.

When Germany continued against the French Republic the war which it had begun against Napoleon III, the United States was neutral in act and expression, although demand was not wanting that it should express its sympathy as a government, with the new Republic.

Would Resent English Interference.

With what resentment we would treat a declaration by the parliamentary body of any government in Europe denouncing our conduct as between Spain and Cuba, or condemning our occupancy and operations in the Philippines, questioning our title, stigmatizing our policy, anathematizing our alleged injustice.

During our Civil War Great Britain was not neutral. She committed no warlike act, but she failed to observe that abstract neutrality above defined. But her parliament passed no such resolutions as have recently been demanded of Congress. We resented bitterly the unfriendly and un-neutral acts and negligences of Great Britain. We triumphed in the Civil War, and then, under the shadow of the Alps which have brooded over the freedom of Switzerland for more than a thousand years, that Areopagus of the nations, the Geneva Tribunal condemned Great Britain to pay to the United States \$15,000,000 as the penalty for her passive negligence in performing the duty of neutrality.

Washington warned his countrymen against interference in European controversies, and yet these wise men of this generation would so involve us wherever human sympathy goes out in any controversy, no matter where its scene,

Not a Don Quixote.

The United States is not the Don Quixote of the nations. It has enough to do to attend to its own concerns, its own controversies, and in building deep, high and impregnable, wherever its sovereignty extends, an edifice of Freedom, temple at once and fortress, to receive and shelter every man who may seek its sanctuary.

President McKinley did not fail in the situation of which I am now speaking, to safeguard the interests of our country, and at the same time to perform, to the most extreme degree permissible, the beneficent acts which are warranted by the general principles of international law and by treaties. And in doing this he did what no king, emperor or other president has offered to do.

By the treaty of The Hague, which was ratified by the Senate early in the present year, and to which Great Britain is a party, it is stipulated as to controversies or wars between nations, that any other power may, without offense, tender its mediation or friendly offices to avert war or to stop it. The President of the United States, proceeding under this humane convention, and for these purposes, tendered the mediation and good offices of this government to Great Britain and the South African Republics. Great Britain rejected this offer. But by this tender the whole duty of the United States was performed by the President.

I repeat that in doing this he did what the head of no other government has offered to do—not even Holland, the mother country of the gallant Boers.

It is a pertinent question to ask these censors of a duty thus well performed what more extreme action they now ask this country to take? Have we not enough questions of our own to deal with?

Democrats Silent on China.

When the Republican party met in convention on the 19th day of June, 1900, the situation in China was so serious, concerning the safety of the legations in Peking and that of the missionaries throughout the empire, that the declaration was made in the Philadelphia platform that "the American government must protect the persons and property of every citizen whenever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril."

When the Democratic party declared its principles on the 5th day of July, 1900, there was no certainty and little hope as to the legations or the Americans throughout China. Conditions had become desperate.

The legations had been under siege and it was generally believed that the entire diplomatic body with their wives and children had been massacred by indescribable tortures and atrocities. Communications remained cut off. No articulate word of hope could be heard through the cloud of horror which had been interposed between Peking and the world. But the ear of humanity seemed to hear from behind that dreadful veil, the dying cries of men, women, children and babes, tortured, violated, killed, mutilated and thrown to dogs.

The Democratic convention was as silent as the Empress Dowager on this situation which had convulsed the entire body of European and American civilization. That convention of American Boxers proceeded and nominated two American mandarins. And these candidates and their oracles prated of imperialism and militarism when it seemed that all the military resources of this nation, and perhaps all the combined warlike power of civilization on land and sea would soon be under the severest tests of duty and danger they had ever been subjected to.

Why Were They Silent?

Why were the Democratic party and its candidates silent upon this agonizing topic? It was because to utter one sentence of sympathy, of patriotism, or of national duty or honor would refute their declarations respecting imperialism and militarism. It was that to pilfer power there is no recantation that the Democratic party will not make, no shame that it will not rejoice in, no outrage on liberty at home and abroad that it will not tolerate or condone, no detection

that it will not glory in, no act of apostasy that it will not commit, no pillory that it will not stand in unabashed.

Its history proves this. This is the free trade party which ran Horace Greely, that apostle of protection, for the presidency.

Where Are Cross and Crown?

This is the party that four years ago prophesied ruin, widespread and complete, to the people unless all silver offered should be bought by the United States and coined at once at a ratio of 16 to 1. Where are now the cross of gold and crown of thorns that were set up and exhibited four years ago in that political and hypocritical passion-play? They have been taken down and removed, pending the election merely, as mere stage properties. Another scenic illusion is on the boards:

—"the swelling act
Of the imperial theme"

is billed for performance and the "well graced actors" are fretting and strutting their hour upon the stage. The Democratic party was silent respecting our relations with China because to declare opinions upon that subject which the American people would not receive with contempt and spurn with disgust would cause the broomstick ghost of imperialism and militarism to vanish in an instant. So to speak would annihilate those "paramount issues," because it would admit what even the blind, when told, can perceive, even if they cannot see it, that the status, the occupation and the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines are at this moment and in this great crisis for civilization commanding and absolutely indispensable. They vindicate the wisdom of holding those possessions, unless the United States is to recede to the shores of the North American continent, become herself a little China, cancel herself as a factor in the great civilizing and commercial change in the Asiatic Orient, an event fully as important as the discovery of America by Columbus.

Conservatism and Courage.

There are few events in our diplomatic and military history more honorable than the consummate skill, the wise conservatism, and the unflinching courage by which the administration of President McKinley relieved our legation, and at the same time maintained proper relations with the Chinese Empire.

The policy of the United States as to China should, in my opinion, be this: It must rescue its citizens. It must exact indemnity for all injuries to their persons or property. It will insist that China shall observe all treaty stipulations and that, under any and all conditions of sovereignty, cession or foreign ascendancy the open door shall remain open. We shall use no military force for conquest and have no concert with any European power, except to rescue our citizens and theirs.

We covet no Chinese territory and we will acquire none.

We desire no territorial sphere of influence.

We will give no approval or support, physical, moral, or sentimental to the dismemberment of China, or to the extinction of her sovereignty by the acquisition of spheres of influence by any European power.

Regeneration of China.

All look for a regeneration of China as the result of the convulsions she is now suffering. It will come to pass not by the partition of that mighty and immemorial empire, but by its full entry into commercial relations with the other nations of the world. The process will not be a long one. It has been going on for fifty years and has become more perfect and extensive every year. When fully completed the United States will be the greatest participant in that trade of the Pacific which Humboldt predicted more than seventy-five years ago would be the greatest commerce that land and sea had ever known. We need cross but one ocean to grasp the "wealth of Ormus and of Ind." Europe must traverse four seas to share it. We can produce everything which that insatiable market can absorb, just as now we are producing and exporting our fabrics, textile, metallic and miscellaneous, to every market in the world, as the direct result of Republican economic policies put in force during our Civil War and steadily persisted in by that party ever since. This is manifest destiny; it is

written by an auspicious astrology upon the sky of a visible future. It will give 15 millions of people to our states of the Pacific coast; it will open a career to the talents of aspiring youth and in every way carry the United States far along on that course of national grandeur for which I firmly believe it was ordained.

Cannot Be Made Paramount.

But imperialism is not the paramount issue of the campaign and cannot be made so. The adjustment of any question as to the Philippines is to be considered after rebellion against the sovereignty and authority of the United States has been put down. The paramount issues this year are financial and economic. Shall the anti-protection party of 16 to 1 be put in power to advance its principles by all the enormous powers of executive influence in case Mr. Bryan is elected, and, win the first engagement in a campaign the next battle of which will be for the control of both houses of Congress?

The question for the plain people is, do they wish, with the instructions of a bitter experience, fresh and deep in their memories, to change or to submit to the chance of change that abounding prosperity which came with the election of President McKinley—a prosperity which no Democratic platform or speaker denies, and dare not rejoice in or even allude to. Aguinaldo can wait until the American people take “a bond of fate” if necessary by annihilating, for the preservation of their own domestic interests, the political combination which is at the same time their enemy and the aider and abettor of the Tagal rebels?

Arrayed as Favoring Rebellion.

The Democratic platform expressly arrays that party on the side of a rebellion against the United States. It declares that the United States is carrying on a “war of criminal aggression against the Filipinos.” This is the text of that solemn declaration of political principles, and it means that the operations of our troops in the Philippines are wrongful, unlawful and void.

It then demands that the United States, 1st, give to the Filipinos a stable form of government; 2nd, independence; 3rd, protection from outside interference similar to that extended to the South American states. These demands are stultified by the declaratory expressions of the platform. What right has the United States to establish any government whatever, stable or unstable, in the Philippines if these declarations are true?

To do so implies the right to dictate the form of that government, and to decide the question of stability without any regard whatever to the “consent of the governed,” and as the result of a war which the Democratic platform declares to be one of “criminal aggression.” And what right have we to impose our protection over them against interference by foreign powers? By such relations the United States would be involved in wars at the discretion of its own ward.

Monroe Doctrine Perverted.

The Monroe doctrine is perverted in this declaration. It is solely applicable, in the very nature of things, to the Western Hemisphere, and to the interests of the United States therein. It is prohibitory of the acquisition of North and South American territory by any European power. It does not prohibit any such power from waging war against any Central or South American Republic. War is the extremest interference by one government with another and Europe has done warlike acts many times against those states without any protection to them by us.

Again, if these declarations of principle are valid respecting the consent of the governed, what becomes of the entire doctrine of acquisition of territory by cession or conquest, if these must depend upon the consent of the people who have been perhaps for centuries the subjects of the ceding state? This is to declare that those subjects may determine, after the transfer of sovereignty by cession or conquest, that after all they will not consent to be governed by the acquiring state as they had been, for hundreds of years perhaps, by the ceding state. This is simply a declaration of the right of secession and rebellion at mere will and without cause. We quieted that heresy thirty years ago. I do not deny the right of revolution against tyranny. But here is no tyranny. The Democratic platform is the assertion of the right of any component part of any

nation to dissolve its allegiance as a matter of its own mere choice and preference, and not as a right vested by forfeiture of sovereignty by the oppressions of the sovereign state.

Declaration is Misapplied.

The Declaration of Independence has been misapplied. It contains no warrant for the principle that any portion of a people as a mere matter of choice or preference and with no cause excepting mere desire, can justify rebellion for no other reasons than these. That immortal monument declared as its justification that "the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states." The Declaration then sets forth the several acts and classes of these usurpations, each sufficiently criminal to forfeit the right of sovereignty. And it was for these specific reasons and "therefore" that the colonies were declared to be free and independent and absolved from all allegiance to the British crown.

If this platform is true every acquisition of territory that we have ever made has been subject to impeachment and defeat by the mere will of the inhabitants refusing to consent to be governed. Secession is thus declared to be a sacred right of nature, and the Union for which we fought was illegal and flagitious from the moment the Confederate States refused to consent to be governed.

Settled by Civil War.

And you, veterans of the Civil War, present here tonight in such numbers, many of you venerable by years, and all revered for your achievements; the rear guard of a generation which established this Union, and its Constitution, without the consent of the governed, on an everlasting basis; you who are marching to your last bivouac under the eternal arch of Triumph which you yourselves built, did you not hear in your weary marches, in your dreary camps, in your battles along the line of 2,000 miles from the Rio Grande to the Susquehanna that the war you waged was "a war of criminal aggression" because it was in violation of the great principle of "the consent of the governed?" You made but one answer, and that answer was that the war was made to maintain the sovereignty of the United States by overpowering a rebellion.

The principle of consent of the governed is not a justification for riot, insurrection, rebellion, treason, in such a case as is now presented in our possessions in the Philippines; it never was; it never will be.

Progress Follows Expansion.

The progress of humanity has from the beginning been accomplished by the extension of the sovereignty of the more civilized states over the barbarous or rudimentary or decaying nations. Condemn this process as visionaries may, it nevertheless has always persisted in its operations, and in every instance, after it has been accomplished, has been justified by its results. The good old word for this was "growth;" "expansion" is a later term and "imperialism" is a word of still later misapplication used to excite prejudices by an epithet.

Sovereignty necessarily implies enforced or acquiescent subordination and obedience. Otherwise the very first condition of human development through governments fails. To require the consent of the governed whose social and political condition is so imperfect as to be in fact hostile and dangerous to the civilization which has become sovereign over them, and dangerous to humanity itself, is simply to require that which Providence, when it established the laws of human evolution, never ordained.

American Growth Justifiable.

The settlement and subjugation of America were justifiable, and no one censures our forefathers for displacing every social and political element which they found on this continent, and in establishing this goodly frame of government which has grown to be so exceeding great as to stand in the van of civilization and power. Jefferson in the acquisition of Louisiana from France did not consider the consent of its inhabitants necessary, although probably thirty thousand people of European birth or derivation passed under our sovereignty by the treaty. And he governed Louisiana, first by executive order, and afterwards under the statutory authority of Congress by methods which would

be denounced today as unconstitutional by those who profess to be his disciples. The same observations may be made respecting the acquisition of Florida by James Monroe and John Quincy Adams and its government by Andrew Jackson, its first governor. The consent of the governed was not asked to the cession from Mexico. It was implied by the sovereignty of the ceding state.

The transfer of sovereignty from one state to another has always been legitimate, and this government has been a grantee in such transfers too often to permit it to question the validity of such transactions.

Spain had the sovereignty of the Philippines as completely as it had that of Florida, or as France had that of Louisiana, or Mexico that of the ceded provinces, or Russia that of Alaska, or the Republic of Hawaii that of the Hawaiian islands. Our title from Spain to the Philippines is as unquestionable as our title to any of the other cessions. The present armed resistance against that title is rebellion and treason abetted by the Democratic party.

Bryan Aided the Treaty.

While the commissioners were negotiating the treaty of Paris not a word came from this country, from sea, or shore or the chambers of the air that they should not insist upon the cession of those islands. It was not until it was seen that a party advantage might be gained by resisting the treaty in the Senate that any Democratic opposition was displayed. But Mr. Bryan appeared in Washington and urged its ratification by the Senate. He suggested no amendment, the adoption or rejection of which would justify his present theories. The words that "the civil rights and political status of the native, inhabitants of the territory thereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress," were in the treaty and were directly in opposition to his present contention and yet no amendment was suggested. Twenty million dollars were to be paid to put what to him is now "a barren scepter * * * in an unlineal hand," yet no amendment was suggested that would have saved this enormous sum by rejecting the cession entirely and allowing Spain to retain the islands. Mr. Bryan says that he advised the ratification of the treaty in order to stop the war. But the war had been stopped for months by an armistice which by its terms was to continue pending the negotiations, and the consideration of any treaty by the Senate is a part of its negotiations.

No Consent of Governed There.

In other words, Mr. Bryan advised that the United States take from Spain unqualified sovereignty over the Philippines, without suggesting or advising any amendment or saying a single word about "the consent of the governed," with the prominent clause standing in the convention conferring upon Congress the right to determine the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants. Nor was a word heard of the limitations or prohibitions of the constitution.

At a later date, and as accessory to the Aguinaldo rebellion "the consent of the governed" became all at once very dear to the Democratic heart. Without that consent they never, never, could or would consent to govern anybody. They registered this sentiment in the platform which was read to the convention by Senator Tillman, and this particular declaration must have cloyed his tongue with its sweetness while he uttered it. Mr. Van Wyck was on the committee on resolutions to see that trusts were properly denounced. Senator Tillman was on the same committee to take care that the divine principle of "the consent of the governed" should be piously expressed and devoutly read.

Tillman on Consent.

On the 26th day of February, 1900, in the Senate of the United States, the bill for the government of Hawaii being under consideration, Mr. Tillman, speaking of the disfranchisement of native born American citizens in South Carolina, said: "We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them. We are not ashamed of it. The Senator from Wisconsin would have done the same thing. I see it in his eye right now. He would have done it. With that system—force, tissue ballots, etc., we got tired ourselves. So we called a constitutional convention and we eliminated, as I said, all of the colored people whom we could under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments."

I cite this utterance not so much for the purpose of reading it as a confession of fraud, ballot box stuffing and murder, as to show that the Democratic

party in South Carolina secured the "consent of the governed" by the commission of these crimes, and to ask how they can assert that the war in the Philippines by this government is one of "criminal aggression" waged to establish a government against "the consent of the governed."

Disfranchised in the South.

The constitution of Mississippi, which disfranchised half the voters of that state, is merely a contrivance to entice the "consent of the governed." The recent election in North Carolina, when its United States Senators were not allowed to speak in many places in their own state, where electors, white and black, were driven from the place of registry and the polls by bands of armed men uniformed in red shirts (what a contrast in attire and purpose to the apparel and purpose of the Rough Riders) was merely persuasive of "the consent of the governed."

And when the black regiments which are now fighting for the flag and to sustain the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines return home, many of them, standing in uniforms, before the polling places in these states will doubtless each be informed that as one of the governed he must consent to be prevented from voting.

Sovereignty to be Maintained.

The immediate duty of this government as to the Philippines is to maintain its sovereignty and to crush the rebellion against it. What its constitutional powers and limitations are can be more profitably discussed and considered after the authority of the United States shall have been firmly established. The limitations of this occasion do not afford the opportunity to enter into an elaborate discussion of these constitutional topics. I do not believe that that instrument contains any disabling inhibitions which will prevent this government from governing and governing those islands as their best interests may demand and according to the capacities of their people. No such difficulties intervened in the administration of Louisiana, Florida, or the territory which we acquired from Mexico. Congress legislated at the last session in regard to the government of Alaska in some particulars entirely unwarranted by the constitution, if the disabling construction placed upon it by our opponents is correct.

There are certain large and general considerations, however, which, to my mind, demonstrate that the authority to govern these dependencies is vested in Congress subject to no disabling limitations of certain provisions of the constitution, which, because they are inapplicable to such a situation, never could have been designed by the framers to apply to it.

The Union One Nation.

By the adoption of that instrument the United States became a complete and perfect nation. The constitution did not in this act of creation disable and maim the great political body corporate which it created. It breathed into it the breath of a full sovereign life, as complete and perfect as that of any other nation with which it must exist in comparison, in relations, and sometimes, in competition. The founders did not intend to make and they did not make an imperfect state, fettered and disabled in its very citadel. Accordingly, Congress was empowered to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy. The President was empowered, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties. These grants of power are general and without limitations. They necessarily imply, in order to give them full force, the existence of all the powers that any government can possess, to acquire territory, by conquest and by treaty, for safety, for indemnity or any other purpose, as the condition of beginning or terminating a war, and they also necessarily imply, to the same extent, the power to govern that territory. The idea that the United States, empowered to make war and to conclude treaties of peace, is, at the conclusion of a successful war, absolutely disabled by its own constitution from exacting cession of territory and from governing territory for its security, indemnity or advantage finds in my opinion no warrant whatever in any provision of that instrument. But its framers did not leave room for the least doubt upon this question.

Legislating for Possessions.

In an article, separate from that one which contains the enumeration of limitations upon the powers of Congress, it is provided that "the Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." The Confederation had acquired the Northwest Territory, and had provided for its government, by the ordinance of 1787 passed the year before the adoption of the constitution. [That ordinance was re-affirmed among the first legislative acts after the adoption of the constitution.] It was extended to many territories which were established in domains thereafter ceded. It was clearly foreseen that a constitution for the "United States of America" might not in all its provisions be entirely applicable to possessions then existing or to be thereafter acquired, and accordingly this particular section became a part of the organic law, qualifying whenever necessary whatever might be inconsistent by its express grant of power to Congress upon this particular subject. Upon this question nothing more judicious has been said than the expression of the Supreme Court of the United States by Mr. Justice Bradley:

"Doubtless Congress in legislating for the territory would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the constitution and its amendments; but these limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the constitution, from which Congress derives all its powers, than by any express and direct application of its provisions."

Mr. Webster said in 1848:

"As to the power of Congress, I have nothing to add to what I said the other day. Congress has full power over the subject. It may establish any such government and any such laws in the Territories as in its discretion it may see fit. It is subject, of course, to the rules of justice and propriety, but it is under no constitutional restraint."

Not Disabled by Constitution.

Many other nations who have acquired and are governing distant dependencies are either constitutional monarchies or republics with grants and limitations of power as definite as our own. This is true of England, Germany, Italy, France and Holland. These are liberty-loving people and as jealous as we are, of any encroachment upon the safeguards and restriction of their constitutions, but in governing their vast dependencies they have done so by legislative enactments fitted to the situation and the capacity of the dependent peoples. I believe it never was heard before that any constitutional government with the full and complete powers of a nation was disabled by the very instrument which created it from the acquisition of territory by the consideration that it would be impossible to govern it when acquired. Speaking my own opinion I would hold the Philippines permanently and not provisionally. I would, from time to time as their people demonstrate their capabilities, give them the very fullest power of self-government they are capable of exercising. I would do as Great Britain did with a race of the same stock in the Straits Settlements where fifty years ago she found a barbarous population ruled by three separate sultans, making war on each other and infesting the seas with piracy. Little by little she has given them self-government until their self-administration is now almost complete. It is one of the most productive, prosperous and peaceful communities in the world. It is loyal to the mother state and its soldiery stands ready to be marshalled in arms for the protection of her sovereignty and of civilization in China.

No Sovereignty Over Cuba.

Mr. Bryan, in his speech of acceptance, declares that if elected he will convene Congress in extraordinary session at once and recommend first, the establishment of a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Filipinos just as we have promised to give independence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny.

I have elsewhere considered the self-contradictory character of these propositions as tested by the declarations of the platform adopted at Kansas City. I will only add that the conditions and situation as to Cuba and the Philippines are not the same. We never had sovereignty over Cuba, we have sovereignty

over the Philippines. When we intervened as between Cuba and Spain the Cubans were in arms fighting for their independence and were practically belligerents. When we invaded the Philippines the natives were not in arms. We never promised to give independence to them and they did not demand it at that time. Before we invaded Cuba, in the very declaration of war against Spain, this government did promise to give independence to that island. We made no such promise as to Porto Rico. Our title to Porto Rico and the Philippines rests on the same incontestable basis, and yet I have not heard that even the Democracy purposes or wishes to erect Porto Rico into an independent state.

Bryan Shrinks from Responsibility.

In declaring that he will convene Congress for these purposes Mr. Bryan shrinks from the logical consequences of his own position. If elected President of the United States he will become the commander-in-chief of the army and navy conducting a war which he and the platform upon which he stands assert to be a "criminal aggression" against a people who ought to be independent. As such commander-in-chief, holding to such principles he would have the right to withdraw every man from the Philippines, cause our squadron to sail out of Manila Bay, to entirely evacuate the Archipelago, and—to use his own language—leave their people to work out their destiny. As President he could recognize the existence and independence of the Philippine Republic. A bold man, holding such views as these and with such powers, would say that he intended to exercise them, but here Mr. Bryan halts and recoils. He purposes to throw the responsibility upon Congress, well knowing that with a Republican Senate and House of Representatives no such action as he proposes to recommend would receive the least sanction.

Militarism a Bugbear.

I shall not detain you with any discussion of this bug-bear of Militarism. We are crippled today by inadequacy of our military force in performing our manifest duties as to our people in China. The events in that empire demonstrate, as did our unprepared condition at the beginning of the Spanish war, how suddenly and unexpectedly crises may arise which will call for the exercise of our military power and find it entirely lacking. A nation of seventy-five millions of free people, vast in extent, need have no fear that an empire will be erected upon the ruins of the republic by the scattered forces of an army of one hundred thousand men.

But if an increased army leads to militarism so does an increased navy, and yet we hear no word of protest from the Democratic party against that because such a protest would be carrying the argument too far; and yet a navy, in the establishment of militarism or imperialism, could reduce our coast cities, could attack Washington, could hold the arsenals and strategic points on all our shores and do as much as, and possibly more, than an army could towards the overthrow of this government or the change of its form. A small Brazilian navy did this once as to Brazil and attempted it again. The truth is there is no danger from either of these great arms of our military service. They are the right hand and the left hand of our power at home and abroad. Their officers and men are as loyal, as Grant and Sherman and Sheridan and Farragut and Porter and Worden and their soldiers and sailors were in their time.

Magnificent History of the Party.

If the existence of the Republican party should be closed today its history would be that of the Union saved, of a protective system under which the United States has become the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, of a general industrial development which sustains 75,000,000 of people, of a financial system which has created an unimpeachable credit, of all the blessings which civilization can confer upon humanity.

But its existence will not end this year, nor for many years to come. Its august mission is not yet performed. So long as it represents, as it does now, national prosperity and honor, national growth with renown and right, national prestige in the relations of the United States with foreign powers as the result of the neutrality of a puissant nation, safe in the enjoyment of all its rights, because of its manifest ability to cause other nations to respect them, the Republican party will shape the destinies of the American people.



ADDRESS OF

HON. JAMES H. ECKELS,

EX-COMPTROLLER OF THE CURRENCY.

TO

LABORING MEN

DELIVERED AT THE

AUDITORIUM, CHICAGO, ILL.,

Friday Evening, October 5th, 1900.

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
THE BUSINESS MEN'S SOUND MONEY ASSOCIATION,
CHICAGO.



FELLOW CITIZENS:

I propose in this campaign, as a Democrat, to support William McKinley, the nominee of the Republican party for re-election to the Presidential office, and on that behalf, I am upon this platform.

I appreciate the signal compliment which the Sound Money Business Men's League pay in extending to me an invitation to address, upon the questions now at issue, so representative a body of workmen of this city



JAS. H. ECKELS.

as are here gathered, and I thank them for it. I trust that before I am done, if any entertain the logical deduction to be drawn from the expressed views of Mr. Bryan, that bankers in particular, and business men in general, are joined in a conspiracy to rob and degrade labor, that judgment will undergo a revision and that instead they will believe the interests of capital and labor lie along the same lines and that in the advance of the one is wrought out the well being of the other.

The fact may well challenge the thoughtful attention of every laboring man that nowhere do the declaration of principles of the Democratic party as to-day consti-

tuted, or the utterances of the Democratic candidate appeal to any business interest, whether that interest be small or great. In every section of the country business men, no matter what the calling, repudiate them as violative of all sound rules of business conduct and destructive of those underlying principles upon which the common welfare of the successful commercial world must rest. On analysis the laboring man will find that this almost universal rejection of Bryanism, by those who are conducting the great affairs of finance, of manufacturing, of trade and commerce, and who in the very order of things are giving the largest measure of employment to labor, does not arise from a selfish, a political or class prejudice, as Mr. Bryan would have them believe, because neither enter into the forming of that opinion. It is their knowledge of the subject, gained through study, and their knowledge gained through experience in transacting business affairs, which uniformly unite in a verdict against the issue promulgated by a debauched democracy and a theorizing populism. They do not wish to evade any legal responsibility, to pay less than their just proportion of taxes, to treat unjustly their employes or to deal unfairly with the public. They want only stability in money, equity in law, and wisdom of word and action in the Executive. They distrust Mr. Bryan, because he has made it impossible for them to trust him.

The question which I submit with confidence to the laboring man is, who has most at stake in this country, the business man whose energy, thrift and venture of capital, has made possible its greatness, or the political demagogues who are going up and down the country preaching a gospel of discontent, arraying class against class and proclaiming doctrines, which if enforced would bring widespread and far-reaching disaster upon every interest which now stands for the use of capital and the employment of labor? Who to-day are employing the thousands upon thousands of men in mine and mill, in furnace and factory, upon the railroads and the waters, in store and office? Are they the Bryans or the Tillmans, the Altgelts or the Weavers, the Townes or the Crokers? I call your attention to the fact that these men and all their associates who write the platforms, map out the policies and control the action of the Democratic party as to-day that party reveals itself, are men who know no calling but politics and contribute nothing to the support of their fellows beyond the emoluments of such political offices as they may by chance secure. If once eliminated from politics they will find, Othello like, their occupation gone. I assert that these men are not as well equipped either in word or deed, to so well counsel with labor as are those who are in the daily life of business undertakings. I assert with still greater emphasis that any party which by wedding itself to unsound and destructive doctrines, has so completely eliminated all employers of labor from its councils, and made impossible their support of its candidates, is not to be trusted with the power to legislate for either labor or capital. Its influence would be injurious to the interests of both; its acts destructive to that financial fabric, the maintenance of the integrity of which is essential to the well being of all. Remember you citizens who toil day in and day out and thereby upbuild the country, I beg of you to remember before you give in adhesion to the cause of Mr. Bryan and his party as against the advice of the business world, that by so doing you embrace the tenets of a party solely of politicians, controlled wholly for the benefit of politicians, and by politicians alone. I do not believe as a business proposition, you can, from the standpoint of your own good and the good of those dependent upon you, afford to take the risk to which you are invited. I am certain, despite some individual injustice here and individual injustice there, you are better off at present and will be in the future, by acting with those who employ labor and not making common cause with men, who neither themselves labor outside of the realm of politics for their own advancement, nor give employment to others.

But there is another phase of this question which we cannot overlook. If Mr. Bryan stands for any one thing more than another it is in his antagonism to all forms of aggregated wealth. If he is to be believed the country is menaced by the fact that each returning year shows the American people to have accumulated greater wealth. He selects above all else, the bank, as the institution which threatens most and the banker as finding his source of employment in enriching himself at the expense of distressing poverty to his fellows. I may be pardoned if, in discussing

this phase of Mr. Bryan's indictment against what he terms trusts I speak with at least as much practical knowledge and experience as he does. I submit, without fear of successful contradiction, that a bank, whether it be a National, State, or private one, properly conducted and honestly managed, instead of being a cause of detriment to any community or harmful to any interest, public or private, is a source of strength and benefit. I allege further that no one is more benefited by such institutions than labor. Over and beyond the distinctive feature of the good of savings departments, providing a safe and profitable place for labor's earnings, rests the greater good accomplished by the bank, in gathering to itself the surplus money of the country which would lie in idleness, and directing it into proper channels of trade and commerce, thus making it possible to carry on the thousand undertakings which furnish the daily wage of labor. It is the bank which furnishes the life blood of trade; the bank that utilizes for labor over and over again the fruits of labor; the bank that makes accumulated capital a potential force in a world wide development that each recurring year makes this country the wonderment of its own people and the astonishment of sister nations. The laborer ought not to lose sight of the fact that if it was not for the assistance of banks in granting to the manufacturers necessary credit during the process of manufacturing that wages might be met before payment for the finished article is received from the purchaser, in almost every great institution, operation would either be greatly reduced or cease altogether. It bridges over that period essential to the laborer between the day of the raw material and the payment for the finished, a period when the manufacturer must of needs have borrowed capital. Herein is the importance of the commercial bank and the necessity of it to the business and laboring world. The country's faith in it as a mighty agency for good, and the integrity of those who have to do with it, could have no stronger attestation than is shown in its total of thirteen millions depositors representing seven thousand five hundred, and fourteen millions of dollars of deposits. And who make up the six millions depositors whose reserved capital gained from toilsome labor is lodged in savings banks, to the extent of two thousand four hundred and thirty-six millions of dollars? Who but the laboring man? Within the past year the number of such depositors have increased four hundred and ten thousand, while to their deposits have been added two hundred and five millions of dollars. In Illinois alone there are to-day two hundred and nine thousand as against one hundred and sixty-four thousand savings bank depositors a year since. In the light of such fact will any laboring man believe the men he trusts with all this hard earned wealth will pursue a course which will injure him and destroy his savings? Nay more, will he not go out against those who preach a monetary doctrine which would diminish by half that he has saved and defeat them at the polls?

I would impress upon the laboring man both now and in my discussion of the money question how great his interest is in maintaining the integrity of the banking systems of this country. In the debasement of the currency of the country and in that general assault upon banks which would

follow the inauguration of Mr. Bryan's policies, nowhere would disaster fall more quickly and more completely than upon savings institutions. It is here are kept the means of those who can least afford to lose their surplus available capital, while the securities held by them are largely government and railroad obligations, the value of which, under a depreciated currency, would be greatly diminished. The injury done to the creditors of national banks would be comparatively no greater than that done to those of savings ones, though such could better stand it. And yet even in the face of this mighty burden of responsibility which you have voluntarily placed upon him, Mr. Bryan would have the country believe that the banker prospers in the distresses of the people. I deny the doctrine as unsound in reason and untrue in fact. The prosperity of the banker must always rest in the prosperity of the community and the nation. He cannot thrive when factories are idle, stores closed and bankruptcy everywhere in evidence. Does Mr. Bryan dare assert that the banker increased his riches in 1893 and the years immediately following, when failure was to be noted in every section of the country and labor everywhere idle? If he does he has failed to study the statistics of those days, for then was demonstrated the economic truth of the inter-dependent relations of capital and labor in periods of depression and prosperity.

There can be no money trust on the part of the banks of this country to the loss of the people. What has been the result of the multiplying of banks, the enlargement of banking capital, the increase of available bank deposits? Who does not know of the continued falling of interest rates, the wider loaning of money, the decrease of the cost of exchange and collections between distant points, the facilitating of trade, making through the joint efficiency of bank and telegraph the business marts of the whole round world, the place of meeting of the men of commerce of every city and community, no matter how distant. Within the narrow limit of my own years, I have seen the rate of interest in Illinois, and the same history follows the better banking facilities in every State of the Union, fall from twelve to ten per cent., from ten to eight, from eight to six, and from six in this city to four and less. The small borrower to-day buys his borrowed money for six per cent. instead of eight, the farmer his mortgage money at five, and all because this moneyed octopus, which Mr. Bryan and his political adherents decry, has increased in strength and spread its operations everywhere. What has labor lost by this? Surely nothing, for in the cheapening of the rate of money and credit, the use of which the banker sells to the man of business, his employer has been enabled to take on a wider scope of operation and increase the number of those whom he employs.

I do not detract from the pre-eminent qualities of banks in other systems, when I say that in all this beneficial advance for good to the people, the National bank has had the commanding position. It has been no parasite, drawing its sustenance from the people without giving in return. It has through the uniformity of its organization, methods and control made credits interchangeable everywhere throughout the Union. It has been the cheapening force in lowering interest rates by educating the people to a

general use of banks, and thereby making capital available. It has paid millions upon millions of taxes to the government in excess of any disbursements on its behalf. And it has given to the people a currency absolutely safe and everywhere current. It does not to-day issue currency as the principle of its creation, but as an incident to it. Mr. Bryan, if the truth were known, attacks that currency, not because of the power to issue it being lodged in the National banks, but because he stands as the nominee in the first instance of a political organization which is against a redeemable currency. The party to which he is most closely allied is the party of irredeemable greenbacks and kindred fiat issues, and Mr. Bryan as their especial champion assaults the note issue of the National banks in order to pave the way for a government note possessing no other value than the stamp of the federal government. In all this controversy, let us not for a single moment lose sight of the fact that Mr. Bryan and his adherents are the advocates of a fiat money, differing only in degree as they apply their theories to silver or paper, but not in principle. The wild vagaries of the Greenback party were defeated more than twenty years ago. Are the American people now willing to resurrect them and vitalize an issue then held to be productive only of harm?

A single word as to the patriotism of bankers and I am done with this branch of my subject. Mr. Bryan by his charges impugns their patriotism and good faith. To his slander I reply by asking whenever was the government of this great nation, in its early days or in later years, in periods of foreign war or civil strife, or in the piping times of peace in pressing need that the banker with the millions at his command failed to give aid and succor in upholding the country's credit and the nation's financial integrity. While others doubted the country's solvency and withdrew gold from treasury and vault to hoard, he, full-firm in his faith in the ultimate integrity of the nation, aided the maintenance of national solvency to the benefit of all. In view of such a history I ask with all confidence, are not the interests of labor better safe guarded by the political views of that organization which gathers to itself in this campaign the support of an interest which you have trusted and are still trusting than with a party whose leadership rests wholly in the keeping of self seeking politicians?

The difficulty with Mr. Bryan's statesmanship is that it is a statesmanship of prejudice, class distinctions and misinformation. It is a statesmanship which takes no thought of the morrow, but contents itself with the political advantage of today. I venture the statement that in all the range of American political annals there never has appeared a public man who has illumined so many different questions with so much misinformation. The leadership of Mr. Bryan found its origin in the peculiar conditions of the world of business and labor four years since. It has maintained itself, because in the Bryanizing of the organization, the democracy has been denuded of every leader of thought, sagacity, and high political principle. It has now neither ability for political organization, nor capacity for wise, safe or conservative constructive legislation. In the last analysis the leadership of Mr. Bryan demonstrates itself to begin and end in a denunciation

6

or the existing order of things. Is it safe to trust the governmental control of a great nation in the keeping of a man who sees nowhere anything to commend; who is quick to charge conspiracy and dishonesty upon great numbers of people, who in daily life draw to themselves the respect of all their fellows? What thoughtful and inquiring citizen will from a knowledge of Mr. Bryan's past erroneous discussion of these paramount economic problems believe him capable of bringing about a proper solution of present ones? In the campaign upon which we have now entered the Democratic candidate, changing from the issue announced at the opening as paramount, has taken up the discussion of the trust question. I do not misstate the fact, I think, when I say he is discussing this issue in the manner which has characterized all the other discussions with which he has favored the public. He does not undertake to go into the merit of the question, for that would not be Bryanesque. He knows that such a course must eliminate the political advantage which he seeks for his party to his own advancement, and therefore he does not make it. The argument which he makes is addressed to prejudice, backed up by misstatements, illogical in presentation and unfair in deduction. There is no man of any prominence today standing in defense of illegal combinations of capital, whether great or small, formed for the purpose of throttling all competition, raising the price of articles of consumption and burdening the people. But there are a vast number who, recognizing the economic soundness in the added volume of business to be obtained through aggregated capital, properly brought together and wisely managed, deny that from such any harm flows to either the consumer or the laborer. They go further, and assert, with an emphasis not to be mistaken, that far from being harmful, such combinations are on the contrary productive of good, most of all to the laboring man. I am not speaking for combinations illegal, unsound and unsafe, but solely for those which, though large in the amount of capital invested, have regard for all the rules which control in ordinary business affairs. On principle, I do not perceive why there is more harm or danger to the interests of the citizen because a thousand men are employed by one concern instead of one hundred, or a million dollars of capital invested rather than one hundred thousand.

The misinformation which is on every hand upon this subject has arisen from an insistence upon a discussion of it in the light of partisan politics instead of in that of economic truth and history. If those who are now protesting so vigorously against what they deem the baneful effects of so-called trusts, would better inform themselves we would have more reason and less declamation from press and platform. I am sure I do not misdefine the term when I say that what they call a "trust" is not a trust at all, but merely the concentration of capital or labor, or capital and labor, for a specific, legitimate purpose. It is the unification of the resources of many for the common welfare. In political life it ultimately assumes the form of government; in finance it results in systems of banking, upholding the transactions of the business world; in transportation it finds fruition in railroads and steamboat lines; industrially it evidences itself in manufac-

turing plants, in mines and mining and the thousand forms of industry which make for an advanced state of civilization. It is, I assert, the highest development of a complicated and efficient form of civilization, made more manifest as man is more and more removed from the influence of ignorance and barbarism.

The railroad development of this country, though the illustration is not new, affords ample demonstration of the point I wish to make. Its history illustrates the process by which consolidations are effected and the beneficial results to all through such a process. Fifty years ago the railroads were in the hands of numerous corporations. Each line had a different gauge. Freight shipped a thousand miles had to be changed from car to car in transit many times. Every change meant the rehandling of the freight, injury to it and delay. No matter how small the road there was of necessity a full complement of officers. By consolidating, as it was called in an early day, or by creating a trust, as Mr. Bryan would now term it, it was found that uniformity of gauge could be secured, many officers dispensed with, a single handling of freight suffice to transport it to any distance, and a reduction of freight charges effected, without decreased earnings. The decreasing of freight charges was an invitation to ship more freight, with the resultant effect that after these consolidations were brought about the business of railroads grew as no other business ever grew in this country, and as it grew it furnished more avenues for the employment of labor, with compensation commensurate with the employment. And now the railroad has reached such a point that no one would be so foolhardy as to contend that railroad consolidations were not of the greatest benefit to all the people. I doubt if any one, Populist, Silver Republican or Bryanized Democrat, would advocate the return to the era of small lines separately managed, and the abandonment of consolidated lines with one head which now connect the great business centers of the country. The advantage of it all is seen in cheap freights, more speed, more conveniences and better services every way.

The same thing is going on today in the manufacturing and industrial interests of the country. In manufacturing two elements make up the total cost to the manufacturers. On the one hand the actual cost of production, and on the other the managerial and office expenses. In a consolidation a large portion of the managerial expense, which is considerable, is dispensed with, and it is this, which is an important inducement, coupled with the promise of securing a larger business because of a larger concentrated capital invested under one management for the consolidation. The laboring man who actually produces the material and the finished article cannot be dispensed with, but the numerous officers may be, and hence the effect is upon the latter and not upon the former. There is no one who will fail to readily understand how a machine which does away with the services of a man who gets, if you please, six hundred dollars a year, will cheapen production; why then will not dispensing with an officer who gets ten times as much cheapen production just so much the more? No one can honestly contend that the combination of these plants diminishes their

production for any considerable length of time, and so long as production is not reduced the laboring man is not injured. The object of the combination is to get more business and not less, as well as to save expense. More than this under centralized management when demand slackens, an adjustment of labor can be so arranged that complete idleness never results to all as follows in the case of smaller concerns with a lessened volume of business. It is the cheapened cost of the production of the individual article that brings it into more general use, makes requisite the employment of more labor, and adds to the wealth of the nation. And unless the combination is able to furnish to the consumer an article equally good at a lessened cost, the plant which is outside of it will make impossible the swallowing up of all the business in the line in which engaged. I submit that if combination of capital neither fixedly increases the price to the consumer, nor diminishes the number of laborers, nor the amount of wage, it cannot be either a menace to society or a detriment to the public good.

The fact is and Mr. Bryan on investigation would have ascertained it, that as a rule labor is more steadily employed and better paid under corporations having a large invested capital and employing many men, than under those having a small capital and a few men. In such a corporation there is always an ability and power to adjust the work which under any circumstances is large, to the prevailing situation, so that at no time are all the men idle for any considerable length of time. The wage question with such is more easily settled and for a longer length of time, for as a rule the manager and the laborer readily recognize the beneficial results to both of co-operation and combination.

The two years which have passed have witnessed an extraordinary development of industrial and other combinations. And what has been the result? I assert that neither the laborer nor the consumer has suffered by any one or all of them. In the case of improperly formed and overwatered ones, the investing public have here and there sustained losses, but in the ones where business sense intervened before, held sway during and prevailed after the formation of such combination, the investor, who was not a mere speculator, has in every instance received assured dividends. The legitimate investor's stock has not found its value in the varying quotations of the market list, but in the thing itself. Mr. Bryan, with his usual wanton recklessness, fails to draw the distinction between the use of large capital in an enterprise at a number of different points and those combinations which, formed in violation of law, are lawless in their operations. Denunciation of all, serving best his purpose, he follows such a course. I wish to call the laboring man's attention to this very important fact in the matter of these combinations of capital in industrial undertakings—namely, that by means of them the manufacturers of the United States have, within the period during which they have existed, gained to themselves the markets of the world for American manufactured products. And what does such a triumph mean? It means more goods manufactured here, more labor employed here, steadier work here, and a more satisfactory wage. The excess of our exports over our imports bespeaks the fact that we are now, having

applied to our natural resources, under intelligent centralized management, the aggregated capital of many weak concerns in one, manufacturing for the world and laboring for the world. As long as conflicting interests warred upon one another, with capital diversified, with labor struggling to adjust wages with many heads instead of a few, with policies and methods all at variance, it was impossible for us to enter successfully in competition with nations where the capital employed was larger and the wage paid cheaper. In all this evolution in our industrial world, I reassert that no loss has come to labor. The economies introduced have not reached to him. On the other hand, whatever changes have been wrought, and there have been many, have been to his advantage. His more general and steadier employment during the past two years attest this fact. The saving which has been made under the new order of things has been in dispensing with the cost of middlemen and unnecessary management is to his benefit. If prices at the outset to the consumer were increased, it arose more from extraordinary and immediate demand after the years of retrenchment and idleness, and not from other causes. As that abnormal condition passes away and we settle down to a normal one, two things will become manifest. First, a cheapened price to the consumer, with a lessened profit to the manufacturer; second, little or no disturbance in the wage of the employee, despite the falling market to the employer. The reason for such a state, hitherto unknown, rests in aggregated capital having now the ability to gather to itself world wide markets, finds its source of gain in the large increasing of its volume of business at a lessened individual profit. As an offset, in the increased volume the manufacturer will look for his dividends and not in a reduction of labor cost.

I again submit that if combination of capital neither increases the price to the consumer, nor diminishes the number of laborers, nor the amount of wage, it cannot be either a menace to society or a detriment to the public good. It certainly does not present such a situation in the country's affairs as to demand unusual laws or extraordinary action. The laws which apply to the dealings of daily business life I deem sufficient, the laws which make requisite common honesty and fair dealing between man and man. I am certain that in so far as the laborer and employer are concerned their best interests lie in the direction of closer relations established, more mutual confidence entertained and the cultivation of that deep sense of respect the one towards the other, which always has regard for individual right and justice. I am not a believer in that which during the period of the French Revolution was termed "the all powerfulness of the law" as the best means of adjusting rights between labor and capital. Neither have I faith in that increasing desire on the part of the public to rush in on all occasions with suggested settlements, but I do believe in the efficacy of a mutual regard and respect, a mutual recognition of rights, a willingness to treat upon a plane of justice and fair dealing with labor on the part of the employers, whether individual or associated, and a reciprocal course of conduct of labor with those with whom their daily welfare is most closely associated. In short I am against the interference with the affairs of employer and employe by demagogic law makers, blattant politicians and self-appointed leaders seek-

ing personal and political advantage. As against all these I would set for labor the wise counsels of those of their own rank who are not in politics and the business sense of right and justice of their employers. Such a course will work out for them and their's a greater individual prosperity and happiness, a stronger place in public esteem for their varied associations, and a condition when labor's difficulties with employer and employer's with labor will come to be the impossible thing, no longer marring the lines of the business world and working distress and loss to those involved therein.

But there is still a more potential reason which I now propose to discuss why labor should refuse to vote for Mr. Bryan and endorse his political principles. It is his boast that he yet stands by the utterances of the Chicago platform, which a cowardly and subservient party at his dictation reaffirmed at Kansas City. What does the reaffirmation of that platform mean? It means if once intrusted with power the Democratic party, under the guidance and leadership of their chief executive would attempt to give the force of enacted law to the issues to which it is by it pledged, an attempt that in itself would breed constant uncertainty and distrust. By the pronouncement of its own platform it would, if able, abrogate the right of private contract and thereby put a premium upon dishonesty and evasion of just obligations. It is against the inforcement of law and order by the lawfully constituted authorities in opposition to the will of mob law, if it speaks its true beliefs in its party preaching. It is against the country's courts of justice and the majesty of law, as that majesty finds expression in the Supreme Court according to that platform once announced and many times reaffirmed. It has no use for a civil service which takes from the party worker the spoils of office despite the fact that it gives to the tax-paying public a better return for the wage which the public provides. It means nothing on a wisely adjusted tariff system because it is swallowed up in its advocacy of protection to the silver interests. It has no force and effect when it speaks on the subject of class legislation, for Populism and Silver Republicanism have made Democracy wholly a party of special interests, promising through the "Be it Enacted" of legislation special relief and privileges. Its denunciation of trusts is a sham, branded so by placing the trust supporting and trust supported leaders of Tammany high in Democratic councils. In fine, Mr. Bryan has brought the Democratic party to that unhappy condition where it can work injury to all and good to none.

There is one policy, however, over and above all these to which Mr. Bryan is wedded, which, unsafe, undemocratic and un-American, ought not to be forgotten in this campaign. Mr. Bryan may talk anti-imperialism, but back of it all is his free coinage of silver purposes. He may denounce trusts, but his acts in office will be in the interests of silver. His expressions of sympathy with the Boers is but a subterfuge to make the voter think less upon the debased currency. Whatever his words may be now, his acts will if once given an election, accord with the wishes of those who first made him a possibility in the country's political annals. Mr. Bryan

has not within these four years put behind him a fixed determination, if clothed with authority, to enforce that financial policy which would inevitably result in repudiation of the nation's obligations and impairment of the nation's credit. It will not do for the country to lull itself into a supposed security from all danger on this score because Mr. Bryan has seen fit to cease talking on the money question, or because we have had some financial legislation. The people must not flatter themselves that Mr. Bryan or those with whom he counsels have changed their views on this subject. Mr. Bryan has not and he will not. He has found it politic for the present to only conceal his erroneous views. Who forgets that he was the strenuous advocate of silver until he had gotten through with the Populist and Silver conventions? If he no longer talks it, he still notwithstanding such fact, entertains and stands for it.

And what would the adoption of such a policy mean to capital, to labor, to trade, to commerce, to all the interests that combined make this great country of ours a source of gratification and pride to every citizen of the republic? It would mean to the nation loss of financial prestige, to the individual the inviting of the world's contempt and distrust. Every industry would be thrust into a caldron of doubt and uncertainty, ending in a refixing of values and a reorganization of business upon the new basis in cases where bankruptcy had not already intervened. It would cause the savings banks to readjust their relations with their depositors to accord with the lessened worth of their accumulated securities. The depositor, their creditor, with his earnings of ten years reduced to the savings of five, would either be compelled to work longer years to put himself in the position he once occupied or reduce to a lower plane the manner of his living. The commercial world, shocked and affrighted by the havoc wrought by such a departure from the rules of ordinary honesty and the decrees of economic science, would find panic and distrust and dissipated wealth where now is confidence and stability and multitudinous riches. I do not overdraw the picture, for capital, proverbially timid, would shrink back from a catastrophe so appalling. It would mean everywhere with the American a complete reversal of all its past history—the moving back from the proud position of financial supremacy upon which we are fast entering to the monetary standard of barbarous China. If it would mean all this to capital, what would it hold in store for labor, the labor that finds its daily wage through the use of capital and its continuous employment by extended credits to those who have need of it? The laboring man has but the capital of brain and muscle, and to utilize these he must be afforded the opportunity to work. Make it impossible to have enterprises carried on and he is deprived of that opportunity; reduce the purchasing value of the money in which that wage is paid, or through such an act double the price of the article he must buy and you diminish his capital, which is the essential element in his well being. He, beyond all others, needs the protecting care of wise monetary legislation, for against the evil effects of it he stands helpless. The man who has accumulated a large estate might live upon his surplus during the period of readjustment, but the man who finds his living in

each day's toil would be rendered the hopeless victim of such an unconscionable system. The new found friends of Mr. Bryan, who four years since repudiated him with scorn and indignation, now lay the flattering unction to their souls that he would not do that which he says he will, or that he could not if he would, or if he could he might by the defeated party yet in power be bound hand and foot and thus rendered harmless. In short that he would exercise the presidential function in other directions only, and not in that upon which his reputation has been built. I do not propose to analyze a position so absurd and purile. It is hardly statesmanship to experiment with such grave questions with one who declares his purpose to wipe out the gold standard if given the opportunity. It is playing with that fire which might start a conflagration so terrible and uncontrollable as to make the men who would make possible by this present support his elevation, lose the prestige and place on their country's roll of honor which years of splendid deeds and patriotic action have won for them. For myself I would rather for all time to come forfeit my right of affiliation with the Democratic party than by chance assist in giving place to one who might, yes who would, if placed in power, work out by the incorporation of his financial views and socialistic theories into the laws of the land, a disaster so widespread and a ruin so far reaching.

Upon what theory then can it be argued that Mr. Bryan, in the face of so much that the thoughtful hold to be harmful, is a safe man to elect to the presidency? The importance of the office is not to be underestimated, nor its power to be gainsaid. It is a mighty instrument for good or a tremendous engine for harm. By force of circumstance its occupant enters into the civil, the social, the business life of the American people and it is not wisdom to say that upon a single qualification a Chief Executive shall be selected, despite a lack of many others, vital in themselves for good or evil. Those who now try to reconcile their conscience with their new political position, repudiating Mr. Bryan as unsound and unsafe in every other direction, ally themselves to his cause, to his issues, to his associates, to his un-Democracy, because they assert that his views on the one newer question in the country's politics are more to their views than those of President McKinley. I do not propose to argue this phase of the question at any length for it seems to me there is no justification for all this hue and cry of imperialism and threatened-militarism. It is an issue conceived and uttered by the opposition to divert from the real things at stake, to conceal the purposes of those who are in the confidence of Mr. Bryan, to make for their plans at home and not work out reforms abroad. Who, knowing Mr. Bryan, analyzing his mind, following the course of his career, passing impartial judgment upon his declarations on any question, will believe him capable of heading an administration which can carry out a successful foreign policy? How is it possible for Mr. Bryan, wrong on all things at home, to be right on all things abroad? But his position upon the Philippines is not one that entitles him to consideration. He did make possible the acquisition of the Philippines by insisting upon the ratification of the Paris treaty, and now when it, his act, returns to plague

him, undertakes to disprove his responsibility by asserting that his action was based upon the idea of making more manifest the dangers of imperialism. Why make it more manifest? Why jeopardize, if his present position is correct, the liberties of the Filipinos by creating more evidence of title for the United States to the land he claims is theirs? Why? Simply that Mr. Bryan might have another issue in his presidential campaign, if he states the truth that he was against it all the time but yielded to make more manifest the issue of imperialism, he stood for politics then as he does now, for partisan purposes then as he does now, for self aggrandizement then as he does now. He was not patriotic then and he is not now.

I was not in favor of the war with Spain. I believe it to be a mistake, but having entered upon it, I do not see in the light of all the facts as presented by the records that things could have been different. I was opposed to colonial expansion, but that expansion is an accomplished fact, made so largely by Mr. Bryan's co-operation, and dealing with conditions as they are and not as they might have been, I prefer to trust the wisdom and experience of President McKinley, backed by a party that yet retains some conservative elements in it, to the vagaries of Mr. Bryan, supported by an organization which boasts that within its circle the radical rules, and there is neither use nor place for the conservative. The public must not forget that Mr. Bryan's supporters in Congress urged on the war with Spain; that Mr. Bryan's friends gave the requisite votes to ratify the treaty. The speeches of Democrats were the speeches making for blood and fire before the war, their votes after its conclusion bespoke either their hypocrisy or their belief in the wisdom of the treaty which they were aiding in ratifying, a treaty the provisions of which, judged by their present utterances, they did not believe in and the results of which as they now profess to see them, they condemn. The policy which Mr. Bryan announces for the Philippines, if elected President, to convene Congress to create a stable government for them and establish a Monroe doctrine protectorate over them, the public knows to be idle. The great mass of the American people know that it is impossible to accomplish these things until conditions as to education, guarantee of property rights and safety of personal ones warrant such action. However many the errors of judgment made which wrought the condition which now presents itself in the colonies, the country is not willing without taking thought, to set adrift, though retaining a full protecting responsibility for their acts, any people who have come to us through the Spanish war, educated in Spanish ways and grown in Spanish practices. Mr. Bryan and his friends misjudge popular sentiment if they think that upon such an issue they can blind the electors of the country to those things, which affecting the immediate country, are more paramount than any involved in the issue they now attempt to create. The dangers of military authority here, of lessened liberty to the American people, of enlarged power to the army, do not now and will not in the future exist, for patriotism everywhere and at all times has been the priceless heritage of the people and will continue to be for centuries yet to come. With each returning year a better condition will, through American influences, be

worked out for the people of our foreign possessions, until, fitted for a larger liberty, they take their place in the galaxy of republics. But it will come about only through wisdom of act, statesmanlike legislation, and education. It will not be the fruits of designing demagogues, partisan politicians and self-enriching spoilsmen. When that day comes there is no patriotic citizen of the Republic but who will gladly acclaim "Hail and Farewell."

In conclusion, a single word and this address is finished. It is a word for those Democrats who have not bowed the knee to or placed upon the neck the yoke of the men who have made an honorable party a hissing and a byword. In accepting Republican candidates now, they assume no other attitude than that which they took in the first instance when Populism defiled the Democratic temple. They justify their course now as they did then, believing that their highest duty as citizens as well as party men makes any other action impossible. They do not believe in any of Mr. Bryan's views on the one hand but on the other they approve of much that President McKinley has done. I believe an unbiased consideration by gold Democrats of all that has been done by the administration under times of unusual stress, will lead to the conclusion that their effort in that behalf was at least worth while and that much has been accomplished of great benefit to the country in many of its varied and important interests. The administration of President McKinley has been successful in making more secure the gold standard through enacted law and in refunding much of the public debt. It has maintained the national credit and improved the country's banking system. It has sustained the country's wellbeing at home and its dignity abroad. Upon the issues as made up it ought to and it will receive the approval of that body of voters who either within or without the lines of organized political affiliations "know their rights and dare those rights maintain."

Fellow citizens, in the interest of good government, conservative administration, sound economic laws, full and fair regard for personal and property rights, the elimination of class distinctions, the wiping out of class prejudices, the dignity and power of law, I ask you to sustain the administration and defeat a Bryanized and emasculated Democracy. In such a course lies assurance of preserving for your children's children, untarnished in all their integrity, those best traditions of the Republic which in the past have added a splendid luster to American citizenship and people, and in the future will gain for them a still greater weight of glory.

OFFICERS OF THE
Business Men's Sound Money Ass'n
OF CHICAGO.

H. N. HIGINBOTHAM, President

JOSEPH BEIFELD, First Vice President.

C. E. HYDE, Treasurer

E. E. HOOPER, Secretary

VICE PRESIDENTS

OWEN F. ALDIS

GENERAL CHARLES FITZSIMONS

COLONEL W. P. REND

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

D. S. PATE

HENRY KUH

LAVERNE W. NOYES

JOHN T. SHAYNE

W. H. WILSON

JOHN A. HEUSNER

J. W. NYE

J. A. EVERETT

JOHN CRERAR

SAMUEL INSULL

JOHN R. GOTT

JOHN G. SHEDD

COL. E. C. YOUNG

B. E. SUNNY

EDWARD TILDEN

WM. H. CHADWICK

FRED. SONTAG

SPEECH OF SENATOR LODGE

AT CANTON, OHIO, JULY 12, 1900

Notifying President McKinley of His Nomination for the Presidency by the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, June 19, 1900

MR. PRESIDENT:

This Committee, representing every State in the Union and the organized Territories of the United States, was duly appointed to announce to you, formally, your nomination by the Republican National Convention, which met in Philadelphia June 19th last, as the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States for the term beginning March 4th, 1901.

To be selected by the Republican party as their candidate for this great office is always one of the highest honors which can be given to any man. This nomination, however, comes to you, sir, under circumstances which give it higher significance and make it an even deeper expression of honor and trust than usual. You were nominated unanimously at Philadelphia [applause]. You received the unforced vote of every delegate from every State and every Territory [continued applause]. The harmony of sentiment which appears on the face of the record was but the reflection of the deeper harmony which existed in the hearts and minds of the delegates.

UNITED VOICE OF THE PARTY.

Without faction, without dissent, with profound satisfaction and eager enthusiasm you were nominated for the Presidency by the united voice of the representatives of our great party, in which there is neither sign of division nor shadow of turning [great applause]. Such unanimity, always remarkable, is here the more impressive because it accompanies a second nomination to the great office which you have held for four years. It is not the facile triumph of hope over experience, but the sober approval of conduct and character tested in many trials and tried by heavy and extraordinary responsibilities [applause].

With the exception of the period in which Washington organized the nation and built the State, and of those other awful years when Lincoln led his people through the agony of civil war and saved from destruction the work of Washington, there has never been a Presidential term in our history so crowded with great events, so filled with new and momentous questions, as that which is now drawing to its end.

REPUBLICAN PROMISES FULFILLED.

True to the declarations which were made at St. Louis in 1896, you, sir, united with the Republicans in Congress in the revision of the tariff

and the re-establishment of the protective policy [great applause]. You maintained our credit and upheld the gold standard, leading the party by your advice to the passage of the great measure which is today the bulwark of both [great applause]. You led again in the policy which has made Hawaii a possession of the United States [great applause]. On all these questions you fulfilled the hopes and justified the confidence of the people, who four years ago put trust in our promises. But on all these questions you had as guides not only your own principles, the well considered results of years of training and reflection, but also the plain declarations of the National Convention which nominated you in 1896 [applause]. Far different was it when the Cuban question, which we had also promised to settle, brought first war, then peace, with Spain.

THE PRESIDENT'S INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY.

Congress declared war, but you, as Commander-in-Chief, had to carry it on [applause]. You did so, and history records unbroken victory from the first shot of the *Nashville* to the day when the protocol was signed [enthusiastic applause]. The peace you had to make alone. Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines:—you had to assume alone the responsibility of taking them all from Spain [continued applause]. Alone and weighted with the terrible responsibility of the unchecked war powers of the Constitution, you were obliged to govern these islands and to suppress rebellion and disorder in the Philippines. No party creed defined the course you were to follow. Courage, foresight, comprehension of American interests, now and in the uncharted future, faith in the American people and in their fitness for great tasks, were your only guides and counselors [great applause]. Thus you framed and put in operation this great new policy which has made us at once masters of the Antilles and a great Eastern power, holding firmly our possessions on both sides of the Pacific [enthusiastic and long-continued applause].

HIS ADMIRABLE DIPLOMACY.

The new and strange ever excite fear, and the courage and prescience which accept them always arouse criticism and attack. Yet a great departure and a new policy were never more quickly justified than those undertaken by you. On the possession of the Philippines rests the admirable diplomacy which warned all nations that American trade was not to be shut out of China. It is to Manila that we owe the ability to send troops and ships to the defence of our ministers, our missionaries, our consuls, and our merchants in China [applause], instead of being compelled to leave our citizens to the casual protection of other powers, as would have been unavoidable had we flung the Philippines away [great applause]. Rest assured, sir, that the vigorous measures which you have thus been enabled to take, and all further measures in the same direction which you may take, for the protection of

American lives and property, will receive the hearty support of the people of the United States [enthusiastic applause], who are now, as always, determined that the American citizen shall be protected at any cost in all his rights, everywhere and at all times [continued great applause]. It is to Manila again, to our fleet in the bay, and our army on the land, that we shall owe the power, when these scenes of blood in China are closed, to exact reparation, to enforce stern justice, and to insist in the final settlement upon an open door to all that vast market for our fast growing commerce [applause].

WISDOM OF HIS ACTION IN THE ORIENT.

Events moving with terrible rapidity have been swift witnesses to the wisdom of your action in the East. The Philadelphia Convention has adopted your policy both in the Antilles and in the Philippines and has made it their own and that of the Republican party [enthusiastic applause].

Your election, sir, next November, assures to us the continuance of that policy abroad and in our new possessions. To entrust these difficult and vital questions to other hands; at once incompetent and hostile, would be a disaster to us and a still more unrelieved disaster to our posterity.

HIS ELECTION MEANS CONTINUED PROSPERITY

Your election means not only protection to our industries, but the maintenance of a sound currency and of the gold standard, the very corner-stones of our economic and financial welfare [great applause]. Should they be shaken, as they would be by the success of our opponents, the whole fabric of our business confidence and prosperity would fall into ruin. Your defeat would be the signal for the advance of free trade, for the anarchy of a debased and unstable currency, for business panic, depression and hard times, and for the wreck of our foreign policy. Your election and the triumph of the Republican party—which we believe to be as sure as the coming of the day [great applause]—will make certain the steady protection of our industries, sound money, and a vigorous and intelligent foreign policy. They will continue those conditions of good government and wise legislation so essential to the prosperity and well-being which have blessed our country so abundantly during the past four years [long-continued applause].

Thus announcing to you, sir, your nomination as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, we have the honor also to submit to you the declaration of principles made by the National Convention, which, we trust, will receive your approval. We can assure you of the faithful and earnest support of the Republican party in every State, and we beg you to believe that it is with feelings of the deepest personal gratification that we discharge here today this honorable duty imposed upon us by the Convention [enthusiastic and long-continued applause].



"The interests of labor are never in such great jeopardy as when intrusted to a man who has the gift of oratory coupled with unbounded political ambition and no business judgment or training."



The Makely Printing Co., Chicago.

JAMES H. ECKELS

**The Ex-Comptroller of the Currency, under President
Cleveland's Administration, Tells why he Did
Not and Will Not Support Bryan.**

"I did not support Mr. Bryan in 1896, and I do not intend to now. I shall oppose his election this year with all the vigor and ability I possess. I do not feel that I could stand to my convictions by remaining merely passive and contenting myself with simply voting against him.

BRYAN THE ISSUE.

"No issue set forth in any platform, no matter how cunningly devised and arranged, in this campaign can be made paramount to the issue of Mr. Bryan himself, his erroneous views of public questions, his numerous vagaries and his demonstrated desire to find popularity and votes in a never-absent appeal to class prejudices and supposed race hatreds.

"I am still a Democrat, if believing in Democratic principles correctly interpreted and properly enforced as an agency for good constitutes true Democracy; but I am not one if the utterances of the platform adopted at Chicago four years since and just reaffirmed and re-emphasized at Kansas City are the rightful expressions of what modern Democracy stands for.

ISMS OF POPULISM.

"The many isms of Populism were abhorrent four years since to my sense of what is safe and sound in the operations of government and the general well-being of the people, because I viewed them as being fundamentally wrong, and, being so, neither brief of time nor errors of the party in power were likely to lead to their abolition or modification. It is possible that

I should support a candidate who not only approves of them, but is their best embodiment and most vigorous champion.

"I have not read all of Mr. Bryan's utterances during the past four years, but I have taken note of enough of them to know that his views have not changed on any important question since 1896, and his determination to stir up class strife is not less manifest. Throughout all his addresses, public and private, is shown uniformly an apparent pleasure in preaching the desirability of discord between employe and employer, class and class. No appeal ever comes from him which is not tinged with advice to those who must work to distrust those who must employ.

HARMFUL TO LABOR.

"All this is not only un-American, but it is unjust, unfair, and harmful most of all to the laborer, for whose well-being beyond all others it is necessary that complete harmony between capital and labor and not continual antagonism should exist. The interests of labor are never in such great jeopardy as when intrusted to a man who has the gift of oratory coupled with unbounded political ambition and no business judgment or training.

"No man is fitted for the presidency who day in and day out proclaims, in the midst of a demonstrated better condition of affairs, the reverse to be true in order to foment a discontent, which will gain to himself and party a political advantage.

IGNORANT OR BLIND.

"Mr. Bryan, without the statesmanship to analyze the conditions as they exist, and find a remedy therefor, gives utterance to nothing that would improve them, but only to that which would make them worse and cause greater injury to the great mass of the people, whose fate he constantly bewails. I do not believe in the public value of any man who is, under any and all circumstances, a faultfinder and mere protester against all existing order of things.

"Mr. Bryan's friends insist that he is nothing if not intellectually honest and fearless. Granted that their contention is true, the inquiring public must then be forced to conclude that he is either woefully ignorant or wilfully blind. At no time since his coming into political power has he made an economic prediction which has not failed of fulfillment, or laid down as truth an economic doctrine which has not in the course of quick events been demonstrated to be an economic fallacy.

DICTION OF PLATFORM.

"If he does not study grave public questions in the light of past history and present facts and human experiences, but only views them in the glare of his own preconceived notions and flame of his own fiery political oratory, he is unsuited either to advise the public as a teacher or guide them as a leader.

"If he was unfit because of his erroneous views and economic heresies, to be elected to the presidency in 1896, he is equally an unfit man now,

for he boasts, with triumphant self-satisfaction, that he stands to-day on all these questions exactly where he stood then, and to make more manifest and clearly defined his position he compels his party to blazon such fact in a platform so constructed as to accord with his views and wishes.

ALLIANCE WITH CROKER.

"I can conceive of nothing more pitiable than the sight of accredited delegates of a once great political party in a national convention supinely surrendering their own views on a vitally important economic question at the behest of a once defeated presidential candidate, who only had brought that party into disgrace and disrepute, unless it be the sight of that presidential candidate and to be nominee, appealing through his confidential agent Richard Croker, Tammany dictator, to be his chief aid, trusted friend and lieutenant in the emergency which confronted him.

"Heretofore Democratic presidential candidates have gained public respect and strength by having the open enmity of Tammany, Mr. Bryan, who more than any of them has boasted of his stand for principle and his integrity of character, has done what Mr. Seymour, Mr. Tilden and Mr. Cleveland would not do. He has formed an open alliance, offensive and defensive with Tammany, and that too, at a time when that organization is known to be thoroughly corrupt, and a constant menace to all the best interests of good government.

UNITY WITH POPULISTS.

"Mr. Bryan hardly appeals to the thoughtful citizen, with whom political parties are only agencies for public good to the extent that they stand for fundamentally right principles and honest administration, when upon the one hand he is presented by the Populists and on the other by Tammany. The joining hands with one constitutes an offense against safety in governmental administration, the alliance with the other an offense against political decency, making it doubtful as to his ability, no matter how strenuously he might try, to secure honesty in the conduct of public affairs in an administration over which he presided.

"It is not difficult to predict what would be the outcome of any administration based upon the socialism of Populism and the rapacity of Tammany.

REAFFIRMING OF 16 TO 1.

"I am told that not a few Democrats who refused to sanction the nominee and platform of the Chicago convention will aid the nominee presented at Kansas City. I doubt if there are many who will do so. Why should they? The same candidate has been named, the same doctrines announced, only in a more offensive way.

"It must not be forgotten that the reaffirming of the principles of the Chicago platform was the repudging of an intention, when opportunity was afforded, to debase the country's currency. It was re-assaulting the Supreme Court of the country. It means a re-alliance with the elements of disorder, as against the properly constituted authorities of peace, integrity, of property and person. It is the announcing once more of a desire

to get into power that the sacred right of private contract under the guaranty of law may be abrogated. It is the acceptance of those elements of socialism which works injury to both government and people.

"In fine, the reaffirmation at Kansas City was the re-asserting of the utterances made at Chicago, which, revolutionary then, are none the less so now. A source of menace to the country then, they are equally so now; and every man who stood out against them then ought not on some new issue, which does not in any degree lessen the danger of these for harm, fail to denounce and defeat them.

"I do not think that the fact that here and there may be some elements more conservative in the party than seemed to be the case in 1896, makes any difference. Mr. Bryan still gives official voice to the party's views, maps out its campaigns and writes its platforms. Mr. Bryan's intimates and advisers are still Populists and self-seekers, with the added contingent of Tammany bosses. He has neither use nor care for any man who is conservative in his views or careful in his utterances.

EFFECT ON GOLD BASIS.

"If elected President the public must be prepared to see Mr. Bryan, as chief executive and those associated with him as cabinet counselors, construe every law bearing upon the currency and the powers of the Treasury Department in such a manner as to nullify, as best they can, its provisions in so far as they bear upon the question of the maintenance of the gold standard. His Populist allies boast that they seek power that they may bring about the repeal of the existing law, and to this end they are Mr. Bryan's champions and defenders.

"He can and will keep the country in a state of ferment and uncertainty in an attempt to bring about the larger use of silver as a redemptive money. The experiment is too dangerous a one to be entered upon by any on the grounds that the gold standard is so fixed in law that it cannot be disturbed, no matter who may be President or Secretary of the Treasury. The law ought to be executed with a construction favorable to it to fully carry out its provisions and not in a manner antagonistic to them. It is not a perfect law, but can be made so by its friends. It can be made abortive by its enemies once firmly entrenched in power.

BRYAN AND RECENT WAR.

"It will hardly do for any sound money Democrat or Republican to support Mr. Bryan because of a supposed better position he occupies than Mr. McKinley on the question of colonial possessions, despite his worst position on the question of the monetary standard, the Supreme Court, the enforcement of law and the right of private contract. Mr. Bryan's position can hardly be as satisfactory a one on an analysis growing out of the Spanish war.

"He and his friends, in order to put the administration to a political disadvantage, urged on the declaration of war with Spain, and when it was over Mr. Bryan, personally, at Washington, through personal advice and solicitation, brought into line a sufficient number of Democratic Senators to ratify the treaty of Paris, despite the fact that it provided for the purchase and taking sovereign possession of Porto Rico, and the

Philippines, without any provision for giving them any home government whatsoever. The evils and burdens of the present moment growing out of the Spanish war are to be laid as much at the door of Mr. Bryan and his party as at that of Mr. McKinley and his. His explanation of his reason for wishing the treaty ratified is wholly superficial and does not bear analysis.

POLICY ON PHILIPPINES.

"I imagine that self-government will come quite as readily through the administration of Mr. McKinley as through that of Mr. Bryan. It will not come under either until the Philippines are fitted for it, property rights safe and personal ones protected. I hardly believe Mr. Bryan could do more than send a commission there, as the President has done, in order to take steps looking to supplanting the military government with a civil one.

"The country will not sanction the immediate abandonment of those islands to disorder and pillage. When a time comes that there is safety in a constitutional home government, only remaining within the sphere of the influence of the United States, and public sentiment is to this end, it can be put down that Mr. McKinley's administration will readily grant it, for I believe it is generally admitted that no one is more ready to put himself in touch with public sentiment than the President, or act in accordance therewith with more alacrity. If Mr. Bryan means an immediate abandonment of our control in the islands he must certainly fail of support, for no thoughtful person will sanction a policy which will make the country ridiculous in the eyes of the world.

WOULD NOT TRUST HIM.

"If Mr. Bryan and his party had stood out as they should have against the Spanish war, and had opposed instead of assisted in ratifying the Paris treaty, they would be in a better position to confront Republican plans and purposes, for they would at least be consistent with their action. As it is now they urged the war, but now wish to avoid the consequences in order to gain political power by so doing. As it is, I don't see that Mr. Bryan is less of an expansionist, through force of circumstances which he assisted in creating, than is Mr. McKinley. The difference is certainly not great enough to make any man surrender his convictions on other great questions to accept him upon one.

"It may also be fairly doubted whether a man with so many erroneous ideas as to the conduct of the domestic affairs of the nation can be trusted to have right ones when it comes to managing our foreign properties.

AS TO PORTO RICO.

"As to the question growing out of the Porto Rican tariff, I believe the administration made a most egregious error, but as Democracy is now constituted and controlled, it stands for nothing so far as a tariff policy is concerned. It has abandoned all the advantages of its position on this question, by advocating in its silver policy the very worst kind of protection. Mr. Bryan stands responsible for making it a party unable to manfully advocate a Democratic tariff doctrine.

"It is to-day, under Mr. Bryan's leadership, a party emphasizing a desire for special privileges and class legislation, appealing for the support of every element of discontent by falling in with and advocating the particularly special legislation which such element stands for. Its demagoguery is manifest on every hand.

RAISING THE BOER ISSUE.

"What thoughtful and inquiring person can possibly believe that either Mr. Bryan or the delegates at Kansas City are really deeply solicitous to the extent which it is made to appear that they are as to the alleged wrongs of the Boers in South Africa? It is not manifest, through the thin disguise of a love of human freedom, rights and Republican form of government, that Mr. Bryan and his followers hope for the German and Dutch vote as a determining factor in the election because racial affiliations with the Boers and a supposed race prejudice against Great Britain, and not because the question or the integrity of the Boer republics is so dear to them.

"It is absurd that the great questions with which we have to do affecting the vital interests of the United States shall be overlooked in a debate upon how Great Britain shall conduct its own affairs, especially in the face of a proclaimed reaffirmation of the Monroe Doctrine, which means, properly interpreted, that the people of the United States shall attend to their own affairs and let European nations look after theirs.

CONFIDENCE IN GERMANS.

"Having voiced such a sentiment, the Kansas City convention, under the inspiration of Mr. Bryan, immediately proceeds, for political effect, to express a wish to interfere with a European government in a matter strictly its own. I think such politics cheap, and unstatesmanlike, quite beneath the dignity of any great party or leader.

"I shall be surprised if any German voter, heretofore the bulwark of the country, against every assault upon the integrity of the country's currency system and protesting against any debasement of the country's coin, will not aid and abet such a proceeding because of a belief in any injustice done by Great Britain to some affiliated race ten thousand miles away. The Germans know that militarism, so-called, in this country is beyond the range of possibilities, but the assaults which Mr. Bryan and his followers would make if in power is something that would entail loss in every direction to the property interests which by labor and saving they have accumulated.

CALLS HIM FAULT-FINDER.

"Such utterances are all on a par with Mr. Bryan's constant reiteration of having here an un-American financial system forced on us by and for the benefit of the English and against our own interests. He cannot but know that such statement is made for political effect, and that by making it he impugns the good faith and patriotism of more than half the voters who do not agree with or support him.

"If Mr. Bryan was a statesman and not a mere declaimer and dealt in a

statesmanlike manner with American problems we would not be treated to the floods of petulant fault-finding and appeals to prejudice which are manifest in all that he says, but would have instead suggested solutions, grounded upon principles, and in accord with the facts of national history and national experience.

DISTRUST HIS WISDOM.

"I am sure the American people rightly distrust the wisdom of one who thus far in life has been a living expression, in every address he has made, of that best definition of the essential elements of stump speech, namely, to claim everything and denounce well.

"I am not unmindful of the fact that there are many conditions in this country requiring careful, thoughtful and statesmanlike dealing with. There are many evils to which labor is subject that need to be remedied. Likewise there are many prejudices unjustly entertained against capital, but in neither instance can they be dealt with to the good of all by any one who brings to them none of the elements of a statesman and all of those which wholly make up the successful stump-speaker and campaign orator.

WHERE REMEDIES LIE.

"I believe that more of the remedy lies without the pale of enacted legislation than within it, and that neither labor nor capital is benefited by public utterances on the platform in legislative halls and through the columns of the press to the effect that there is an irrepressible conflict between them.

"I do not believe any man benefits his country by being a preacher of discontent, strife between classes, social and political pessimism, financial error, and continuous financial gloom, despite surroundings and widespread prosperity, and therefore I do not believe in Mr. Bryan.

"There are some things in President McKinley's administration and official acts I am not in accord with. I do not accept Republican doctrines as against pure Democratic ones rightly interpreted and incorporated into the administration of public affairs. But as between Republicanism and Populism, filtered through the channel of Bryanism, I prefer Republicanism.

DENIES HIS DEMOCRACY.

"There is no Democratic doctrine presented this year and no Democratic candidate. Mr. Bryan was first named by the Populist because he best stood for Populistic doctrines. He was only indorsed by the convention at Kansas City, called under alleged Democratic auspices, because Bryanism, Populism and Democracy as now made up are synonymous terms.

"The combined forces of the elements of discontent of the country having gathered in one fold and found without a dissenting voice a candidate so many sided as to respond with an equal degree of satisfaction to each one's peculiarism, it seems to me the part of wisdom to meet them in another election, and again demonstrate that the electorate of this country in every critical time always stands ready to do that which is wise, putting down the wrong thing and putting up the right.

TO VOTE FOR MCKINLEY.

"I am going to vote for President McKinley, and do whatever I consistently can to aid in his election, not because I favor all his policies or approve of all his political acts, but because under all existing conditions I believe the affairs of the country will be better off in his hands than in those of Mr. Bryan.

"I hope some time to see the Democratic party recreated, advocating Democratic candidates and Democratic principles, but it cannot be more than a disturbing force in the country's daily history until it rids itself of a leadership which has brought it to its present low estate, and ceases making itself the lying-in asylum of those elements of discontent which, if once entrusted with Governmental power, would work injury at home and loss of standing abroad.

ADVICE TO DEMOCRATS.

"It can live under defeat without complete and ultimate destruction, but a victory gained by it with a candidate holding the views of Mr. Bryan, and a platform pledging the party to carry out the things advocated at Chicago in 1896, and in Kansas City this year, would work such results to the country that it would pass forever out of political power at a recurring election, without the smallest minorities to do it on, 'Unwept, unhonored and unsung.'

"The Democrat who wishes to save his party's future will only aid that end by defeating Mr. Bryan and burying his platform. Its ultimate recurrence to power and prestige lies in the independence of Democrats who are such on principle, and not through expediency."

President McKinley's Administration.

SPEECH OF

HON. CHARLES DICK, OF OHIO

In the House of Representatives,

Saturday, June 2, 1900.

[Part of the Congressional Record.]



22

Work of the Treasury Department.

Four achievements in the management of the public finances and revenues under the Administration of President McKinley stand out with marked prominence:

First, in point of success, is the Dingley tariff; second, the reform in the currency; third, the war loan of 1898; and fourth, the settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness.

Perhaps never before in the history of this country have so many important fiscal achievements been accomplished in so brief time. With the exception of the Pacific Railroad settlement, these events bear to a considerable degree, relationship to each other. Underlying the success of the war loan of 1898 and the reform in the currency was the basis of prosperity established by prompt and effective tariff legislation. The President well understood the necessity for speedy modification in the tariff. Within forty-eight hours after his inauguration he issued a proclamation for an extra session of Congress to assemble March 15, 1897. The brief message sent to Congress when it convened on that day clearly demonstrated the urgent necessity for prompt action. Said the President:

"Congress should promptly correct the existing condition. Ample revenues must be supplied not only for the ordinary expenses of the Government, but for the prompt payment of liberal pensions and the liquidation of the principal and interest of the public debt. In raising revenue, duties should be so levied upon foreign products as to preserve the home market, so far as possible, to our own producers; to revive and increase manufactures; to relieve and encourage agriculture; to increase our domestic and foreign commerce; to aid and develop mining and building; and to render to labor in every field of useful occupation the liberal wages and adequate rewards to which skill and industry are justly entitled. The necessity of the passage of a tariff law which shall provide ample revenue need not be

further urged. The imperative demand of the hour is the prompt enactment of such a measure, and to this object I earnestly recommend that Congress shall make every endeavor. Before other business is transacted let us first provide sufficient revenue to faithfully administer the Government without the contracting of further debt or the continued disturbance of our finances."

REPUBLICANS QUICKLY GIVE PROTECTION.

The House of Representatives promptly responded to the President's message. On the same day in which it was read in the House, the late Mr. Dingley of Maine, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced the new tariff bill. Such unusual expedition had been made possible only by the untiring work of the members of the Committee on Ways and Means for several months previous.

The bill was passed in the House of Representatives March 31, 1897, less than a month after the inauguration of President McKinley and two weeks after Congress had convened in extra session. It passed the Senate July 7, 1897, with amendments. Two days later its consideration was begun by a conference committee of the two Houses, and it finally passed the House July 19 and the Senate July 24. It became a law on the latter day when the President signed the bill. Thus, within five months (no other tariff law was ever passed in so short a time) after the inauguration of the President a new tariff law was placed on the statute books. Under its beneficent influences the United States has enjoyed a commercial and industrial revival the greatest in its history. The hopes of the President as expressed in his message have been realized; ample revenues were provided for the ordinary expenses of the Government, and in providing them duties were levied upon foreign products so as to preserve the home markets; manufactures have revived and increased; agriculture has been relieved and encouraged; domestic and foreign commerce have been increased; mining and building have been aided and developed, and more liberal wages have been paid to labor.

RESULTS OF THE DINGLEY TARIFF.

Under the operation of the Wilson Act, from September 1, 1894, to July 24, 1897, a period of thirty-five months, there was a total deficit of \$108,003,243. This deplorable state of the revenues was largely responsible for that lack of confidence which prolonged the hard times inaugurated by the panic of 1893.

The Dingley tariff became a law July 24, 1897. Under its operation ample revenues have been provided, as urged by President McKinley. During the period of thirty-two months the law has been in force, July 24, 1897, to April 1, 1900, the receipts of the Government from all sources, exclusive of Pacific Railroad items, were \$1,224,326,608. Deducting from these receipts the Treasury Department's estimate of collections under the War Revenue Act, amounting to \$183,708,538, there were net receipts of \$1,040,618,070. The expenditures for the same period aggregated \$1,366,663,406, and deducting the Treasury Department's estimate of war expenditures of \$372,000,000, the net expenditures for the period stand at \$994,663,406, leaving for the thirty-two months' operation of the Dingley tariff an excess of net receipts over net expenditures of \$45,954,664.

It is proper to compare this surplus under the Dingley law with the deficit of \$108,003,243, which was shown at the end of thirty-five months' operation of the Wilson Act.

THE DEMOCRATIC DEFICIENCY.

"In raising revenue," said the President in his message, "duties should be so levied upon foreign products as to preserve the home market, so far as possible, to our own producers." That the home market has been preserved to our own producers is shown by the great reduction in the importation of manufactured articles. In the fiscal year 1896 the imports for consumption of manufactured articles were \$328,937,228, and in the fiscal year 1897, all of which elapsed prior to the enactment of the Dingley law, they were \$323,324,920. In the fiscal years 1898 and 1899 they averaged about \$240,000,000 per year, being in 1898, \$227,467,249, and in 1899, \$259,801,751. Thus, in manufactured articles the reduction in importations immediately following the enactment of the Dingley law has averaged \$75,000,000 per annum, while the amounts consumed by the home market have greatly increased, as is shown by the great increase in the importation of raw material for use of manufacturers, stated in the paragraph which now follows:

HELPED FARMS AND FACTORIES.

The President urged that the new duties be so levied as "to revive and increase manufactures." In the fiscal year 1897 the imports for consumption of articles in a crude condition which enter into the various processes of domestic industry amounted to \$207,268,155, and in the three years 1895, 1896 and 1897 averaged less than \$200,000,000 annually, while in the calendar year 1899 the imports of this class amounted to \$267,493,950, an increase of nearly \$70,000,000 over the average for the three years of low tariff, in which many of these articles, notably wool, were upon the free list. At present the importation of manufacturers' materials is running at the rate of \$28,000,000 per month, or more than 50 per cent higher than the monthly average in the year prior to the enactment of the Dingley law and to the recommendation above quoted.

The President also urged that the new duties should be so levied as "to relieve and encourage agriculture." That agriculture has been relieved and encouraged is shown by the increased prices for agricultural products, all of which have materially advanced in the home market, and by the large increase in exportation in the products of agriculture, which in the fiscal year 1899 were \$100,000,000 greater than in the fiscal year 1897, and in 1898 were \$200,000,000 in excess of those of 1897.

AID LABORERS IN THE MINES.

The message also recommended that the new duties should be so levied as "to aid and develop mining." That mining has been greatly encouraged is amply shown by the figures relating to the two great mining industries, coal and iron. The coal production of 1899 exceeds 200,000,000 tons, against 179,000,000 in 1897 and 171,000,000 in 1896, and has placed the United States at the head of the world's producers of this article, our product in 1899 being greater than that of any other country of the world. The pig-iron production in 1899 was 13,620,703 tons, against 9,652,680 tons in 1897 and 8,623,127 tons in 1896. In pig iron, as in coal, the United States now holds the first place in the world's production.

And, finally, the President urged that in raising revenue duties should be so levied as "to render to labor in every field of useful occupation the liberal wages and adequate rewards to which skill and industry are justly entitled." That the wages of labor have been greatly increased in every line of industry is evidenced by the frequent reports of increased wages published from time to time. In an address before the Trades League of Philadelphia, January 25, 1898, Hon. Lyman J. Gage, Secretary of the Treasury, reviewed in general the increase in wages which had taken place under the administration of President McKinley, as follows:

BETTER WAGES TO TEXTILE WORKERS.

"Only a few weeks ago worsted manufacturers in Rhode Island restored the wage scale of 1893 in their mills, thus granting an increase of 20 per cent in the pay of about 25,000 operatives. * * * In the city of Philadelphia numerous woolen mills have restored the wages of 1893, and are so active that it is difficult and sometimes impossible to secure the help required to operate them; and, in contrast to the depression in cotton textiles, woolen manufactures are booming all over the country. * * * Within a few weeks after the November election of 1896, 15,000 men, idle for a long time, were put to work in the window-glass industry. Since then, as the revival has progressed, instances of advances in wage rates and of increases in numbers employed have multiplied. The resumption of work in rolling mills during the summer in Alabama, Maryland, and Ohio gave employment to thousands of men. Indeed, in iron and steel and the industries directly dependent upon the consumption of iron as material I have it upon authority that there is an increase of at least 267,000 men employed over the preceding year. In addition to this large increase in the working forces employed in iron and steel and dependent branches, advances in wages ranging from 10 to 20 per cent have been made, and in some cases much greater, as the result of wages paid on a tonnage basis.

THE TIN-PLATE INDUSTRY.

"Since the passage of the tariff bill the tin-plate industry has wonderfully revived, and wages in this line have since the summer been increased by rates varying from 8 to 12 per cent. The weekly output of coke at the end of 1897 was

more than double what it was at the close of 1896, and in the Connellsville coke works there has been an increase in the number actually engaged of from 10 to 20 per cent. The voluntary advance in wages by the leading companies in the coke industry has benefited thousands of men. The advance in wages of glass workers, determined upon at the close of the year, is so recent that Mr. Bryan must know of it. The pottery industry of Trenton during recent years has been greatly depressed, with many failures, and not half the hands have been employed until recently. Wages have now been advanced more than 12 per cent, and there is a great increase in the number employed in this district, to the extent at this time of probably 5,000 or more. It was made public so recently as last September by an official report of the New York trades union that there was then an increase of 34 per cent in the number of their men employed, compared with the previous year.

"Near the close of November last the wage scale of the Missouri Pacific in its shops at Fort Scott was restored to what it was before the reduction of 1893. I have an accurate list of more than 250 mills, factories, and enterprises that have during the last six months resumed work, many of them having been idle since 1896, when the depression became more acute as the result of the agitation for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, "without the aid or consent of any other nation." Most of them have advanced wages over the old scale. All of them are running full time, most of them double time, and in many fires are now never drawn nor the wheels stopped, three shifts being required to meet the heavy demands. This all indicates a great increase in working forces."

LABOR IN MAINE, MICHIGAN AND MISSOURI.

Some recent reports, selected at random, covering various sections of the country, show that the movement toward higher wages has continued. The report of the Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics states that a canvass of the factories in that State shows that in 1,382 factories the number of employees was 24,262 greater than in the year 1898, the average increase in these factories being 17.6 per cent, while the wages paid were found to be higher than in 1898 and greatly in excess of 1897 and 1896. A canvass of several hundred shops and factories in the State of Ohio shows the number of hands employed in 1899 to be 68 per cent in excess of the number in 1896 and the total monthly pay roll 80 per cent greater than in 1896, the earnings of the workers in the shops and factories of the State of Ohio being estimated at \$3,000,000 per month in excess of those received in 1896.

The twenty-first annual report of the bureau of labor statistics (1899) of Missouri shows that "the total amount of wages paid during 1898 (in the State) was \$25,627,837, an increase over last year of \$3,917,482, and the report, in giving the average wages earned by skilled and unskilled labor of both sexes, states that there is a slight average increase over the previous year."

The thirteenth annual report of the bureau of labor and industrial statistics (1899) of Maine shows that in average annual earnings of employees engaged in manufacturing cotton goods there was from 1890 to 1898 a decrease of \$41.59, and during the past year (1899) an increase of \$29.09.

CURRENCY REFORM ACCOMPLISHED.

The reform in the currency laws is the second great achievement in the administration of public finances under President McKinley. The act approved by the President March 14, 1900, firmly establishes the United States on a gold basis. Confidence in respect to the money standard is now at the highest, and the integrity of all our various forms of money has been declared by law. The uncertainties and misgivings of more than twenty years have been dispelled, and a broad foundation of stability and security laid, upon which may be reared the structure of enduring prosperity.

The task has been a difficult one. It was a problem which required patience and courage in its solution. The fact that three years elapsed before the measure became a law reveals the difficult road over which the workers for the reform movement passed. At the beginning of the first regular session of Congress under the Administration of President McKinley the Secretary of the Treasury submitted a plan the essential features of which are to be found in the act of March 14, 1900.

From December, 1897, until the bill became a law no opportunity was lost to advance the cause of currency reform. Notwithstanding an adverse majority in the Senate, the Committee on Banking and Currency in the House considered several measures. The work thus done in committee, while resulting in nothing definite, was yet of great value, for the long and trying discussion served to bring about a better understanding of the intricate questions to be settled. In anticipation of a Republican Senate and House in the Fifty-sixth Congress caucus committees were organized for the purpose of preparing, during the summer months of 1899, such a bill as would receive the support of the sound-money majority in both Houses. When the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress was convened the first bill introduced was that agreed upon by the House caucus committee. It took its place upon the Calendar as House bill No. 1. With all reasonable expedition the measure was then considered by both branches of the National Legislature, and so became a law March 14, 1900.

ALL OUR MONEY OF THE SAME VALUE.

This currency law does something more than remove all doubt concerning the standard of value. It directs that all forms of money issued or coined by the United States shall be maintained at a parity of value with this standard, and it is made the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain such parity. A reserve fund of \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion is set apart in the Treasury for the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes of 1890, instead of \$100,000,000, formerly recognized as the gold reserve. Such fund is required to be used for redemption purposes only. Ample provision is made for restoring the reserve fund in case it should fall below the \$150,000,000 required to be maintained.

BETTER FACILITIES FOR BANKING.

The act also contains provisions which give greater liberty to the organization of national banks. Under the old law no national bank could be organized with a capital less than \$50,000. Under the new law the minimum capital required for organization is \$25,000 in places the population of which does not exceed 3,000 inhabitants. The object of this provision is to extend better banking facilities to those smaller communities heretofore denied the privilege of organizing national banks. At the same time, the law contains a provision authorizing the banks to issue their circulating notes to the par of the United States bonds deposited as security, instead of only 90 per cent, as formerly. This illiberal requirement either resulted in meager profits to national banks issuing circulating notes, or, as was the case in some localities, in actual losses, the effect of which was to restrict the issuing of circulating notes. Such restrictions was most severely felt in those communities where currency wants were greatest. Under the operation of the new law, from March 14 to April 30, 244 applications to organize national banks have been approved by the Comptroller of the Currency. The aggregate capital of these banks is \$10,380,000. The total of national bank note circulation has been increased by the sum of \$29,692,368.

REFUNDING THE NATIONAL DEBT.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the new currency law is that which relates to the refunding of the national debt. The 5 percents of 1904, the 4 percents of 1907, and the 3 percents of 1908, the principal of which aggregates \$839,146,400, are authorized to be refunded into 2 per cent bonds, payable at the pleasure of the United States after thirty years from the date of their issue, and payable, principal and interest, in gold coin of the present standard value. The act contains a provision that the new 2 per cent bonds to be issued in exchange for the old threes, fours, and fives shall not be issued at less than par. The Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to conduct the refunding operations so that the old threes, fours, and fives should be received in exchange for the 2 percents on a basis of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. May 1, 1900, almost one-third of the outstanding threes, fours, and fives had been converted into 2 percents of the new issue, thus practically securing the success of the refunding plan. No other nation of the earth can boast of such an achievement as is the exchange of these old, high-rate interest bonds for bonds issued upon so low a basis as 2 per cent. Hitherto Great Britain has been regarded as the financial Gibraltar of the world, but while British consols bearing interest

at the rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent per annum were selling 2 points below par, the United States was able to float a 2 per cent bond at par with ease. Such fact speaks volumes for the present financial strength of the United States. To float a 2 per cent bond at par of this kind means that the integrity of the dollar has been recognized in the law of the land, and there is faith in the honesty of our intentions and purposes for the future.

DEMAND FOR UNITED STATES BONDS.

But faith in the public credit not alone supports the success of the refunding operations; that success is supplemented by the present national banking system, and without which it is doubtful if a 2 per cent bond could ever have been floated in this country. National banks are required to deposit bonds of the United States as security for circulating notes. Such bonds constitute an essential element of the national banking system. The competition which results from the necessities of the banks in this respect is, perhaps, the most potent reason why the United States can dispose of its bonds bearing so low a rate of interest.

The operations of the refunding provisions of the law from March 14 to May 1, 1900, are set forth in the following table:

	Amount refunded.	Saving in Interest.	Premium Paid.	Net Saving.
Threes of 1908.....	\$ 60,989,200	\$ 5,080,415	\$ 3,465,587	\$1,614,828
Fours of 1907.....	158,791,760	22,998,969	18,522,306	4,476,663
Fives of 1904.....	40,239,850	4,619,841	4,046,878	572,963
Total.....	\$260,020,750	\$32,699,225	\$26,034,771	\$6,664,454

The "net saving" shown above represents the difference between the amount of interest the Government will pay upon the bonds refunded to the date of their respective maturities and the amount of interest the Government would have been obliged to pay had not the bonds above described been thus refunded.

It has been estimated that, should the total amount of bonds subject to the refunding provisions of the law be offered in exchange for the new 2 per cents, the net savings of the Government will be in the neighborhood of \$22,000,000. As noted, the net saving in refunding \$260,020,750 to May 1, 1900, was \$6,664,454.

FINANCES OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

The war with Spain served to demonstrate something more than the military and naval strength of the United States; it brought to light the vast resources in wealth of this country. In a general way it had been understood that the United States was a nation of great wealth, perhaps richer than any other country; but it needed the necessities of war to give an exhibition of our real financial strength. While it was recognized in the spring of 1898 that the Dingley tariff, under normal conditions, would produce ample revenues for the ordinary requirements of the Government, it was apparent that means must be taken at once to provide for the heavy war expenditures. April 25, 1898, two days after the declaration of war, a bill to provide additional revenues was introduced in the House of Representatives. It passed that body April 29 and the Senate June 4. The report of the conference committee was agreed to in the House June 9 and the Senate June 10. The bill became a law June 13, 1898, when it received the signature of the President. The necessities of the hour required that the Treasury should be supplied immediately with funds. The task was to raise a large sum, available for immediate use, in such a manner as to avoid injury to the rapidly reviving business of the country. The act recognized a true principle in public finance by making provision to borrow at once a sum sufficient to provide for war expenses, while at the same time additional taxes were levied in order that the loan might be supported by an increase in revenue.

HOW THE TAXES WERE IMPOSED.

No better explanation of the tax features of the bill has been given than that made by the late Hon. Nelson Dingley on the occasion of its introduction in the House, as follows:

"They [the Committee on Ways and Means] naturally have had recourse to the legislation of the period of the civil war, when so large an amount had to

be raised, and they have found, after a careful consideration of the question of taxation, that on the whole it is better at the present time, and we trust that that may be all that may be necessary, that about \$100,000,000 additional revenue should be raised, and that entirely through internal-revenue legislation. Hence the war-revenue bill which has been reported provides for internal-revenue taxes exclusively. These taxes have been selected, first, because we have the machinery for the collection of them now, and they can be collected with but slight additions to the force and with but slight increase of expense. We have selected them also because they were a source of revenue successfully seized upon during the civil war, and because they are taxes either upon articles of voluntary consumption or upon objects where the tax will be met by those who are ordinarily able to pay them; and we have refrained from putting a tax in a direction where it would be purely upon consumption, unless the consumption were an article of voluntary consumption, so that the consumer might regulate his own tax, following what is the accepted rule of taxation in all countries, with a view of imposing the least burden and disturbing the business of the country as little as possible."

ISSUE OF THE POPULAR LOAN.

The act authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow \$400,000,000, or as much thereof as might be necessary, to defray the expenses of the war. Under this authority it was decided to borrow \$200,000,000. The success which attended the floating of this loan is a memorable one. It was a popular loan in every sense of the word. The act itself directed that "the bonds authorized by this section shall be first offered at par as a popular loan under such regulations, prescribed by the Secretary of the Treasury, as will give opportunity to the citizens of the United States to participate in subscriptions to the loan, and in allotting said bonds the several subscriptions of individuals shall be first accepted, and the subscriptions for the lowest amounts shall be first allotted." The Secretary of the Treasury utilized every agency at his command to comply with this direction of Congress. All State and national banks were requested to co-operate with the Department; the express companies tendered their services free of cost in the handling of subscriptions; the Postmaster-General directed that all money-order postoffices be charged with the duty of receiving the orders of subscribers, and all the newspapers of the United States were invited to disseminate information concerning the loan. All these great agencies combined to place before the people the fullest information that could be given.

BONDS SUBSCRIBED SEVEN TIMES OVER.

For a period of thirty-one days subscriptions were received, at the end of which time it was found that the total of subscriptions aggregated only a little under \$1,400,000,000, or almost seven times the amount of bonds offered to the public. This was a remarkable demonstration in favor of the public credit, and it showed to other nations the tremendous resources which the people of the United States were able to command almost at a moment's notice. The success of the war loan had an effect, both at home and abroad, scarcely less important than were the naval victories at Manila and Santiago. Doubtless the purpose of the people thus expressed to give abundant support to the war was one of the factors which brought about its speedy termination.

The withdrawal of so large a sum as \$200,000,000 from active employment in commerce and industry without deranging any of the vast business interests of the country was a feat successfully accomplished. By the end of the calendar year 1898 almost every dollar of this great sum had been paid into the Treasury, yet under the plan adopted by the Secretary of the Treasury such payment was made without occasioning the slightest injury to business. In fact, the entire management of the war finances was conducted with such skill that not for a moment was there any interruption to the returning tide of prosperity. Industrial and commercial expansion continued as if in fact there had been no war, and at its close the business of the country was greater in volume than at the beginning, and the national credit, both at home and abroad, had been raised to the highest point in our history. It may be said with truth that this increased faith in the public credit laid the foundation for the achievement of that currency reform which was accomplished by the act of March 14, 1900, fixing the standard

of value and providing for the refunding of the national debt at the lowest rate of interest on public securities ever effected in this or any other country.

COLLECTING THE WAR TAXES.

The following table, compiled in the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, exhibits the collections by items under the war revenue act from the date of its passage to April 1, 1900:

Statement showing the amount of internal revenue collected under the war revenue act from June 13, 1898, to March 31, 1900:

Objects of Taxation.	Amount Collected.
Cigars.....	\$ 5,202,691.00
Cigarettes.....	2,442,020.53
Snuff.....	1,641,281.51
Tobacco, chewing and smoking.....	27,070,113.79
Dealers in leaf tobacco.....	127,170.79
Dealers in manufactured tobacco.....	30,637.50
Manufacturers of tobacco.....	39,183.57
Manufacturers of cigars.....	445,724.89
Miscellaneous collections relating to tobacco.....	773,175.30
Fermented liquors.....	56,936,631.83
Additional collections on fermented liquors stored in warehouse.....	197,936.13
Mixed flour.....	14,154.75
Bankers, capital not exceeding \$25,000.....	712,426.19
Bankers, capital exceeding \$25,000, for each additional \$1,000 in excess of \$25,000.....	6,066,155.02
Billiard rooms.....	583,443.08
Brokers, stocks, bonds, etc.....	559,356.13
Brokers, commercial.....	277,016.66
Brokers, custom house.....	11,860.52
Brokers, pawn.....	71,756.33
Bowling alleys.....	90,626.46
Circuses.....	28,929.11
Exhibitions not otherwise provided for.....	148,759.50
Theaters, museums and concert halls.....	97,729.39
Legacies.....	2,896,306.81
Schedule A.....	66,781,776.80
Schedule B.....	8,693,881.17
Excise tax on gross receipts.....	1,463,547.69
Total.....	\$183,405,292.45

NOTE.—The above statement embraces all the items it is practicable to specify.

THE PACIFIC RAILROAD SETTLEMENTS.

The settlement of the Pacific Railroad indebtedness is also to be ranked as one of the great achievements of President McKinley's Administration. This indebtedness had for years been a subject of fruitless endeavor; all efforts, either by Congress or the Executive Departments, prior to 1897, were of little avail in protecting the Government's interests in these roads, in fact, there were grave doubts whether the Government would succeed in being reimbursed, even in part, the vast sum expended by the United States in aid of their construction.

The discovery of gold in California, the rapid increase in wealth and population in the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and a movement on the part of the older States to establish closer connections during the civil war with those outlying communities, led Congress in 1862 to authorize the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. The direct benefit to be derived by the Government was the use of the same for postal, military, and other purposes. The act of July 1, 1862, chartering the Union Pacific Railroad Company, was not sufficiently liberal, and therefore nothing was accomplished under its provisions. The Union Pacific Company was organized as provided by the act, but no one was found who would venture money in the construction of the road.

Congress was impressed with the urgent necessity of completing such a road to the Pacific Ocean, and with the immense economic advantages which would follow the construction of a transcontinental line. It, therefore, on July 2, 1864, amended the act of 1862, by making provisions more favorable to the companies. The act of 1862 provided that the Government should have a first mortgage on the property of the company, while the act of 1864 provided substantially that for the bonds the Government should issue in aid of the construction of the road it should take a second mortgage. Two companies were organized under the provisions of the act of 1864, and entered energetically upon the work of con-

struction. The road was built from the California end eastward by the Central Pacific Railroad Company, and from the Missouri River westward to the common meeting point at Ogden by the Union Pacific Company.

AIDING THE CENTRAL PACIFIC.

Their lines were united May 10, 1869, anticipating by more than seven years the time required by Congress therefor. The Union Pacific Company constructed 1,034 miles and the Central Pacific 743 miles. The road of the latter company was subsequently extended 140 miles, and the lines of the two companies from the Missouri River to San Francisco represented a mileage of 1,917 miles.

In aid of these roads and connecting branches the United States issued bonds to the amount of \$64,623,512. The United States failing to be reimbursed for the interest paid on these bonds, it became necessary, in protection of the interests of the Government, to pass the act of May 7, 1878, known as the "Thurman Act." This act provided that the whole amount of compensation which might, from time to time, be due to the several railroad companies for services rendered the Government should be retained by the Government, one-half thereof to be applied to the liquidation of the interest paid and, to be paid by the United States upon the bonds issued to each of the companies, the other half to be turned into a sinking fund.

But it soon became apparent that with the approaching maturity of bonds issued in aid of the roads the provisions of the "Thurman Act" were not adequate to the protection of the Government's interests. Efforts in and out of Congress were persistently made looking to a settlement of this vast indebtedness, but without success. So recently as the Fifty-fourth Congress an effort was made to pass a bill to refund the debts of the Pacific Railroad companies, but such a bill was defeated in the House by a vote of 167 nays and 102 yeas.

UNION AND KANSAS PACIFIC DEFAULTED.

On January 12, 1897, the day following the defeat of the funding bill, the Attorney-General was informed by the President that default had occurred in the payment of the Union Pacific and the Kansas Pacific indebtedness to the Government, and he was directed to make such arrangements as were possible to secure, as far as practicable, the payment of their indebtedness. An agreement was entered into between the Government and the reorganization committee of the Union Pacific Railroad by which the committee guaranteed, should the Government undertake to enforce its lien by sale, a minimum bid for the Union and Kansas Pacific lines that would produce to the Government over and above any prior liens and charges upon the railroads and sinking fund the net sum of \$45,754,059.99. In performance of this agreement the bid was guaranteed by a deposit of \$4,500,000.

Pursuant to the agreement with the reorganization committee, bills were filed in the United States circuit courts for the foreclosure of the Government lien. The decrees entered for the sale of the roads not being satisfactory to the Government, the propriety of an appeal was considered and papers were prepared for this purpose. At this juncture the reorganization committee came forward with an offer to increase its bid, making the total \$50,000,000 instead of \$45,754,059.99.

WATCHING THE GOVERNMENT'S INTERESTS.

Subsequently, to settle all points in dispute, the reorganization committee decided to abandon this second bid, and to increase the minimum amount to be offered for the property to the sum of \$58,448,223.75, being the total amount due the Government on account of the Union Pacific road, as stated by the Secretary of the Treasury, including the sum of \$4,549,368.26 cash in the sinking fund. Such an amount was bid by the reorganization committee on November 1, 1897, and the sale was confirmed by the court on November 6, 1897. After the confirmation of the sale the whole amount was paid into the Treasury of the United States in convenient installments, thus relieving the Government from any loss whatever upon its claim for principal and interest due upon its subsidy, and bringing to a final and most satisfactory termination a long-standing and troublesome question.

In the case of the Kansas Pacific indebtedness, by decree of the court, an

upset price on the sale of the property was fixed at a sum which would yield to the Government \$2,500,000. The reorganization committee in conference with the Government declared its purpose of making no higher bid than that fixed by the decree of court, so that the Government was confronted with the danger of receiving for its total lien upon this line, amounting to nearly \$13,000,000, principal and interest, only the sum of \$2,500,000.

Believing the interests of the Government required that an effort should be made to obtain a larger sum, and the Government having the right to redeem the incumbrances upon the property which were prior to the lien of the Government subsidy, by paying the sums lawfully due in respect thereof out of the Treasury of the United States, so that the United States should thereupon become subrogated to all rights and securities theretofore pertaining to the liens and mortgages, in respect of which such payments should be made, the President, on February 8, 1898, authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to pay out of the Treasury, to the person or persons lawfully entitled to receive the same, the amounts lawfully due upon the prior mortgages upon the eastern and middle divisions of said road.

DID BETTER THAN THE COURTS EXPECTED.

Steps were taken by the Government looking to the fulfillment of this direction, whereupon the reorganization committee offered to bid at the sale for said road a sum which would realize to the Government the whole amount of the principal of the debt, \$6,303,000. It was believed that no better price than this could be obtained at a later date if the sale should be postponed, and it was deemed best to permit the sale to proceed upon the guaranty of a minimum bid which would realize to the Government the whole principal of its debt. The sale thereupon took place, and the property was purchased by the reorganization committee. The sum yielded to the Government was \$6,303,000. It will thus be perceived that the Government secured an advance of \$3,803,000 on account of its lien over and above the sum which the court had fixed as the upset price, and which the reorganization committee had declared was the maximum which they were willing to pay for the property.

The result of these proceedings against the Union Pacific system embracing the main line and the Kansas Pacific line, is that the Government has received on account of its subsidy claim the sum of \$64,751,223.75, which is an increase of \$18,997,163.76 over the sum which the reorganization committee first agreed to bid for the joint property, leaving due the sum of \$6,588,900.19 interest on the Kansas Pacific subsidy. The prosecution of a claim for this amount against the receivers of the Union Pacific Company in 1898 resulted in securing to the Government the further sum of \$821,897.70.

CENTRAL PACIFIC'S INDEBTEDNESS.

The indebtedness of the Central Pacific Railroad Company to the Government became due January 1, 1898, when default in payment was made by the company. The deficiency appropriation act of July 7, 1898, appointed the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Attorney-General a commission with full power to settle the indebtedness to the Government growing out of the issue of bonds to aid in the construction of the Central Pacific and Western Pacific roads upon such terms and in such manner as might be agreed upon by them, or by a majority of them, and the owners of said railroads, subject to the approval of the President.

An agreement for the settlement of this indebtedness was entered into between the said commissioners with the railroad companies on February 1, 1899. At that date the amount due the United States for principal and interest upon its subsidy liens upon the Central Pacific and Western Pacific railroads was \$58,812,715.48, more than one-half of which was accrued interest upon the principal debt.

AGREEMENT FOR SETTLEMENT.

The agreement for settlement provided for the funding of this amount into twenty promissory notes bearing date February 1, 1899, payable, respectively, on or before the expiration of each successive six months for ten years, each note being for the sum of \$2,940,635.78, or one-twentieth of the total amount due,

the notes to bear interest at the rate of 3 per cent per annum, payable semi-annually, and having a condition attached to the effect that if default be made either in the payment of principal or interest of either of said notes or any part thereof, then all of the said notes outstanding, principal and interest, to immediately become due and payable notwithstanding any other stipulation of the agreement of settlement.

It was further agreed that the payment of principal and interest of the notes should be secured by the deposit with the United States Treasury of \$57,820,000 face value of first refunding mortgage 4 per cent gold bonds, to be thereafter issued by the Central Pacific or its successor having charge of the railroads then owned by said company, such bonds to be part of an issue of not exceeding \$100,000,000 in all, and to be secured by mortgage upon all railroads, equipments, and terminals owned by said Central Pacific Railroad Company, such mortgage to be a first lien upon such property, or to be secured by the deposit as collateral of certain percentages of the outstanding bonds upon such property or on the different divisional parts thereof.

The notes provided for by this agreement were duly executed and delivered to the Treasurer of the United States in conformity with the terms of the agreement. In pursuance of another provision of the agreement, the four earliest maturing notes were purchased by Speyer & Co., March 10, 1899, and the proceeds, amounting to \$11,762,543.12, and accrued interest to the date of payment, \$35,771.02—in all, \$11,798,314.14—were received and covered into the Treasury, March 27, 1899, as part payment of the indebtedness of the Central Pacific and Western Pacific Railroad companies. The properties of the various companies comprising the Central Pacific system were subsequently conveyed to a new corporation called the Central Pacific Railway Company, which latter company executed the mortgage and bonds provided for by the agreement of settlement.

PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST REIMBURSED.

On October 7, 1899, bonds were delivered to the Treasury Department by the Central Pacific Railway Company to secure the outstanding notes held by the Treasury in conformity to the terms of the agreement of settlement. The United States therefore holds the notes of the Central Pacific Railroad Company, guaranteed by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, to the amount of \$47,050,172.36, bearing interest payable semi-annually at the rate of 3 per cent per annum, and secured by the deposit of an equal amount of first-mortgage bonds of the Pacific Railway Company, thus providing, beyond doubt or peradventure, for the sure and gradual payment of the whole of this subsidy debt, and providing in the meantime for the payment of interest at the rate of 3 per cent upon the unpaid balances. The United States, through the settlement agreement thus entered into, will be reimbursed the full amount of the principal and interest of the Central Pacific and Western Pacific debt, aggregating \$58,812,715.48.

The amounts now remaining due the United States (March 1, 1900) from Pacific railroads on account of bonds issued in aid of their construction, is shown in the following statement:

Name of Road.	Principal.	Interest.	Total.
Central Branch Union Pacific.....	\$1,600,000	\$2,152,359.54	\$3,752,359.54
Sioux City and Pacific.....	1,628,320	2,578,677.68	4,206,997.68
Total.....	\$3,228,320	\$4,731,037.22	\$7,959,357.22

GOVERNMENT REALIZED \$124,421,670.95.

So that it appears out of an indebtedness of about \$130,000,000, more than one-half of which consists of accrued interest, the Government has realized in cash or its equivalent the sum of \$124,421,670.95 within a period of less than two years.

No other Administration in the history of the United States has ever so quickly, so thoroughly, and so satisfactorily enforced the settlement of large claims held by the Government against business corporations, nor has any similar settlement ever previously been made by the Government to such good financial advantage. The claims were due, the President insisted upon their collection, and this was done in a prompt and business-like manner.

The New Currency Law.

ALREADY PROVING ITS VALUE BY INCREASE IN CURRENCY AND IN THE NUMBER OF BANKS FOR CONVENIENCE OF THE MASSES.

Among the numerous acts of the two Congresses since President McKinley's election, the one next in importance after that which restored protection to our industries is the currency act. It has done for our currency what the Dingley Act did for our industries and commerce—given stability, confidence, activity, and prosperity. Already there have been nearly 300 applications for permission to establish national banks with capital of less than \$50,000 each, showing that many communities where no national banks existed will now be given the advantages of this service, and the increase in national-bank currency already amounts to many millions of dollars.

This act is so important and its effect upon our currency and financial system so important that I desire to present a simple and concise statement of its provisions, made by that eminent authority, the present Secretary of the Treasury, on the day on which it went into operation.

SECRETARY GAGE'S STATEMENT.

"The financial bill has for its first object what its title indicates—the fixing of the standard of value and the maintaining of a parity with that standard of all forms of money issued or coined by the United States. It reaffirms that the unit of value is the dollar, consisting of 25.8 grains of gold of nine-tenths fine, but from that point it goes on to make it the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain all forms of money issued or coined at a parity with this standard. It puts into the hands of the Secretary ample power to do that. For that purpose the bill provides in the Treasury bureaus of issue and redemption, and transfers from the general fund of the Treasury's cash \$150,000,000 in gold coin and bullion to the redemption fund, that gold to be used for the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes. That fund is henceforth absolutely cut out of and separated from the cash balance in the Treasury, and the available cash balance will hereafter show a reduction of \$150,000,000 from the figures that have heretofore prevailed. This \$150,000,000 redemption fund is to be used for no other purpose than the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes, and those notes so redeemed may be exchanged for gold in the general fund or with the public, so that the reserve fund is kept full with gold to the \$150,000,000 limit.

POWER GIVEN THE SECRETARY.

"The Secretary is given further power. If redemptions go on so that the gold in this reserve is reduced below \$100,000,000, and he is unable to build it up to the \$150,000,000 mark by exchange for gold in the general fund or otherwise, he is given power to sell bonds, and it is made his duty to replenish the gold to the \$150,000,000 mark by such means.

ENDLESS CHAIN BROKEN.

"The 'endless chain' is broken by a provision which prohibits the use of notes so redeemed to meet deficiencies in the current revenues. The act provides for the ultimate retirement of all the Treasury notes issued in payment for silver bullion under the Sherman Act. As fast as that bullion is coined into silver dollars Treasury notes are to be retired and replaced with an equal amount of silver certificates.

"The measure authorizes the issue of gold certificates in exchange for deposits of gold coin, the same as at present, but suspends that authority whenever and so long as the gold in the redemption fund is below \$100,000,000, and gives to the Secretary the option to suspend the issue of such certificates whenever the silver certificates and United States notes in the general fund of the Treasury exceed \$60,000,000.

SILVER CERTIFICATES.

"The bill provides for a larger issue of silver certificates, by declaring that hereafter silver certificates shall be issued only in denominations of \$10 and under, except as to 10 per cent of the total volume. Room is made for this larger use of silver certificates in the way of small bills by another provision which makes it necessary as fast as the present silver certificates of high denominations are

broken up into small denominations, and replace them with notes of denominations of \$10 and upward. Further room is made for the circulation of small silver certificates by a clause which permits national banks to have only one-third of their capital in denomination under \$10.

COINING SILVER.

"One clause of the bill which the public will greatly appreciate is the right that it gives to the Secretary to coin any of the 1890 bullion into subsidiary silver coins up to a limit of \$100,000,000. There has for years been a scarcity of subsidiary silver during periods of active retail trade, but this provision will give the Treasury ample opportunity to supply all the subsidiary silver that is needed. Another provision that the public will greatly appreciate is the authority given to the Secretary to recoin worn and uncurrent subsidiary silver now in the Treasury or hereafter received. The bill makes a continuing appropriation for paying the difference between the face value of such coin and the amount the same will produce in the new coin.

REFUNDING THE DEBT.

"A distinct feature of the bill is in reference to refunding the 3 per cent Spanish war loan, the 2 per cent bonds maturing in 1907, and the 5 per cent bonds maturing in 1904, a total of \$830,000,000, into new 2 per cent bonds. These new 2 per cent bonds will not be offered for sale, but will only be issued in exchange for an equal amount, face value, of old bonds. The holders of old bonds will receive a premium in cash to compensate them in a measure for the sacrifice of interest which they make. That cash premium will be computed on a basis of the present worth of the old bonds at 2½ per cent, and will be on April 1, the date that the new 2 per cent bonds will bear \$165.6851 for the threes, \$111.6765 for the fours, and \$110.0751 for each \$100 of the fives. This exchange will save the Government, after deducting the premium paid, nearly \$23,000,000, if all the holders of the old bonds exchange them for the new ones. National banks that take out circulation based on the new bonds are to be taxed only one-half of 1 per cent on the average amount of circulation outstanding, while those who have circulation based on a deposit of old bonds will be taxed, as at present, 1 per cent.

OTHER NATIONAL-BANK PROVISIONS.

"There are some other changes in the national-banking act. The law permits national banks with \$25,000 capital to be organized in places of 3,000 inhabitants or less, whereas heretofore the minimum capital has been \$50,000. It also permits banks to issue circulation on all classes of bonds deposited up to the par value of the bonds, instead of 90 per cent of their face, as heretofore. This ought to make an immediate increase in national-bank circulation of something like \$24,000,000, as the amount of bonds now deposited to secure circulation is about \$242,000,000. If the price of the new twos is not forced so high in the market that there is no profit left to national banks in taking out circulation, we may also look for a material increase in national-bank circulation based on additional deposits of bonds.

"National banks are permitted under the law to issue circulation up to an amount equal to their capital. The total capital of all national banks is \$616,000,000. The total circulation outstanding is \$253,000,000. There is, therefore, a possibility of an increase in circulation of \$863,000,000, although the price of the new 2 per cent bonds, as already foreshadowed by market quotations in advance of their issue, promises to be so high that the profit to the banks in taking out circulation will not be enough to make the increase anything like such a possible total."

The Department of State.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES MARCH 4, 1897-MAY 1, 1900—A REVIEW OF AN EVENTFUL PERIOD IN OUR NATIONAL HISTORY—THE WAR WITH SPAIN—THE SAMOAN, HAWAIIAN, AND ALASKAN INCIDENTS—THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA—THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

At the time of President McKinley's inauguration the most important problem confronting the new Administration in its foreign relations was the long-continued insurrection in the island of Cuba, with the inconvenience and cost

imposed upon the Government of the United States by the endeavor to enforce its laws and protect the property of its citizens.

Throughout a period of extreme tension of public feeling caused by the horrors of the conflict in Cuba, the Government continued its policy of patience in dealing with the trying situation.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND THE PEACE OF PARIS.

The instructions given to Minister Woodford for his guidance at Madrid directed him to impress upon the Government of Spain the sincere wish of the United States to lend its aid in securing a peace honorable alike to Spain and the people of Cuba. A new administration in the Spanish Government encouraged the hope that a change of policy might be adopted which would result in the pacification of Cuba, but this hope was doomed to disappointment. After long and patient negotiation in the interest of peace, to the evils which had so long pressed upon this country in consequence of the insurrection was added a series of incidents that rendered necessary, on April 21, 1898, an armed intervention to terminate the humiliation imposed by the condition of affairs. The brief and brilliant period of war with Spain was followed by preliminaries of peace, signed on August 12, providing for the relinquishment of sovereignty over Cuba, the cession of Porto Rico and other islands belonging to Spain in the West Indies, together with an island in the Ladrões, to be selected by the United States, and the occupation of territory in the city and vicinity of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which should determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines.

When the Commissioners of the United States, sent to Paris to negotiate a treaty of peace with the representatives of Spain, confronted the problem of settlement, it became evident that the interests of the population of the Philippine Islands, the peace of the world, and the consistent completion of the task of pacification undertaken by the Government alike demanded the cession of the entire Philippine Archipelago to the United States. At the same time justice to a foreign foe and the magnanimous spirit of the American people seemed to require a recognition of the actual expenditures of Spain in the internal improvement of the islands, and the sum of \$20,000,000 was agreed upon as a suitable compensation for the transfer of this great archipelago, whose extensive public lands, estimated at one-half the whole area of the islands, rich in mineral wealth and forests of valuable timber, will prove abundantly sufficient to justify this expenditure and to provide resources for a future government.

THE HAWAIIAN, SAMOAN AND ALASKAN QUESTIONS.

The annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, the cession of Guam, and the acquisition of the Philippines extend the sovereignty of this Government across the Pacific Ocean and provide a series of valuable naval stations and entrepôts of commerce which promise to facilitate incalculably the oriental trade and secure the pathway to an opening market of increasing importance. The settlement of the Samoan question by the dissolution of the tripartite protectorate which had proved so fertile in embarrassments, and the undisputed sole occupation of the island of Tutuila, with its admirable harbor, the best in the South Pacific, by the United States, add greatly to the influence and security of this country in that ocean.

The exorbitant claims of the Canadian government with reference to the Alaskan boundary, unreasonable and unhistorical in their extent, though impeding and for the time being thwarting the efforts of this Government to adjudicate in a mutually advantageous manner the differences with the Dominion, which had been referred to a joint commission, have nevertheless been firmly met by the President, who has thus far preserved our important territorial rights by the *modus vivendi* of October 20, 1899, and defeated the attempt to destroy the continuity of our Alaskan coast line and to divide the control of the Northern Pacific.

THE INTEROCEANIC CANAL.

Thus extended and maintained in the Pacific, the territorial jurisdiction of the United States has been augmented in the Atlantic by the cession of Porto Rico, which, with the occupation of Cuba, held in trust for the future, serves to guard the Gulf of Mexico and to extend our influence in the West Indies.

The necessary link to connect our Atlantic and Pacific interests, continental as well as insular, has seemed to be an interoceanic canal, owned and controlled by the Government of the United States. An apparently irremovable barrier to the accomplishment of this object has existed in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which since 1850 has bound this Government not to undertake such a project as a national enterprise.

Through all the political administrations since the negotiations of that convention no American President or Secretary of State has ever denied the existence and the consequent obligation of that treaty during its continued recognition. Whatever may be said of its "voidability," its existence as a solemn compact binds the conscience and honor of the American Government and people until it is legally annulled. In a convention dated February 8, 1900, this Government procured the voluntary consent of Great Britain to modify essentially the terms of that agreement, thereby liberating the United States from its previous engagement not to construct or own an interoceanic canal. As the canal must of necessity lie wholly within territory foreign to the United States, it is evident that it must be of a neutral character and not be employed as an agency of war. This convention is now before the Senate of the United States awaiting its action.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

Following immediately after the brilliant naval and military achievements of the Spanish-American war, the Peace Conference at The Hague afforded the Government of the United States an opportunity of expressing the pacific disposition and the love of justice which animate the American people by proposing, through its delegates, a plan for international arbitration, which, reinforced by other similar propositions, resulted in a convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes signed by the plenipotentiaries of twenty-two sovereign states, including all the great powers of Europe.

The United States, in signing this great compact, at the same time insisted on reaffirming, in the document itself, our adherence to the Monroe Doctrine, and thus gained for that vital principle of our policy the recognition of the world.

Without cherishing illusions with regard to the practicability of universal peace, it is yet possible to believe that the existence of a permanent international tribunal before which differences may be adjudicated in their incipency and before their accumulation becomes serious will exercise a profound influence toward a better and more rational solution of disputes between nations. The numerous arrangements for the arbitration of special questions which the Department of State has recently been able to effect give evidence of a growing disposition to apply the principles of peaceful adjudication to the solution of controversies wherever practicable.

THE QUESTION OF THE "OPEN DOOR" IN CHINA.

The diplomatic history of our country affords no better example of successful endeavor to secure by mutual consent an evident right than that offered by the recent correspondence carried on under the President's direction for maintaining the "open door" of trade in China. The establishment of spheres of influence in that ancient Empire by European States, supported by the control of important seaports, has seemed to many to forbode the practical partition of that country among foreign powers and the effective appropriation of commercial privileges in China to the exclusion of all not able or willing to claim a portion for themselves. By a timely series of diplomatic notes Secretary Hay has obtained assurances from the Governments of Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Russia, by which they pledge themselves not to interfere with the perfect freedom of trade in those portions of China where their influence may prevail. The unobstructed enjoyment of the privileges of trade is thus secured to American manufacturers and merchants by the free consent of the powers.

Perhaps the most important fruit of this unprecedented negotiation may prove to be that all the powers, feeling the assurance of unrestricted commerce, may be disposed to accentuate to a less degree, or even to abandon, that policy of commercial annexation which has apparently been promoted by the absence of such a just and reasonable understanding. The American claim to unrestricted facilities of trade in China is not a special favor asked and granted, or demanding reciprocity. It is based on treaty rights which promise equal treatment to

Americans with the citizens or subjects of the most-favored nation. The recognition of these rights have been obtained at a moment when they were apparently about to be ignored.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Regarding the unfortunate conflict between Great Britain and the Republics of South Africa, this Government has faithfully observed the laws of neutrality and strictly followed the traditional policy of non-intervention which has always characterized the conduct of the United States with respect to foreign wars. In a declaration offered to the peace conference at The Hague by the American delegation, effectually obtaining the first recognition of the Monroe doctrine by an international body, the "traditional policy of not intruding upon, or interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy * * * of any foreign State" is reaffirmed, together with a new avowal of the attitude of the United States toward purely American questions. This consistent neutrality, steadily maintained in spite of the impulses of sentiment which often endanger public interests, has rendered more available the mediatorial action of the United States upon the joint request of both belligerents in case an opportune case should arise.

In his message to Congress of December 5, 1899, President McKinley was able to say:

"Had circumstances suggested that the parties to the quarrel would have welcomed any kindly expression of the hope of the American people that war might be averted, good offices would have been gladly tendered."

As these circumstances did not arise, no occasion was presented for tendering good offices until a request was received from the Republics of South Africa (March 10, 1900) that the United States should intervene to procure a cessation of hostilities. A similar request was simultaneously sent to the leading European governments, but no action was taken by them. The Government of the United States, whose attitude rendered it peculiarly available for mediatorial services, immediately addressed an offer of good offices to Lord Salisbury, expressing "the earnest hope" of the President that a way to bring about peace might be found, and adding that the President—would be glad to aid in any friendly manner to promote so happy a result.

GREAT BRITAIN WOULD NOT ACCEPT OUR GOOD OFFICES.

The indisposition of Great Britain to accept the good offices of the United States shows how futile were the proposals of philanthropic persons in urging, unaware of the nature of international relations, the mandatory intervention of the United States, which would have destroyed its usefulness as a mediator and, if insisted upon by this Government, would have placed it in a belligerent attitude toward Great Britain in violation of its principle and policy of neutrality. It is not to be presumed that any patriotic person could seriously entertain the desire of involving his country in the obligations and consequences of actual war on account of circumstances entirely foreign to the interests of the United States. The discretion of the American Congress in refusing to take sides by passing resolutions of sympathy with either belligerent has rendered the United States still available as an ultimate mediator in this conflict, provided its services should ever be invoked by both combatants. Until they are thus desired interference of any kind could only give offense and render nugatory the benevolent intentions of this Government.

"THERE IS NO ALLIANCE WITH ENGLAND."

Mr. Speaker, the fact that there has been repeated in this House, during recent discussions, the false and unjust charge that the present Administration has entered into a secret alliance with England leads me to present and make a part of the public record a letter written to me on this subject by a man who is in position to know the truth, and the whole truth, and whose words will not be doubted by any who know him or his honorable career. I allude to Hon. John Hay, the present Secretary of State. His letter is as follows:

Newbury, N. H., September 11, 1899.

Hon. Charles Dick,

Chairman State Executive Committee, Columbus, Ohio.

Dear Mr. Dick: I am sorry that my engagements are such as to render it im-

possible for me to accept your kind invitation to be present at the opening of the Ohio Republican State campaign at Akron on the 23d of September. I regret this the more as the occasion promises to be one of unusual interest. A stirring campaign and, I doubt not, a great victory await you.

Our opponents this year are in an unfortunate position. They have lost, for all practical purposes, their political stock in trade of recent years. Their money hobby has all collapsed under them. Their orators still shout 16 to 1 from time to time from the force of habit, but they are like wisdom crying in the streets in one respect at least, because "no man regardeth them." With our vaults full of gold; with a sufficiency of money to meet the demands of a volume of business unprecedentedly vast and profitable; with labor generally employed at fair wages; with our commerce overspreading the world; with every dollar the Government issues as good as any other dollar; with our finances as firm as a rock and our credit the best ever known it is no time for financial mountebanks to cry their nostrums in the market place, with any chance of being heard.

It is equally hopeless to try to resuscitate the corpse of free trade. The Dingley tariff, the legitimate successor of the McKinley bill—that name of good augury—has justified itself by its works. It is not only true that our domestic trade has reached proportions never before attained, but the American policy of protection, the policy of all our most illustrious statesmen, of Washington and Hamilton, Lincoln, Grant, and McKinley—has been triumphantly vindicated by the proof that it is as efficacious in extending our foreign commerce as in fostering and stimulating our home industries. Our exports of domestic manufactures reached in this last fiscal year the unexampled total of \$360,000,000, an amount more than two hundred millions in excess of our exports ten years ago. These figures ring the knell of those specious arguments which have been the reliance of our opponents for so many years, and which are only fruitful in times of leanness and disaster.

What is left, then, in the way of a platform? The regulation of trusts, which the Republicans can themselves manage, having all the requisite experience both of the legislation and business; and finally, the war, which—it seems—was too efficiently carried on and has been too beneficial to the nation to suit the Democratic leaders. We have been able to give in our time some novel ideas to the rest of the world—and none are more novel than this—that a great party should complain that the results of a war were too advantageous. It will be hard, however, to convince the bulk of our people that we are the worse off because our flag has gained great honor, our possessions have been extended, our position in the world increased, and our opportunity for work for usefulness enormously widened through the fortunes of war and the valor of our soldiers and sailors.

Being in this desperate need of arguments, it is not strange that they should have recourse to fiction. An attempt is made in the Ohio Democratic platform to excite the prejudice of certain classes of voters against the present Administration by accusing it of an alliance with England. The people who make this charge know it to be untrue; their making it is an insult to the intelligence of those whose votes they seek by this gross misrepresentation. But as one of their favorite methods of campaign is to invent a fiction too fantastic for contradiction, and then to assume it to be true because it has not been contradicted, you may permit me to take one moment to dispose of this ghost story, as it refers to the department with which I am connected. There is no alliance with England, nor with any power under heaven, except those known and published to the world—the treaties of ordinary international friendship for purposes of business and commerce. No treaty other than these exists; none has been suggested on either side; none is in contemplation. It has never entered into the mind of the President nor of any member of the Government to forsake, under any inducement, the wise precept and example of the fathers which forbade entangling alliances with European powers.

I need not dwell upon this fact. Even the men who wrote the Ohio platform know there is no alliance. But they seek to make capital in this campaign out of the undeniable fact that our relations with England are more friendly and more satisfactory than they have ever been before. It is hard to take such a charge seriously; and if it is taken seriously, how can it be treated with patience? In the name of common sense, let me ask what is the duty of the Government, if not to cultivate, wherever possible, agreeable and profitable relations with other nations? And if with other nations, why not with that great kindred power which

stands among the greatest powers of the world? What harm, what menace to other countries, is there in this natural and beneficent friendship? Only a narrow and purblind spirit could see in it anything exclusive. It is a poor starved heart that has room for only one friend. It is not with England alone that our relations are improved. We are on better terms than in the past with all nations. With Russia, our old-time friend; with the great German Empire, to which we are bound by so many ties; with our sister Republic of France; with Italy, Austria, and in short every European, every Asiatic nation, our relations are growing in intimacy and cordiality every year; and our friendship with our neighbors to the south of us, from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn, grows firmer, more genuine, day by day.

And why should it not be so? Everyone likes to be on good terms with the peaceful and the prosperous, especially if their prosperity is of that nature that other people profit by it, and this is precisely our condition. Our trade is taking that vast development for which we have been preparing through many years of wise American policy, of sturdy American industry, of thoughtful invention and experiment by trained American intelligence. We have gone far toward solving the problem which has so long vexed the economists of the world—of raising wages and at the same time lowering the cost of production—something which no other people have ever accomplished in an equal degree.

We pay the highest wages which are paid in the world; and we sell our goods to such an advantage that we are beginning to furnish them to every quarter of the globe. We are building locomotives for railways in Europe, Asia, and Africa; our bridges can be built in America, ferried across the Atlantic, transported up the Nile, and flung across a river in the Soudan in less time than any European nation, with a start of 4,000 miles, can do the work. We sell ironware in Birmingham; carpets in Kidderminster; we pipe the sewers of Scotch cities; our bicycles distance all competition on the Continent; Ohio sends watch cases to Geneva. All this is to the advantage of all parties; there is no sentiment in it; they buy our wares because we make them better and at lower cost than other people. We are enabled to do this through wise laws and the American genius for economy. Our working people prosper because we are all working people; our idle class is too meager to count. All the energies of the nation are devoted to this mighty task—to insure to labor its adequate reward and so to cheapen production as to bring the product within the reach of the greatest number for least money.

Of course, our prosperity would not bring us friends if we held an attitude of menace to other nations. But this we have never done, and I hope and believe we never shall do. We have great latent military power; we are capable at short notice of remarkable military efficiency; but the habit and spirit of the American people is essentially peaceful. The vast majority of our people would be glad to think that the era of wars was over; that not another battle anywhere in the world should ever stain the earth with carnage or break the heart of a mother. No other nation would ever have shown the long-suffering patience with which we watched for so many years the scenes of waste and disorder which make the recent history of Cuba. When the state of things at our door had become intolerable, we took up arms to redress wrongs already too long endured, without a thought in any mind of conquest or aggression. But no one can control the issues of war. Porto Rico and the Philippines are ours, and the destinies of Cuba are for the moment intrusted to our care. It is not permitted us to shirk the vast responsibilities thus imposed upon us without exhibiting a nerveless pusillanimity which would bring upon us not only the scorn of the world, but what is far worse, our own self-contempt. But as we did not seek these acquisitions—which came to us through the irresistible logic of war—we are not striving anywhere to acquire territory or extend our power by conquest. It is no secret that in more than one quarter outlying territory only awaits our acceptance; but every overture of this nature has been and, I am confident, will be declined. The whole world knows we are not covetous of land; not a chancery in Europe sees in us an interested rival in their schemes of acquisition. What is ours we shall hold; what is not ours we do not seek. But in the field of trade and commerce we shall be the keen competitors of the richest and greatest powers, and they need no warning to be assured that in that struggle we shall bring the sweat to their brows.

It was written of old that a man's foes shall be of his own household. The simple fact is that at this moment the whole world is our friend, except certain leaders of the Democratic party. All countries crowd into our markets, though our opponents say our tariff is barbarous. Our achievements in war have received

the ungrudging praise of foreign nations and meet with unjust and carping criticism only at home. All other countries bid us godspeed in the work of bringing order and civilization to the Philippines, and it was left to a man in Cincinnati the other day to wish that "Otis and his army might be swept into the sea." It is hard to exterminate a rooted tendency—the Proverbs say something about braying in a mortar. The party which by unwise leadership in 1861 was made to place itself across the path of freedom and progress should take care not to follow the lead this year of men as lacking in sagacity as they are in patriotism. But we may take comfort in the reflection that no leaders can carry all their party into courses their judgment must condemn and their hearts reject. There are, thank God, many Democrats in Ohio who do not desire the humiliation of their country or the dishonor of their flag.

Your faithfully,

JOHN HAY.

The War Department.

RESULTS THAT HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED INCIDENT TO THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

Prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American war the strength of the Regular Army was 2,143 officers and 26,040 enlisted men. Under the President's first and second calls, April 23 and May 25, respectively, and the recruitment of the Regular Army to the maximum allowed by law, the strength of the Army, Regular and Volunteer, in August, 1898, was 11,108 officers and 263,609 enlisted men.

In the meantime a vast amount of work, which words fail to describe, was performed by the various staff departments, after day and night conferences with the chiefs thereof, in organizing, equipping, arming, disciplining, and advancing the volunteers to a state of efficiency for active field service, and later transporting the various organizations to the camps or rendezvous to which they had been assigned.

THE ADVANCE OF OUR TROOPS.

On May 30, 1898, instructions were issued by the Department directing an expedition, under command of Maj.-Gen. William R. Shafter, to proceed to Cuba to "capture the garrison at Santiago and assist in capturing the harbor and fleet of the enemy." This expedition sailed on June 14, 1898, from Tampa, Fla., with 815 officers and 16,072 enlisted men on 33 transports, which had been collected with extraordinary dispatch and energy by the Quartermaster's Department, and arrived at Daiquiri on June 21 and proceeded to disembark the next day. The troops immediately advanced and captured Siboney, the only resistance being a few scattering shots, thus establishing a base of supplies 8 miles nearer Santiago.

On the morning of June 24, 1898, a dismounted cavalry brigade advanced on and attacked the enemy at La Guashima, and, after a stubborn resistance, carried their intrenchments.

On July 1 an attack was made on El Caney, and, after a battle of varying intensity during most of the day, the place was carried by assault about 4 p. m. In the meantime, preparations for an attack on San Juan Hill were completed, and, after a fierce encounter, the American forces drove the enemy from his intrenchments and blockhouses, thus gaining a position that sealed the fate of Santiago.

On July 8 the commander of the Spanish forces offered to march out of the city of Santiago with arms and baggage provided he would not be molested before reaching Holguin, and to surrender to the American forces the territory then occupied by him. This proposition was rejected. On the morning of July 11 the surrender of the city was again demanded and reply made that the demand had been communicated to the general-in-chief of the Spanish forces. On the morning of the 14th, General Toral agreed to surrender upon the basis of his army, the Fourth Army Corps, being returned to Spain. The terms of surrender finally agreed upon included 22,789 Spanish troops; of these 22,137 were repatriated at the expense of the United States.

FORMAL SURRENDER OF THE SPANIARDS.

The formal surrender took place on the 17th of July, 1898, and at noon of that date the American flag was raised over the governor's palace with appropriate ceremonies.

The total number of Spanish troops on the island of Cuba, as shown by September, 1898, rolls, was 10,956 officers and 215,134 enlisted men, classed as follows: Regulars, 5,093 officers, 115,355 enlisted men; volunteers, 5,258 officers, 80,504 enlisted men; irregular volunteer troops, 605 officers, 19,275 enlisted men.

On August 4, 1898, orders were issued for the repatriation of the troops in General Shafter's command, and after arrival in the United States they went into camp at Montauk Point, Long Island, N. Y., which, in the meantime, had been fitted up for their reception.

On July 7, 1898, Congress ratified and confirmed the cession of the Hawaiian Islands, made by the government of that republic, and on July 29, 1898, a force of 57 officers and 1,464 enlisted men, commanded by Colonel Thomas Barber, First New York Volunteer Infantry, sailed for Honolulu to garrison that place.

THE FIRST FORCE FOR MANILA.

The first expeditionary force sailed for Manila, P. I., on May 25, and arrived June 30, 1898; the second sailed June 15 and arrived July 17, and the third left on June 29 and arrived July 25. The total number of officers and men in these three expeditions was 10,920, and they were under the command of Maj.-Gen. Wesley Merritt. The city of Manila was captured, with the assistance of the Navy, August 13, 1898, and the American flag raised the same date. Subsequently, between this date and February 19, 1899, 17 other expeditions were sent to the Philippine Islands, making a total of 1,054 officers and 28,340 enlisted men on those islands in March, 1899. This force, comprised mostly of volunteers, has since been repatriated, and regular army organizations and United States volunteers to the number of 63,000 comprise the force at present in the Philippines.

THE EXPEDITION TO PORTO RICO.

On July 21, 1898, an expedition sailed for Porto Rico, Maj.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Commanding General United States Army, in command, with 3,554 officers and enlisted men, for the purpose of attacking that island, which was garrisoned by 17,340 Spanish soldiers, regular and volunteer. This expedition arrived at Guanica, July 25, and after a short skirmish the American flag was raised at that place. Subsequently, five other expeditions sailed for Porto Rico, making a total of 641 officers and 16,332 enlisted men of the United States Army, regular and volunteer, on that island in August, 1898. Porto Rico was practically subjugated when the peace protocol was signed, and instructions issued for the cessation of hostilities August 13, 1898.

Between August 14, 1899, and April 2, 1900, 11,292 tons of food stuffs, the value of which was \$737,397.26, have been sent to Porto Rico for indigent Porto Ricans by the Commissary Department, and an additional \$1,000 worth distributed to them from the subsistence depot on that island. Hundreds of tons have also been contributed by the general public and distributed under the supervision of the military authorities on the island.

The signing of the peace protocol, August 12, 1898, inaugurated the work of discharge of about 30,000 war enlistments of the Regular Army and the muster-out and distribution throughout the country of State volunteer organizations, involving the repatriation, exclusive of regular troops, of 63,198 officers and enlisted men from Porto Rico, Cuba, Philippine Islands, and Hawaii, causing the recruitment, mobilization and movement to those islands of fresh regular troops and the organization of 25 regiments of United States volunteers and the Porto Rican battalion, all under command of officers of the Regular Army.

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF CUBA.

In Cuba the military government has reorganized the insular police (rural guards) and placed that of each municipality upon a new basis; it has cleaned the cities, and by the introduction of modern sanitation has secured a most satisfactory decrease in the mortality. The customs and insular taxation system have been placed upon such a basis that the island is not only self-supporting, but is enabled to make important improvements. Much progress has recently been

made in establishing a modern school system, while the United States postal system has superseded the former inefficient service.

In Porto Rico boards of health have been appointed in municipalities and sanitation has made great strides; the building of good roads has been conducted on an extensive scale. The schools have been reorganized, modern methods and text-books being introduced. The burdens of taxation upon the people have been greatly reduced, while the efficiency of the governmental service has been greatly augmented. An up-to-date postal service is now enjoyed by the people, while the judiciary and police systems are in much more satisfactory condition than formerly.

In the Philippines, in addition to the former ports of Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, and Zamboango, there are now open to the commerce of the world twenty-five other ports. Initial steps have been taken, under Army officers, for the civil reorganization of municipalities. The United States postal service has closely followed the troops. Public schools are being opened, in which the most approved American text-books are in use.

The Signal Corps has performed its work with unequaled promptness, ability and success. The telephone, telegraph and flag have kept the President in touch, through commanding generals, not only with every Army corps and their advanced skirmish lines, but with cooperating squadrons of the Navy.

In constructive work the corps has built nearly seven thousand miles of telegraph, and is to-day operating these lines in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines with an efficiency and economy hitherto unknown in those countries.

INCREASE IN OUR ARMAMENT.

Immediately preceding the outbreak of the war with Spain there were available for the defense of the seacoast 63 heavy guns and 88 mortars. The work was pushed rapidly by the Engineer Department, with the result that by August 1, 1898, there were mounted for defense a total of 121 heavy guns, 144 mortars, and 26 rapid-fire guns. In addition, 25 of the principal harbors of the United States had been effectively defended by submarine mines. On June 30, 1899, there had been mounted 189 heavy guns, 176 mortars and 46 rapid-fire guns, and a large number of additional batteries were under construction, and the principal harbors of the United States rendered fairly secure against a naval attack.

IMPROVEMENTS OF RIVERS AND HARBORS.

Notwithstanding the additional exacting duties necessitated by this war, the numerous river and harbor improvements and other public engineering works in the charge of the Corps of Engineers, representing an annual expenditure of over \$25,000,000, were administered without the slightest interruption or sacrifice of the public interests.

The sudden expansion of the Army imposed a most difficult task upon the Medical Department—a task which was worked out with the greatest success and the highest credit. War inevitably entails disease, suffering, and death, but, it can be safely said, in no war have the sick and wounded received so many comforts and been so tenderly nursed.

The health of our troops serving in the newly acquired territory has been guarded by every provision that modern science can provide, and the sickness and mortality from disease has been kept far below what was to be expected. The ratio of deaths per thousand of mean strength for the first year of the war was but 25.73, while that for the first year of the war of 1861-65 was 45.87.

FINEST TRANSPORT SERVICE IN THE WORLD.

It is a fact well worthy of consideration to state that the Quartermaster-General's Office, which at the outbreak of the war did not have a transport that was fitted for the transportation of troops, has to-day the finest transport service in the world, and has transported about 300,000 passengers many thousands of miles at sea without the sacrifice of a single life due to any fault of the Army transport service.

This service is a revelation in the method of transporting troops, and the representatives of other nations have requested and been furnished data upon which to pattern after it.

The Ordnance Department armed and equipped the troops for the Spanish

war with a rapidity which must be regarded as gratifying. The arms and equipments were ready as soon as the troops could be mustered in and organized, and the material distributed. The productive capacity of the arsenals was quickly expanded and contracts were made with private manufacturers, so that in one hundred days after the first call for troops, the Ordnance Department had made or purchased 250,000 sets of infantry equipments and 26,000 sets of horse equipments. It had also provided the cannon and complete outfit of 30 mounted batteries of 6 guns each, and could easily have provided twice that number if they had been required. It had also provided, or was in a position to furnish at once, a large variety of mountain guns and machine guns, with their ammunition and equipments, but not many of these were called for.

The work of the Pay Department, from the commencement of the Spanish-American war to its close and during the continuance of hostilities in the Philippines in suppression of insurrection, has been phenomenally laborious and exacting, but the officers of this department have met every requirement of duty and zeal and promptitude and to the satisfaction of the Army.

DISBURSEMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF THE WAR.

For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899, this department of the military service has been charged with the care of nearly \$92,000,000, about \$77,000,000 of which was, up to June 30, 1899, disbursed on account of the war without loss to the Government on any account whatever and without complaint of any character from the Army.

When war with Spain became imminent, great efforts by the Military Information Division of the Adjutant-General's Office were made to ascertain the strength, the composition, the location, and fortifications of the Spanish forces in Cuba. This was successfully done. Maps of Cuba and Porto Rico on a large scale were prepared, and books were compiled giving all obtainable information in regard to these islands.

Later, when it became evident that military operations in the Philippines would be carried on, a pamphlet (illustrated) giving information in regard to those islands was prepared, and maps compiled from the best sources obtainable were prepared and issued.

There have been mustered in, organized, mobilized, distributed at home and abroad, and finally repatriated and mustered out of the service, and sent to their homes, 223,235 volunteers. There have been enlisted by the general recruiting service 35,000 United States volunteers, organized into 25 regiments, 22 of which have been transported to the Philippine Islands, the remaining 3 having been organized there from the discharged volunteers and regulars.

There have been enlisted and reenlisted for the Regular Army between May 1, 1898, and January 31, 1900, 99,024 men, the present status being approximately 64,000 Regular Army and 35,000 United States volunteers.

Commissions have been issued since the beginning of the war to 632 officers of the Regular Army, 66 of which were for the various staff departments, and 3,874 United States volunteer officers.

This Department has received, carefully considered, acted upon, and sent since the beginning of the war, 400,806 telegrams, and approximately 2,000,000 written communications.

The Navy Department.

Under the present Administration the Navy has shown itself worthy of its best traditions. The great victories at Manila Bay and Santiago, which shed undying fame upon this arm of the national defense, were in no sense accidents. They were the results of years of careful training of officers and men and the thorough preparation of the fleets for the crucial test of war. For this preparation, this readiness to meet the supreme moment for which a navy is constructed and maintained, those who administer the affairs of the Navy should have credit. The glory goes to our heroes who are in command afloat, and to those officers and men who seize the opportunities of war to render conspicuous service; but in remembering them, let us not forget those who labor without ceasing to secure the fleet in condition of high efficiency and to place at the disposal of the commanding officers an abundance of the supplies, without which the fleet is powerless.

As early as January 11, 1898, more than a month before the Maine was de-

stroyed in the harbor of Havana, the Secretary of the Navy began to mobilize the ships of the Navy and to take such measures as would place at the disposal of the officers in command the full measure of our naval force.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR OUR NAVAL FORCES.

Immediately upon the passage of the bill appropriating \$50,000,000 for the national defense, a board was organized for the purchase of auxiliary ships, and after careful examination 102 ships of various types were secured at a total cost of \$17,956,850. Of these vessels but two, the New Orleans and the Albany, were strictly vessels of war. The others were merchant ships, pleasure yachts, tugs, etc., which were rapidly overhauled at the different navy-yards, provided with such light-armor protection as was practical, and suitably armed.

Between March 16 and June 30 all these vessels were purchased and as rapidly as overhauled were placed in commission and put into active service. They were used not only as auxiliary war vessels, but to supply the fleets with coal and ammunition and with fresh water and fresh provisions. For the care of the sick and wounded the Solace was fitted out as a complete hospital, and to make repairs to vessels at sea the Vulcan was fitted out as a modern machine shop. In order to meet the increased demands on the navy-yards it was necessary to practically double the force between February 15 and the middle of April.

ADDITIONAL SHIPS ACQUIRED.

In addition to the ships which were added to the Navy by purchase, 15 revenue cutters and 4 light-house tenders were transferred from the Treasury Department to the Navy, and 4 of the great steamers of the International Navigation Company and 1 of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company were chartered. There were in all 128 ships added to the regular naval establishment, and it became at once necessary to provide officers and men to man them. For this purpose 225 officers on the retired list were ordered to active duty, 856 officers were appointed for temporary service, and the enlisted force was increased from 12,500 to over 24,000 men.

It was an enormous undertaking to make all these additional ships ready for war service, to secure the necessary guns for them, and to keep the fleets supplied with coal, ammunition, and provisions. But this was only a part of the work which the Navy Department had in hand. For the protection of the coasts of the United States an auxiliary naval force was created, which was officered and manned by the Naval Militia of the United States. A coast signal service was established, which kept practically our entire coast line from Maine to Texas under observation, to give warning of the approach of an enemy's vessel or of suspicious craft of any kind.

OPERATIONS OF THE SQUADRONS.

The operations of the fleets of the Asiatic and North Atlantic squadrons are so well known that it is hardly necessary to speak of them in any detail. Their work was so well done that the power of Spain was swept from the sea, and Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, which she had misgoverned for centuries, were taken from under her dominion.

But the claims of the administration of the Navy to the approval of the people rest not alone on its war record. The upbuilding of the new Navy has gone steadily forward, and Congress has cooperated with the Department in the desire to materially increase our naval strength.

Since the 4th of March, 1897, Congress has authorized the construction of 49 ships, with a total displacement of 155,484 tons. This includes 6 battle ships of the first class, 3 armored cruisers of the first class, 4 monitors, and 6 protected cruisers. If the present naval bill becomes a law as it passed the House we must add to this formidable list 2 battle ships of the first class, 3 armored cruisers of the first class, and 3 protected cruisers, with a total displacement of 90,000 tons. There have been completed and placed in commission in the same time a total of 32 vessels, with an aggregate displacement of 52,681 tons. It is an unexampled record.

THE VALUE OF A STRONG NAVY.

A strong Navy not only adds to our prestige abroad, but makes the rights of our country respected wherever they may exist. The money expended does its

part in lending a stimulus in many branches of trade and manufacture and in the employment of labor.

It is difficult to form an intelligent idea of the number of people who are furnished employment by the creation and maintenance of our Navy. One would have to examine the rolls of the great private establishments which make the steel and build the ships, and furnish ammunition and supplies. But some idea of the importance of the navy-yards to the laborers of the country can be formed from the fact that in 1898 over 21,000 men were certified for employment by the labor boards at the various navy-yards. This number, however, is in excess of the number usually employed, as 1898 was the year of the war with Spain. In 1899, on the other hand, over 12,000 men were certified by the boards of labor at the various yards.

To this Administration must also go the credit for the reorganization of the personnel of the Navy. For years the effort had been made to secure legislation to increase the flow of promotion of officers of the line, so that they might reach command rank at a suitable age. But the efforts had borne no fruit until the present Administration took the matter in hand. They succeeded in drawing a bill consolidating the line and the Engineer Corps. This bill met with the approval of the service and of Congress, and became a law on the 3d of March, 1899.

INCREASE OF OFFICERS AND MEN.

This bill also provided for an increase of over 50 per cent in the number of officers and enlisted men in the Marine Corps, and brought this branch of the service up to a total strength of 211 officers and 6,000 men. The enlisted force of the Navy has also been largely increased during the past three years, the quota now allowed by law being 17,500 men and 2,500 apprentices.

It has been the desire of the Administration that the Navy should grow, not alone in the number of ships, but in all its branches. Probably the most pressing need of the service when Mr. Long took charge of the Department was for additional docking facilities, and Congress, in response to his recommendations, authorized the construction of four stone and concrete docks and one steel floating dock capable of docking vessels of the largest size. (If the present naval bill becomes a law, two other docks, or six in all, will have been provided for.) Coaling stations equipped with modern appliances for the economical and rapid handling of coal have been established or are in process of establishment at Portsmouth, N. H.; Boston, Mass.; New London, Conn.; New York, N. Y.; League Island, Pa.; Port Royal, S. C.; Pensacola, Fla.; Dry Tortugas, Fla., and in San Francisco Bay.

COALING STATIONS PROVIDED ABROAD.

Suitable coaling stations are also in process of erection at Honolulu, E. I.; Pago Pago, Samoan Islands; the island of Guam; at Manila, in the Philippines, and at the naval station, San Juan, Porto Rico. These coaling stations in our new possessions, especially in the Pacific, furnish greatly increased facilities to our naval vessels, and, in the event of war, would prove of inestimable advantage. It has, indeed, been the aim of the Administration to extend our naval power in every direction. The upbuilding of the navy-yard plants has been pursued with great vigor, and the Department has had the hearty cooperation of Congress in this work. The electric plants have been materially increased and modern machinery has been installed wherever the needs of the service demanded.

It is, of course, impossible to enter into the detailed work which has been done in this connection; but it is not too much to say that the efforts of the Administration will result in putting our navy-yards in a condition to meet every demand which may be made upon them. They are capable of making the most extensive repairs to ships of all classes, and with the increased docking facilities which are in process of construction, this branch of the naval establishment will be brought to a point of efficiency where it is in keeping with the fleet in being, and with such increases as may be made in the near future.

The value of the coaling and repair stations established under Secretary Long, especially at outlying points in the Pacific, must constantly increase as commerce with our new possessions grows.

At the beginning of the war with Spain Honolulu was the only port out of the United States in which we possessed coaling facilities. When we recall the great

distances in the Pacific, and the fact that under the rules of international law a belligerent ship is permitted to take on board in a neutral port only sufficient coal to enable her to reach her nearest home port, we begin to realize the importance of these provisions for furnishing supplies and making the necessary repairs to our ships of war.

It is to be hoped that the efforts in this direction are but the beginning of a policy under which provision will be made for the maintenance of the fleets of this Government whenever naval operations may occur. May the coming years see this policy amplified and enlarged, so that the ships of war of the United States may find suitable depots of supplies in all quarters of the globe.

The Department of Agriculture.

ITS SPLENDID WORK IN BEHALF OF THE FARMERS OF THE COUNTRY UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT McKINLEY.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to take this opportunity to point out some features of the splendid work which the Department of Agriculture has performed in behalf of that most important and largest class of our citizens, the farmers and those engaged in agricultural pursuits of all kinds. The selection of the President for this important duty as a member of his Cabinet was a most happy one. Hon. James Wilson, of the great agricultural State of Iowa, had been for many years one of its most successful farmers, and at the same time a careful student of agriculture in those lines which enable an intelligent combination of science and practical experience. A thorough student of soils and their various products and of all matters pertaining to farm life and production, he brought to the Department a rare combination of practical experience and high intelligence. Adding to these his long experience as a member of the State legislature, member of Congress, director of the State agricultural experiment station, and professor of agriculture at the Iowa State University, he was especially fitted to give to the farmers of the country the best results by far that they have ever obtained from the work of that great Department, established by Republican legislation in 1862, in their special interest—the only Department of the Government which devotes its attention to the interests of a single class of our population.

STUDYING THE DISEASES OF FARM ANIMALS.

During the past three years several important problems concerning the suppression and eradication of contagious and infectious diseases of domestic animals have been carefully studied. The diseases selected for investigation have been those whose experience and recorded observations have proven to be most injurious from an economic point of view. Especial attention has been given to the cattle disease known as blackleg, a disease which, although it occurs more or less throughout the United States, was not recognized as a cause of very serious losses until about four years ago, when this investigation was begun. It has been proved that blackleg is the most destructive disease known among young cattle in this country, and the annual loss caused by it must be counted in millions of dollars. As it seemed to be on the increase in many of the principal cattle-raising States, and as it was known from investigations made in Europe that blackleg may be prevented through vaccination, it was decided to try the same remedy in this country. Experiments made in the field with the so-called double vaccine soon proved that the method could not be employed where the question was to treat thousands of half-wild cattle, and it was therefore decided to try the method known as single vaccination, which had not been previously used in this country. Experiments covering more than a year resulted in the preparation of a vaccine which, through a single inoculation, would render all treated animals practically immune against this disease.

During the past three years there have been prepared nearly 2,000,000 doses of blackleg vaccine, which have been distributed among the farmers and cattle owners in the infected districts, with the result that the mortality among the young cattle in the infected districts has been reduced from 10 to 15 per cent annually to one-half of 1 per cent. At the present rate of distribution

more than 2,000,000 calves annually will be vaccinated, which means a saving to the country of five or six millions of dollars every year.

CARE FOR AMERICAN SHEEP.

The animal parasites of sheep have been given much attention, and comparative tests have been made of the most promising methods of treatment. The gasoline treatment has given extremely satisfactory results, not only destroying the parasites of the stomach and intestines, but apparently also those in the lungs and air passages, including the larvæ of the œstrus (grubs) in the nasal chambers. If on further trial this remedy continues to yield the results which have apparently been obtained by its use up to this time, it will be of very great assistance to the sheep industry. In all sections of the country, but particularly in the South, stomach worms, intestinal worms, lung worms, and grubs in the head have made sheep raising a difficult and precarious industry. But this treatment, which is very cheap and easily administered, seems to solve the problem, and makes it possible to raise sheep safely and successfully where heretofore the animals have been destroyed or rendered valueless through the rapid invasion of these parasites.

A serious and somewhat fatal disease of sheep, known as facial dermatitis, has been partially studied. This disease, which causes much suffering by invading the mouth to such an extent that the affected animals cannot eat, is found to yield readily to appropriate treatment, and any sheep owner will be able hereafter to conduct the treatment and eradicate it.

Another disease of sheep, called provisionally pseudo-tuberculosis, affects the lymphatic glands and appears to be quite common in some sections of the country. The bacillus causing the disease has been discovered, but the conditions under which the disease is communicated have not yet been determined.

HOG CHOLERA AND SWINE PLAGUE.

The preparation of antitoxic serums for hog cholera and swine plague has been conducted on a large experimental and practical scale. During the past two years extensive field experiments have been conducted in several counties in the State of Iowa with altogether satisfactory results, from 70 to 80 per cent of the treated animals being saved. There have been two or three herds out of some 23,000 to 24,000 animals that were treated in Iowa that have not shown good results. The disease in these herds, however, was found to be of a very virulent character, more virulent than other outbreaks with which the Department had previously had to contend.

The method of serum treatment at present is not perfect, but it has given uniformly very much better results than any other method of treating these diseases in swine that has heretofore been suggested. The experiments are being continued with a view of perfecting the details.

SHIPPING OUR BUTTER ABROAD.

Experimental exports of selected creamery butter were made to England for the purpose of attracting attention to the fine butter produced in this country and of gaining information beneficial to all persons desiring to sell in British markets. Shipments were made periodically during the greatest butter-producing months of the year 1897. In this experiment every feature of the shipment of butter was considered—the characters of butters in demand in English markets, the kinds of packages most desirable, the best methods of packing and transportation, as well as original cost, transportation charges, and selling prices. All considered, the operations of the first year were regarded as reasonably satisfactory in a business way as well as otherwise, while at the same time a number of points were developed showing where greater economy could be practiced in the experiments which were to follow. A full report of this work appeared in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry. Experiments along the same line were conducted in 1898 and 1899 in shipments to Asiatic countries with like satisfactory results, and a report will soon appear in the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau.

In addition to the above, some interesting and satisfactory experiments in the shipment of eggs, with the same objects in view as in the butter shipments, have been conducted. A report of this work will also appear in the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau.

INSPECTION OF LIVE STOCK.

The inspection of live stock and their products (meat inspection) has been extended to 60 additional abattoirs and packing houses in 16 cities and is now carried on at 148 abattoirs in 45 cities.

Inspection has been established at one abattoir where horses are slaughtered and the flesh prepared for exportation. A regular inspection of horses exported to foreign countries has been established and this has also been extended to the examination of horses which are imported from foreign countries into the United States.

The antemortem inspections of animals numbered 42,310,107 in 1897, 51,335,398 in 1898, and 53,223,176 in 1899; and the postmortem inspections numbered 26,580,689 in 1897, 31,116,833 in 1898, and 34,163,155 in 1899.

A remarkable advancement in the microscopic inspection of pork is shown. The total amount thus inspected in 1896 was 22,900,880; in 1897, 43,572,355; in 1898, 120,271,659; in 1899, 108,928,195. In 1896 it cost the Government 0.264 cent per pound to inspect this pork and in 1899 0.182 cent.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES.

One of the first enterprises taken up under Secretary Wilson was the investigation of the growing in this country of those agricultural products for which we have heretofore depended on foreign countries. The first one taken up was chicory cultivation. Our imports of this product in the fiscal year 1896 had a value of \$225,229.31; our imports for the years 1898 and 1899 had a value of \$14,877 and \$13,470, respectively. As thus indicated, the chicory consumed in the United States is now produced almost entirely by our own farmers. This is a striking illustration of the application of the best American methods of farming to a foreign agricultural industry.

Several other crops of foreign countries are now under investigation, and reports on them will be published as the experiments are completed.

FIBER PLANTS.

The special appropriation for fiber investigations which had been made for some years having been discontinued on June 30, 1898, this line of work was incorporated with that of the Division of Botany, and, while no funds have been provided, experimentation has been begun in a small way, directed toward the establishment of a fine hemp industry in the United States, as well as toward the growing of Egyptian cotton. While the experiments on these crops have not yet been completed, the present indications give promise that the Department will ultimately be in a position to indorse them as worthy of commercial trials.

SEED TESTING.

The movement against the sale of impure or nongerminable seed by unscrupulous dealers resulted in the enactment of a provision in the agricultural appropriation act of 1898 authorizing the Department to test seed purchased in the open market and publish the results of the tests, when not up to the standard, together with the names of the seedsmen by whom the seeds were sold. Many tests have been made under this law, but the Department, after careful investigation of the commercial questions involved, has preferred up to the present time to notify seedsmen privately, in case the tests showed an inferior article, rather than to publish the information. It has come to be more and more evident, as this work has progressed, that one of the best means of preventing the sale of inferior seed is to demonstrate to farmers and other seed-purchasing classes that the only sure way to secure high-grade seed is to test it themselves or to get some reliable organization to test it. The wide extension and appreciation of information of this sort will, it is believed, be a good foundation for the ultimate adoption of vigorous measures for protecting the public against unscrupulous dealers.

The action of the Department in conducting an educational campaign against the sale of inferior seed has been heartily seconded by the agricultural experiment stations, and the officers of the seed-testing laboratory in the Department have been largely instrumental in devising a special apparatus and a system of rules for seed testing which have been officially adopted by the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations.

SEED AND PLANT INTRODUCTION.

The determination on the part of the Secretary of Agriculture to use a portion of the seed-distribution funds in introducing new and valuable products from other countries resulted in sending a special agent to Russia in 1897 to procure a stock of cereals, forage plants, and other things promising to be worthy of introduction into this country. At the same time, under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Division of Forestry was endeavoring to make provision for securing from the arid regions of the world any trees giving promise of successful introduction into the arid parts of the United States. This work, together with the distribution of the importations made by the Russian agent, led to the establishment in the Division of Forestry of an agency for carrying out these two objects. In the succeeding year a special provision was inserted in the seed-purchase law authorizing the expenditure of \$20,000 for the purpose of carrying on work of this character, and this was afterwards organized as a branch of the Division of Botany, devoted to seed and plant introduction. The organization consists, first, of a group of agricultural explorers, who are sent to investigate particular agricultural industries and secure a stock of new varieties or new kinds of plants suitable for introduction into American agriculture; and, secondly, of an office force which receives and distributes the importations and keeps records of the experimental work done on them. The writing of reports on the plants thus introduced is intrusted either to the explorers after they return, or to members of the permanent experimental force of the Department, or to outside investigators, as may seem most appropriate and most conducive to effective results.

A large number of improved products have been added to American agriculture, and while most of them are still in the experimental stage it is already assured that certain of them will add millions of dollars annually to American products. Notably among these are a highly productive and otherwise superior rice from Japan, a drought and cold resistant alfalfa from Turkestan, a drought-resistant grass from southern Russia, and several cereals particularly adapted to the conditions of our arid regions.

TROPICAL AGRICULTURE.

Recent political changes having brought the United States into new relations with tropical lands, the question of tropical agriculture has been brought conspicuously to the attention of the American people, and the large number of requests for information on the subject has shown how widespread this interest is. The Division of Botany has already published an account of vanilla culture as practiced in the Seychelles Islands, and has made an investigation of the plant products and agricultural crops of Porto Rico, devoting particular attention to the coffee problem, and is engaged also in investigating, so far as can be done without additional funds, the subject of India-rubber cultivation.

In addition to the lines of work undertaken by the Division of Botany since 1896, enumerated in the above statement, several other lines of investigation established earlier have been carried on, and other new ones of less importance have been taken up. In the brief period that has elapsed since these new investigations were initiated, it has, of course, been possible to prepare reports on only a comparatively few, but the new investigations have proceeded in such a manner that reports are constantly coming to completion, and the next few years will indicate in the publications of the Division, even better than has already been indicated, the results of these new lines of work.

A STUDY OF SOILS IN VARIOUS SECTIONS.

The most important work of the Division has been the survey and mapping of the soils in a number of the important agricultural districts of the United States. The most important work of this kind has been in the arid portions of the United States, where irrigation is practiced. About 450,000 acres have been surveyed and mapped in some of the principal irrigated districts of Montana, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona, the maps so prepared having a very practical value, as they show the distribution of the different types of soil, which lands can be irrigated with safety, those which require special care in the application of water on account of alkali, and those which have too much alkali for cultivation without special efforts for reclamation. Practical methods for removing the salts have

been and are being worked out. In the vicinity of Billings, Mont., thousands of dollars are being invested now as a result of our investigations, and it is likely that this investment will be worth hundreds of thousands of dollars to the immediate vicinity.

In the vicinity of Salt Lake, Utah, there is a large area of 80,000 acres of land at present lying idle on account of the accumulation of alkali, which it has been estimated could be reclaimed for a comparatively small sum, when it would be worth in the neighborhood of \$5,000,000.

In the Pecos Valley, New Mexico, plans were devised for the reclamation of a large area in the immediate vicinity of Roswell, which has lately been ruined by alkali and seepage water. It is estimated that at Roswell alone the damage to the land has amounted to at least \$500,000. This land can all be reclaimed, and steps have been taken since our investigations to reclaim this land and to protect the rest of this area by methods pointed out by this Division.

At Carlsbad the water itself contains so high a percentage of alkali salts that special methods will have to be adopted for the use of this water to prevent further injury, as the lands have already been somewhat injured in the valley. The proper method of using this water has been pointed out by this Division. The results of this work will be worth hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Pecos Valley.

Over 1,000,000 acres of land have been surveyed and mapped in the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and Louisiana, besides reconnaissance over a much larger area.

In this Connecticut Valley the tobacco lands were classified and mapped, and the influence of the soil on the character of the tobacco was studied. In addition to this the cause of the fermentation of the cigar-leaf tobacco has been worked out, and an improved method of fermenting the Connecticut tobacco has been introduced, which it is believed will revolutionize the practice in that State. This method gives a much more uniform product, and thus improves the value of the leaf. It shortens the time required to ferment the tobacco about eight months, and so reduces the insurance and the loss of interest on the money invested. It is estimated that the value of this work will amount to at least \$500,000 per annum to the farmers of the Connecticut Valley. The investigations are being carried still further in order to see whether the quality of the tobacco can be further improved. There is reason to believe it can be.

In addition to these practical results, improvements have been made in the methods of soil investigation, both in the laboratory and in the field. Some very important problems connected with the physical and chemical constitution of soils are being worked out, which give promise of being of great value in economic lines.

TO AID AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

Under the liberal policy of the past three years this office has largely increased its efforts to aid enterprises for the practical education of the farmer. It has joined actively in the movement to improve the methods of teaching agriculture in the colleges and to introduce agricultural subjects and nature study into the public schools. It has shown what is being done in these lines in other lands, and how we need to more thoroughly develop our system of agricultural education in order to keep pace with the strenuous efforts of our industrial rivals. It has collated and published information regarding the farmers' institutes, showing that now these institutes are held in 43 States, and are annually attended by half a million farmers. It has promoted the establishment of reading courses for farmers and published lists of useful books and bulletins, so that now any farmer in the United States can find out, by sending a postal card to the Department, what are the best books and public documents for him to read to keep abreast of the times in his business.

PUBLICATIONS FOR FARMERS.

In accordance with the general policy announced by Secretary Wilson at the outset of his administration, this office has given much attention to the preparation of farmers' bulletins. Twenty-three of these bulletins have been prepared in this office during the past three years, of which 14 have constituted the new series entitled, "Experiment Station Work." In this series the office has summarized the practical results of investigations at the agricultural experiment stations and kindred institutions in this and other countries. In this way our

farmers in every State are now being made acquainted with the practical results of experiment stations, and thus the money given by Congress for the maintenance of experiment stations in the several States is made of benefit to the agriculture of the whole country. Besides these popular bulletins, the office has issued during this period three volumes (36 numbers) of the Experiment Station Record and 40 technical bulletins. During the past three years an average of somewhat over a million copies of documents of this office have been issued each year, of which about 800,000 copies have been in the farmers' bulletin series.

NUTRITION INVESTIGATIONS.

The investigations on the nutritive value of human foods, which are carried on in co-operation with agricultural colleges and experiment stations in different parts of the country, have been materially developed and strengthened. Twenty reports have been published during the past three years, and the results of these investigations are now largely taught in colleges and schools of different grades throughout the country. During this period the Atwater-Rosa respiration calorimeter has been completed, and experiments have been made with it regarding the utilization of food in the maintenance of the human body and the production of heat and energy therein, which have attracted very wide attention, as they have marked in some respects the highest point which science has yet reached in such investigations.

IRRIGATION INVESTIGATIONS.

The first appropriation for these investigations became available July 1, 1898. The work has been organized along two general lines: (1) The collation and publication of information regarding the laws and institutions of the irrigated regions in their relation to agriculture; and (2) the determination of the actual volume of water (duty of water) used by practical irrigators on different crops and soils. These investigations have already been carried on in fifteen States and Territories, largely in co-operation with the agricultural experiment stations and State irrigation engineers. While the headquarters of these investigations have been established in the arid region (at Cheyenne, Wyo.), and the investigations have largely been carried on there, the usefulness of irrigation in the East has also received attention, valuable experiments in this line being now in progress in New Jersey and South Carolina. So great has been the need of accurate information regarding the real conditions prevailing in the irrigated region and the actual requirements of crops of water that the demands for the extension of this work have been greater than the Department could meet, though the appropriation for this purpose was increased from \$10,000 to \$35,000 during the present year. In this enterprise the Department is working along lines which are new in this country, and it is believed that an organization for this work has been effected which is thoroughly efficient; so that shortly there will be developed a trained force of experts, whose services will be of incalculable benefit to a region which embraces over a third of the area of the United States.

PROGRESS IN SUGAR-BEET INVESTIGATIONS.

An attempt has been made to define with greater certainty the areas in the United States suited to the growth of high-grade sugar beets. To this end, seeds of the sugar beet have been distributed in the most promising localities and grown under identical conditions of culture, according to instructions prepared by the Division. The only variance, therefore, has been the soil and climate. The beets thus grown have been analyzed, either in the Division of Chemistry or at the agricultural experiment stations, and their saccharine qualities ascertained. As a result of the experiments which have been conducted in this manner, the areas in the original map constructed by the Division, showing the probable areas suited to beet culture, have been more definitely pointed out. This work is still in progress, and if continued for a few years longer will result in obtaining the data whereby the sugar-beet areas of the country can be mapped with a considerable degree of accuracy.

SECTION OF FOREIGN MARKETS.

Of the work accomplished by the section of foreign markets during the past three years, one of the most important features was the study of trade possi-

bilities growing out of the Spanish-American war. The islands that were brought into closer relationship to the United States by the war naturally became the subject of great commercial interest, and numerous inquiries were received regarding the trade opportunities that might be expected to result.

As the war progressed the requests for information relative to Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines increased to such an extent that the section was obliged to devote its attention almost entirely to the subject of these new dependencies. To meet the active demand for information along this line, several special reports were prepared for publication embodying such data as could be obtained regarding the commerce that was beginning to attract so much interest.

Just before the breaking out of the war, when the prevailing conditions seemed to point to probable hostilities, a report was published on the subject of our trade with Cuba, presenting detailed information as to the nature and value of the products imported and exported, and suggesting the commercial possibilities that could be looked for with a fuller development of Cuban resources.

As soon as Porto Rico began to be of special interest, owing to the shifting of the war campaign in its direction, an exhaustive report was prepared on the commerce of that island, setting forth in the fullest possible manner the character of the trade carried on with the several foreign countries, and especially with the United States.

Later a report of 160 pages was published regarding the trade of the Philippines, embracing practically all of the available statistics on the subject that could be collated from the official import and export returns of the various countries enjoying commercial intercourse with the islands.

The report on the trade of the Philippines was supplemented by a circular dealing with the agricultural resources of the islands and describing the most important plant products.

Owing to the scarcity of reliable data relative to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, the preparation of the reports on these former Spanish possessions required a vast amount of research. It was profitable work, however, for the reports proved to be exceedingly useful as a means of answering the frequent requests that were received for information about the new dependencies.

EXPERIMENTS WITH GRASSES AND FORAGE PLANTS.

Experiments with grasses and forage plants have been vigorously prosecuted during the past three years. These experiments are necessary in order that ranchers and farmers may be informed of the kinds suitable for their respective districts. After these preliminary facts are determined the promising varieties can be recommended and adopted without further and useless expenditure of time and money. Many of the vast cattle ranges of the West have been practically destroyed by overstocking or mismanagement, and it has become a serious question as to what are the best grasses with which to reseed them. The division has spent much time and energy in this line of investigation, and, through its work in the field and experiments, is prepared to meet many of the more important forage problems of the various parts of the United States. During the past three years the agrostologist has distributed 5,565 packages of seeds of grasses and forage plants, embracing 251 varieties. These seeds were largely procured through foreign importations and by special collections in the field made by agents or employees of the division.

The Postoffice Department.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY OF MAIL—THE OFFSPRING OF THE McKINLEY ADMINISTRATION—SOME FACTS WHICH WILL INTEREST THE FARMERS AND ALL THOSE DESIRING THEIR WELFARE.

Rural free delivery of mail is the offspring of the McKinley Administration of the Post-Office Department. Its development from the insignificant beginning of 44 routes and an appropriation of \$40,000 for the fiscal year which closed in 1897 to its present magnificent proportions, with the rural routes numbered by the thousands and an appropriation of \$1,750,000 voted for its further extension during the present fiscal year, has all been brought about by the McKinley Government.

A movement to broaden the free delivery of the mails was started by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, under the Republican Administration of General Har-

rison. It took the form of village free delivery, and was more an extension of city delivery to smaller communities than a free delivery to farmers. But, limited as was its scope and successful though it was in increasing postal receipts and postal facilities, it encountered Democratic opposition; and when Mr. Cleveland came in, his Postmaster-General, fearing its effect in popularizing Republican principles and disseminating Republican literature, ordered it dropped.

It was a Republican Administration that conceived and executed the idea of brightening the home of the farmer, educating his children, increasing the value of his land, compelling the improvement of the roads, and bringing him news of the markets and of the weather, so as to secure him a better price for his crops by delivering his daily mail to him on his farm. Every Democratic House of Representatives since the idea was first broached of carrying the mails into the rural districts has declared against it. The Forty-third Congress, with a Democrat from North Carolina as chairman of the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, proclaimed the plan impossible and turned it down. Postmaster-General Bissell, Postmaster-General Wilson, and First Assistant Postmaster-General Jones, in the Cleveland Administration, all took up the cry of extravagance and impossibility of execution. Consequently, little or nothing was done to give the farmers access to the mails till Cleveland went out of office.

When First Assistant Postmaster-General Perry S. Heath took up the rural service under the direction of the President and the Postmaster-General, in March, 1897, it was languishing to the point of extinguishment, and in a few months more would have been starved to death, like Mr. Waanmaker's village delivery. The official reports of the Post-Office Department record that it was almost with surprise that President McKinley and those to whom he intrusted the administration of postal affairs learned that there was such a thing as an experimental rural free-delivery mail service in progress.

They at once grasped its possibilities and advocated its immediate development, and a Republican Congress generously seconded their efforts. Under their vivifying touch it has grown until there is now not a State in the Union that has not felt the civilizing and educational influence of the rural free mail delivery, and not one that does not desire a further expansion of the service. On the 1st of June, 1900, there were 1,200 rural services in actual operation and 2,000 applications for an extension of the system in process of establishment by special agents detailed for that purpose.

The appropriations for the rural free-delivery service have been increased from \$50,000 in the fiscal year 1897-98 to \$150,000 in 1898-99, then to \$450,000 in 1899-1900, and lastly to \$1,750,000 for the present fiscal year, 1900-1901.

Three years' experience has shown that in well-selected rural districts the mails can be distributed to the domiciles of the addresses or in boxes placed within reasonable distance of the farmer's home, at some crossroad or other convenient spot, at a cost per piece not exceeding that of the free delivery in many of the cities of the United States. In the vast majority of communities where it has been tested the rural free-delivery service has obtained so strong a hold that public sentiment would not permit its discontinuance. It has been a revolution, and revolutions do not move backward.

It costs very little more than the old colonial style of postal service which it supersedes, and it invariably brings a large and compensating increase in the amount of postal receipts turned into the Treasury. But even if it does cost more than the obsolete old plan, are not the farmers entitled to some of the benefits of the Government which they help so liberally to support by their taxation? The country can well afford to continue and extend a system which makes better citizens and happier homes and contributes largely to the mental, moral, and material advancement of the plain people.

Rural free-delivery of mail has come to stay, and the Republican Administration, which brought it into being, will stay with it.

There must be no scuttle policy. We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our arms and by the treaty of peace, by international law, by the nation's sense of honor, and more than all by the rights, interests, and conditions of the Philippine peoples themselves.—*William McKinley.*

EXPANSION BY JEFFERSON.

FACTS AS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PURCHASE
OF LOUISIANA "WITHOUT THE CON-
SENT OF THE GOVERNED."

QUESTION OF DUTIES FOR THE NEW TERRITORY AND
INCORPORATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF LOUISIANA
PRECISELY THE SAME AS IN THE PHILIPPINES
AND PORTO RICO — TEMPORARY PRO-
VISIONS FOR THEIR GOVERNMENT
— COMPARATIVE CASES OF
"TYRANNY"—LOOK-
ING INTO THE
FUTURE.

BY
HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE,
OF INDIANA.



CHICAGO AND NEW YORK:
RAND, McNALLY & COMPANY,
PRINTERS.

EXPANSION BY JEFFERSON.

The province of Louisiana which originally belonged to France had been conveyed to Spain in 1762. In the year 1800, while Napoleon was First Consul, Spain ceded this territory back again to France by the treaty of San Ildefonso. This treaty was secret, and in 1803 France had not yet taken possession of the country.

The Spanish governor had taken from American citizens the right to place of deposit for their goods near the mouth of the Mississippi, and President Jefferson saw the necessity of acquiring so much territory on the east bank of the river as would secure for the United States its free navigation. Jefferson had been a strict constructionist, and did not believe that the Constitution authorized the United States to acquire any additional territory. But the need of an outlet to the Gulf was imperative. So he informed the Senate, in a special message, that he was taking measures for the purchase of the necessary land through Robert Livingston, our minister at the Court of France, and he nominated James Monroe, our envoy extraordinary, to co-operate in the negotiations. The Senate confirmed the nomination, gave Monroe and Livingston power to frame any treaty that extended and secured the rights of the United States on the Mississippi, and set apart \$2,000,000 to be used for the purchase of the Island of New Orleans and some adjacent territory.

Terms of the Sale.

Napoleon, who expected war with England, and believed that he could not retain Louisiana if such war should break out, was eager to sell, but he desired to sell the whole province, and not New Orleans alone. So the price of \$15,000,000 was agreed to, and a treaty was signed ceding the whole province for that sum, stipulating that the inhabitants should afterwards be incorporated into the Union, and that for twelve years the ships of France and Spain might enter Louisiana, paying no more duty or tonnage than was exacted from citizens of the United States.

Louisiana had been ceded back to France by Spain upon condition that France should never alienate the province, but now France was about to sell it to the United States before she had even taken possession. In the words of Henry Adams (*History of the United States*, Vol. II, p. 56):

"The sale of Louisiana to the United States was trebly invalid. If it were French property, Bonaparte could not constitutionally alienate it without the consent of the Chambers. If it were Spanish property, he could not alienate it at all. If Spain had a right of reclamation, his sale was worthless. In spite of all these objections, the alienation took place."

Jefferson Accepted the Treaty.

Jefferson was greatly puzzled when the treaty reached his hand. He had proposed to buy a small tract for two millions and he was offered a magnificent domain for fifteen millions. Moreover he did not consider the acquisition a Constitutional act. But his common sense got the better of his strict construction principles and he decided to accept the treaty, summon Congress to approve the purchase, and if then necessary amend the Constitution.

In other words, "the greedy commercialism" which dictated the Philippine Bill of the Republican administration, and which is denounced in the Democratic platform, was also with Thomas Jefferson a sufficient reason for ratifying an illegal treaty and if necessary for disregarding the Constitution, or at least for changing his views with respect to the meaning of that instrument.

Congress met, and the Democrats in that body, the strict constructionists who had supported the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798, saw their views of the Constitution undergoing a sudden revolution. Jefferson had written to Breckinridge that an appeal to the *nation* for changes in the Constitution would be necessary. But when he heard from France that there was danger that Napoleon might change his mind, he wrote again to Breckinridge (Adams, Vol. II, p. 286): "A letter received yesterday says that nothing must be said on that subject which may give a pretext for retracting, but that we shall do *sub silentio* what may be necessary. Be so good therefore, as to consider that part of my letter confidential." Jefferson then suggested certain Constitutional amendments, authorizing the purchase, but his own cabinet as well as his party friends received his propositions with disapproval.

Jefferson wrote that he thought it important to set an example against broad construction by appealing for new power to the people. "If, however, our friends shall think differently, certainly I shall acquiesce with satisfaction, confiding that the good sense of our country will correct the evil of construction when it shall produce ill effects." And when Jefferson transmitted the treaty to Congress no amendment was recommended.

The Question of Duties and Incorporation of the Inhabitants of Louisiana.

When the question of providing measures for carrying out this treaty came before Congress, there was no dispute as to the right to acquire this territory. The only question was whether Congress had the right to promise in the treaty that the inhabitants of Louisiana *should be incorporated into the Union*, and had the right to provide a *different schedule of duties for Louisiana from that which was provided for the other States*, the same question that has arisen lately in the case of Porto Rico. Some of the *Federalists* now denied these powers, while Jefferson's Democratic friends rallied to their support. James Nicholson of Maryland was the principal spokesman of the Democracy.

In answer to the objection that the Constitution said no preference should be given to the ports of one State over another, Nicholson replied: "It is territory purchased by the United States in their confederate capacity and may be disposed of by them at pleasure. It is in the nature of a colony whose commerce may be regulated without any reference to the Constitution."

The Northern Democrats also supported these views. John Randolph, who closed the debate, said that as far as the Constitution was concerned, the United States could legally incorporate Great Britain or France into the union.

Ninety Democrats supported Randolph with their votes. Twenty-five Federalists alone protested.

Power Conceded to Congress.

Breckinridge argued that the Constitution was sufficient for the incorporation of a foreign nation, if Congress would do it, and the people would consent to it.

Senator Cooke of Tennessee closed the debate. "I assert," said he, "that the treaty-making powers of this country are competent to the full and free exercise of their best judgment in making treaties without limitation of power."

On this issue the vote was taken and by twenty-six to five the Senate passed the bill for carrying into effect the Louisiana purchase.

The argument of both sides conceded the power of Congress to acquire foreign territory and to rule over the people therein without limit. Senator John Quincy Adams moved for a committee to consider whether an amendment of the Constitution should not be made, but could not even obtain a second to it and nothing more was ever heard of amending the Constitution.

New Orleans, laid out eighty-three years before, was the capital of the province. It was a walled city about one mile in length, with faubourgs on the south. Its population was over 7,000, composed of many nationalities, French, Spanish negroes, English, Irish Americans, half-breeds and others. Its trade was extensive. Two hundred ships and river craft could often be seen upon its levee. In 1802 its exports were worth \$2,000,000, its imports \$2,500,000, its ships registered 3,000 tons. The architectural beauties of the dwellings were celebrated. There was an excellent theater open three nights in the week, and no city could boast a finer public building than the Cabildo, or show a finer church than the St. Louis Cathedral. There was a very complicated machinery of Spanish administration, including five courts of justice. The annual expenses of the government were about \$650,000.

Without the Consent of the Governed.

Nobody had asked the consent of the citizens of New Orleans or of the remainder of the province as to annexation. They not only gave no consent, but they were strongly opposed to this change of masters. Tears were in the eyes of many who witnessed the raising of the stars and stripes, and they were thus "purchased and delivered" (as our anti-imperialist friends would say) by the man who penned the Declaration of Independence.

Government's Action Confirmed.

The act of the Federal Government in purchasing Louisiana and in governing it arbitrarily was afterward confirmed by Chief Justice Marshall in 1828 in a case which concerned the rights of the inhabitants of Florida, "who," he said:

"Do not participate in political power; they do not share in the government till Florida shall become a State. In the meantime Florida continues to be a territory of the United States, governed by virtue of that clause in the Constitution which empowers Congress 'to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.' Perhaps the power of governing a territory belonging to the United States which has not, by becoming a State, acquired the means of self-government, may result necessarily from the fact that it is not within the jurisdiction of any particular State, and is within the power and jurisdiction of the United States. The right to govern may be the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire territory. Whichever may be the source whence the power is derived, the possession of it is unquestioned."

(Adams, Vol. 2., p. 126.)

This point was indeed disputed at a later time by Chief Justice Taney in a dictum in the Dred Scott decision. He affirmed the right of the government to buy Louisiana and to govern it, but not to govern it as part of the old territory over

which the Constitution gave Congress unlimited power. The inhabitants of such territory, he said, could not be ruled as mere colonists depending on the will of the general government.

The opinion of Judge Taney has the mere weight of a dictum and not the authority of law. As the principles of the Dred Scott decision were overturned in the civil war which followed, I prefer to believe that the earlier rule announced by the great Chief Justice is the true one. I am not willing to flee from the logic of John Marshall, and take refuge behind the skirts of the Dred Scott decision.

Temporary Provisions for Government.

Having thus acquired Louisiana from France without the consent of the inhabitants, Jefferson, in his special message of October 23, requested Congress to make temporary provisions for its government. So a bill was reported by Randolph, continuing the existing Spanish government, putting the President in the place of the King of Spain, and the territorial offices in the place of the King's offices, and placing the appointment of these in the President alone, without reference to the Senate. All power, civil and judicial, were in the Intendant, and the people were punished arbitrarily for presuming to meddle with political subjects. There was no military necessity for this, as there might have been for similar provisions in the Philippines, for there had been no war, and there was no army of occupation.

The Federalists objected that the powers conferred upon the President by this bill were unconstitutional. The Democrats replied that the Constitution was made for the States and not for Territories.

The bill passed Congress by a party vote, and was approved by Jefferson, October 31, without delay.

But this bill being a temporary measure was rather for taking possession of the territory than for governing it. On December 30, the first territorial bill was reported dividing the province into two districts. The Southern district, called the Territory of Orleans, included an old established society numbering 50,000 persons (Adams, Vol. II, p. 121), only a little less than the population of Delaware and Rhode Island. The bill created a territorial government in which the people of Louisiana had no share. The governor, secretary, legislative council, and judicial officers were appointed by the President.

The same objections were made to this bill as to our government in the Philippines and to the Porto Rican law: "That it established a despotism, that it did not confer a single right to which the inhabitants were entitled even under the treaty; that it did not extend to them the benefits under the Federal Constitution or declare hereafter when they should receive them."

Jefferson's Utterances on Expansion.

The bill was supported on the same ground that the present administration defends its policy in the Philippines: that the people of Louisiana were not yet prepared for full self-government. Of this bill (I quote the words of the Philippine Commission, Rep. pp. 108, 109): "Jefferson had outlined a sketch as early as November, 1803, when he also defended both the appointment of judges for four years, and the idea of an appointed legislature 'as a thing more familiar and pleasing to the French than legislation by judges,' which had been the practice in the Northwest Territory. He seems to have felt no incongruity between the principles of the Declaration of Independence of the thirteen self-governing colonies and this scheme

of government for the politically inexperienced inhabitants of Louisiana. Indeed, he complains with some bitterness, in December, 1803, when differences of opinion developed as to the manner of disposing of Louisiana, that 'although it is acknowledged that our new fellow-citizens are as yet as incapable of self-government as children, yet some can not bring themselves to suspend its principles for a single moment.' Whether the new Territory, organized in the paternal fashion described above, should always remain a part of the Union or eventually become a separate and independent sovereign State, Jefferson seemed not to care, nor could either solution abate his zealous and benevolent interest in the inhabitants. 'Whether we remain in one confederacy,' he wrote in January, 1804, 'or form into Atlantic and Pacific confederacies, I believe not very important to the happiness of either part. Those of the western confederacy will be as much our children and descendants as those of the eastern, and I feel myself as much identified with that country in future time as with this; and did I now foresee a separation at some future day, yet I should feel the duty and the desire to promote the western interests as zealously as the eastern.'"

Applicable to the Philippines.

These utterances of Jefferson, along with the Jeffersonian scheme for the government of Louisiana, have been cited on account of the applicability of their spirit in its entirety, and their substance in great part to the problem of governing the Philippines, which have come into our possession as unexpectedly as Jefferson's envoys, who had a very different object, received Louisiana at the hands of Bonaparte. As Jefferson says, it is our duty to promote the happiness of "our new fellow-citizens" as our own, whatever their eventual political relation to us may be; and in planning a frame of government we can not do better than follow Jefferson's lead in adapting it to the condition of the natives, trusting that in the course of development under American training, they will eventually reach the goal of complete local self-government, even though at present it may be necessary to some extent "to suspend its principles," on account of their political inexperience, the ignorance of the masses, and the linguistic and social diversities of the tribes and peoples inhabiting the archipelago.

From the very outset, however, it will be safe and desirable, in the opinion of the commission, to extend to the Filipinos larger liberties of self-government than Jefferson approved of for the inhabitants of Louisiana.

Comparative Questions of "Tyranny."

The House amended the Louisiana bill and the Senate disagreed, though it was willing to reduce the term of the operation of the bill to one year, just as the term of the Porto Rico bill is now limited. The bill passed and Jefferson approved it. In Louisiana there was no right of self-government. So great was the disaffection that disorders were repeatedly suppressed at the point of the bayonet. When Aaron Burr went to New Orleans every man he met seemed to be a malcontent, and at the time his project of a Western Empire collapsed it was said that nearly every one of the leading citizens was his silent accomplice.

The anti-administrationists talk to-day about the intolerable tyranny established by McKinley in the Philippines. They speak of the degeneracy of our political life, of the new danger that threatens the republic, a danger unknown before, which will convert our free institutions into an arbitrary despotism.

Is the tyranny of McKinley in the Philippines greater than that of Jefferson in Louisiana? Every essential fact for which the present administration is denounced, short of actual war, existed in New Orleans in 1803 and 1804, under the administration of the author of the Declaration of Independence. The inhabitants of New Orleans were indeed too weak to resist by force of arms. They might have done even that if Burr's conspiracy had not prematurely collapsed. But is the so-called tyranny any the less if the victim of it is too weak to resist?

A Question of Principle.

Here was government without the consent of the governed; a title conveyed to us by France over territory of which France had not been in possession for over forty years. Here was the rule of newly acquired territory as a colony—imperial rule—autocratic rule—not over Tagals and Negritos, but over Caucasians and against their will. It is true the population was not so large as that of the Philippines, but the critics of the administration are discussing this question as a matter of principle and it is just as bad in principles to rule fifty thousand people without their consent as it is to rule ten millions. The territorial government of Louisiana was temporary, though part of that territory, Oklahoma, is not yet admitted to the Union, and another part—the Indian Territory—will perhaps never be so admitted. The government of Porto Rico is also temporary—so is even the government which we shall establish in the Philippines, and the Republican platform promises that the largest measure of self-government consistent with the welfare of the people shall be allowed them. Whether at any time hereafter they shall be admitted to full statehood is for future consideration. It is just as wrong in principle to rule people without their consent for one year, or for five years, as it is for a hundred years. If, therefore, the wrong of imperialism has been introduced into our free government, it has been done not by William McKinley, in the year 1900, but by Thomas Jefferson, the idol of the Democratic party, in 1803. It is the author of the Declaration of Independence who was the first imperialist, the first emperor of our “colonial” domain.

Has the republic lost vitality by reason of that act? Have we become degenerates because Jefferson purchased Louisiana and ruled it with autocratic power?

Names Held in High Honor.

When Livingston had set his name to the treaty of cession, he arose and shook hands with Monroe, and with Marbois, the French Minister, and said, “We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our lives,” and he spoke true. The names of Livingston and Monroe and Jefferson are held in higher honor by our people because they made that noble purchase which gave us our first great empire in the West.

If Jefferson was inconsistent, we esteem him the more because he dared to be inconsistent in a thing so vitally affecting the best interest of our country.

And if President McKinley has done aught that was inconsistent with previous declarations, history will not repudiate him because he esteemed the welfare of the American people as more important than his own consistency.

We Should Look Into the Future.

It is our duty to look beyond the struggles of the present to that which will be of lasting benefit or injury to future generations. It is true the Philippines are further off than Louisiana, though we can communicate with them more quickly

than Thomas Jefferson could with New Orleans. It is true the Pacific Ocean is wider than the Mississippi River, though it is hardly more difficult to reach Manila than it was for our ancestors to penetrate the vast plains beyond the Father of Waters. But in determining the great world questions that lie before us, the possession of the Philippines may be as important to the American people hereafter as the possession of Louisiana was in determining the question of predominance upon the American continent.

Thomas Jefferson did right in extending the power and beneficence of American institutions over America. McKinley has done right in extending the power and beneficence of American institutions throughout the world.

ADDRESS

BY THE

First Voters Republican National League

TO THE

FIRST PRESIDENTIAL VOTERS OF AMERICA.

The young blood of this country represents its vital force—It is the balance of power in all Presidential Elections. Every crisis has depended upon the loyalty of the new generation. The young men of America have never proven recreant in peace or war. Will they prove otherwise in the present crisis—If the seeds of folly are now to be sown, it is the young men of the present generation who must reap the fruit and leave upon their children its many evils.

To the First Presidential Voters of America:

The census of 1890 shows that there were in the United States in that year 2,516,043 young men of the ages of twenty-one to twenty-four inclusive. Considering the increase in population during the last decade, it is safe to say that on the 6th of next November at least 3,000,000 young men will be eligible to cast their first presidential votes. When we remember that President McKinley's plurality, with a single exception the largest ever given to a president, was 601,854, and when we consider the fact that young men are not bound by party ties, it appears how great and how decisive is to be the influence of the first voters upon the result of the struggle now in progress.

In every crisis of our history the numbers, the freedom from traditional prejudice, and the enthusiasm of our young men have been the determining factors in the final result. We have now reached another great crisis in our national development, and once more the young men should come actively to the front. Four years ago a coterie of men obtained control of the Democratic party, thrust aside the great, conservative leaders who had led them to victory in the past, and promulgated a platform filled with seductive appeals to class prejudice and to the cupidity of human nature—a platform that struck at the independence of the judiciary

and demanded that we should sacrifice our national honor by debasing the currency. Those leaders were repudiated by the people, and as each succeeding year has given additional proof of the absurdity and falsity of their arguments, the popular contempt for them has increased. Realizing this they know that their only hope for success in the present campaign lies in their talking so persistently upon other questions that the people shall forget that they are the same men who led the assault upon our prosperity and national honor in '96.

Driven by this necessity they have invented a number of sham issues, among which "imperialism" is declared to be paramount. Nothing could illustrate more forcibly the straits in which they find themselves. During the course of a war, in the declaration of which the representatives of all parties united, we overthrew the dominion of Spain in the Philippine Islands. Having taken this step we became responsible for the results that should follow. When we had freed the people from their foreign oppressors we could not deliver them over to anarchy or to the irresponsible tyranny of local despots. In the fulfillment of a sacred obligation, therefore, we have entered upon the work of establishing peace, order and good government in these islands that we may give to their people the conditions of a happier existence. This is a practical and honest course of action that any party in power would be compelled to take, or stand before the world convicted of incompetency and cowardice. But notwithstanding these plain facts Democratic leaders assume that we have entered upon a career of ruthless foreign conquest with a view to building up a vast colonial system. Upon this false assumption they erect the hobgoblin of imperialism, and proceed to launch against it their solemn philippics.

Another product of their invention is "militarism." That we might meet the responsibilities that came to us as a result of our own voluntary action in declaring war upon Spain, the size of our army has been slightly increased. Subsequent events in China have proved that such a step is also necessary if we are to protect our representatives and citizens abroad and maintain our dignity and honor throughout the world. The argument that eighty millions of people, electing their own rulers at short intervals of time, could have their liberties endangered by a small force of 100,000 men, is too absurd to deceive even the unthinking. We are told, therefore, that this is but the beginning. Such a statement amounts simply to a declaration that the people are unfit to be trusted. The Republican party believes that we may do all that

national safety and honor demand, and trust that in the future the people shall permit this and no more to be done.

Thus by declaiming incessantly against imaginary dangers do they hope to blind the people to the fact that the Democratic leaders of to-day are the very men who promulgated the wild vagaries of the Chicago platform. But the people will not forget that immediately upon his inauguration Mr. Bryan would order the troops to be withdrawn from the Philippines, that what he calls imperialism would be at an end, and that we should then have four long years of Bryanism and national humiliation.

They talk about the Declaration of Independence as if they were the sole guardians of this Ark of the Covenant. But the Kansas City platform states a theory which, if it could be put into practice, would give the lie to every word of that immortal document. Its principles all rest upon the doctrine that the people can be safely trusted with unlimited power. But it is now proposed that the people shall use the brute power of numbers to repudiate their honest obligations. If this should be done our political contests would soon degenerate into a fierce warfare of classes, the friends of liberty could no longer point to us to prove that the people can be safely trusted with power, and the apologists of despotism throughout the world would use our conduct as an illustration of the fact that a democracy must always consume itself.

Democratic orators are quoting Abraham Lincoln and other leaders of the Republican party. But while those same great leaders were laboring to crush human slavery, and to give this nation a new birth of freedom, the Democratic party was meeting in convention and demanding that slavery be admitted to the territories, calling for a more rigid enforcement of the fugitive slave law, a law more repugnant to every doctrine of the Declaration of Independence than any that ever disgraced our statute books, and when the life of the nation was trembling in the balance they solemnly declared the war a failure and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities. But now, when it is expedient that they should do so, they build sepulchers for the prophets whom their fathers stoned. They have not always been so zealous for the doctrine that government rests upon the consent of the governed, and even to-day their zeal lags in those parts of the country where the doctrine conflicts with their own selfish interests. It is an old maxim, and one having very high authority, that "by their fruits ye shall know them."

One of the most distinguished of the former leaders of the Democratic party has declared that "the paramount issue of this campaign is Bryanism." This is a fact that the declaration of no platform can alter. The only addition to the active leadership of

the party since '96 has been Tammany Hall, and the changes in the platform have resulted, not from a change of heart on the part of its authors, but from the demands of expediency. The overshadowing question of the present campaign is this: Do the American people wish to be ruled by Richard Croker and the men discovered by that body known to history as the Chicago convention?

Once more the Republican party enters a national campaign as the champion of those great principles of liberty and progress that have brought us to the front rank of the great nations of the world; it enters the contest under the leadership of William McKinley, one of the purest and wisest of a long line of illustrious statesmen; it wages unrelenting warfare against the party that has declared for a policy of reaction—that advocates principles that would demoralize our industries and tarnish our national honor.

The young men of the country should feel a peculiar interest in the results of this campaign. If the seeds of folly are to be sown, it is they who must reap the fruits. If this nation is to listen to evil counsels, and depart from the path of duty and progress that it has kept for over a hundred years, if it is to adopt a policy of reaction, if it is to stoop to dishonor, if it is to pass into the throes of class warfare, the baneful results will fall with greatest weight, not upon the present, but upon the generations that are to come. The vast army of young men who are to cast their first presidential votes this fall should therefore take an active part in the struggle now in progress. To secure this result the First Voters' Republican National League has been formed, and is engaged in organizing the first voters in all the states. The plan of the work is as follows: Each local league, when organized, shall arrange for regular meetings, appoint a committee on membership whose duty it shall be to make a systematic canvass of the first voters, that the league may have upon its rolls the name of every Republican first voter in the community; elect a captain, who shall lead the members as they march in parades, and attend meetings, and on election day see to it that every man casts his vote. In addition to its own work the league should be ready to give active assistance to the regular party organization. It is of the greatest importance that the first voters throughout the land should take up this work. Such action on their part will not only help to win a victory in the present campaign, but it will do much to prevent a renewal in the future of the attack that is now being made upon the very foundations of republican government on this continent.

Fletcher Dobyns, President.

R. A. Upham, Vice-President.

W. L. Schoeverling, Sec. & Treas.

Anti-Imperialism

IS

Old Copperheadism.

How the Northern Traitors of 1864 Wailed Over the
Declaration of Independence, Reviled Lincoln
and Fumed Against Militarism.

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

Democrat and Republican, friend and foe, agree that the central thought of Mr. Bryan's speech at Indianapolis is in applying to the issues of the day, the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Interpreting this as if it requires in all cases, and under all circumstances, an absolute rule by the majority, told off by the head in each community, Mr. Bryan necessarily contemplates a partial paralysis of the Constitution and the courts.

Magnified, falsified and perverted in just this manner, the doctrine of so-called anti-imperialism and "consent of the governed" is one sadly known to American history.

First Attack on Imperialism.

Alexander Long, of Ohio, began his celebrated attack on Lincoln and imperialism in 1861 in a speech in the House of Representatives, April 8, saying:

"A little over three years ago the present occupant of the presidential mansion at the other end of the Avenue, came into this city under cover of night disguised in a plaid cloak and Scotch cap, lest, as was feared by his friends, he might have received a warmer greeting than would have been agreeable on his way through Baltimore."

Lincoln's Militarism.

Mr. Long proceeded to argue that the President, who had entered the Capital in this manner, had, in the course of four years, established an odious rule of militarism. He said:

"Are we not in Constantinople, in St. Petersburg, in Vienna, in Rome, or in Paris? Military government and their provost marshals override the laws, and the echo of the armed heel rings forth as clearly now in America as in France or in Austria; and the President sits to-day guarded by armed soldiery stationed at every approach leading to the Executive Mansion."

Opposing this militarism, Mr. Long demanded an immediate cessation of the war, saying:

"Can the Union be restored by war? I answer most unhesitatingly and deliberately, no, never; war is final, eternal separation. My first and highest ground of opposition to its further prosecution is, that it is wrong; it is in violation of the Constitution and of the fundamental principles on which the federal Union was founded. My second objection is that as a policy, it is not reconstructive but destructive, and will, if continued, result speedily in the destruction of the government and the laws of civil liberty to both north and south, and it ought therefore to immediately cease."

Quoting Jefferson as Satan Quotes Scripture.

As a further reason for stopping the war, Mr. Long quoted the Declaration of Independence precisely as Mr. Bryan does to-day, and said:

"Three years' experience in attempting by numerical preponderance and military prowess of one section, exerted to coerce the other into submission, has convinced me more thoroughly that it is as self-contradictory as it is dangerous; because it violates the great principles of free governments which derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and dangerous because by its exercise, especially when wielded by a weak, vacillating and unscrupulous man, it destroys instead of maintaining the Union."

Ruinous Militarism and Odious Emancipation.

Mr. Long went on:

"If the time ever was when the Union could have been restored by war (which I don't believe) it has long since been dispelled by emancipation, conscription, amnesty and the like; proclamations, military orders, annulling state constitutions, setting aside state laws, obliterating state lines and attempting to organize and set up a form of state government in their stead in which if one man out of ten, who shall turn Abolitionist, take and subscribe an oath to execute and obey the law of Abraham Lincoln, whatever it may be, he shall govern and rule over the remaining nine who refuse to become Abolitionists."

More Bryanism.

Mr. Long continued:

"Mr. Chairman, if we cannot rise above the Austro-Russian principle of holding subject provinces by the power of force and coercion, what becomes of the Declaration of Independence and of all our teaching for eighty years? After all, Mr. Chairman, it is not the extent of territory which should be the object of our desires. Better sacrifice even nine-tenths of the territory than destroy our Republican form of government * * * land is nothing compared to liberty * * * pride of territorial ambition is a vulgar and low ambition of national greatness."

Lincoln's Militarism Absolute Ruin to the Union.

Said Mr. Long further:

"It is the object of the sword to cut and cleave asunder but never to unite. * * * I am reluctantly forced to the conclusion that in attempting to preserve our jurisdiction over the southern states, we have lost our constitutional form of government over the northern states. Our government, as we all know, is not anything resembling what it was three years ago; there is not one single vestige of the Constitution remaining; every clause and every letter of it has been violated and I have no idea myself that it will ever again be respected."

Mr. Long concluded with this avowal, which showed him to be no war Democrat, but a believer in Bryan's doctrine as to the "consent of the governed":

"I say further, Mr. Chairman, that if this war is to be still further prosecuted, I for one prefer that it shall be done under the auspices of those who now conduct its management, as I do not want the party with which I am connected to be in any degree responsible for its results, which can not be otherwise than disastrous and suicidal; let the responsibility remain where it is until we can have a change of policy instead of men, if such a thing is possible. Nothing could be more fatal for the Democratic party than to seek to come into power, pledged to a continuance of the war policy."

How Garfield Scarified Long.

This speech of Long's created a tremendous sensation in the house. Up to that time the war Democrats had controlled their party for the most part in the house, but Mr. Long, looking to the opening presidential campaign, tried to start a new policy. The first to reply to him was General Garfield, who sprang to his feet, claimed the floor, and in a manner indicative of great suppressed indignation said:

"Mr. Chairman, I should be obliged to you if you would direct the Sergeant-at-Arms to bring a white flag and plant it in the aisle between myself and my colleague, who has just addressed you."

Alluding to the use of the white flag with an honest enemy in war and giving Long credit for sincerity and candor, General Garfield, then fresh from service in the army, went on :

"But now I ask you to take away the flag of truce and I will go back inside the Union lines and speak of what he has done. I am reminded by it of a distinguished character in *Paradise Lost*, that 'when he had rebelled against the glory of God and led away a third part of Heaven's sons, conjured against the Highest, when after terrible battles in which mountains and hills were hurled by each contending host with 'jaculations dire'; when at last the latter and his hosts were hurled down nine times the space that measures day and night, and after the terrible fall lay stretched prone on the burning Lake, Satan lifted up his shattered bulk, crossed the abyss, looked down into Paradise, and soliloquizing, said :

'Which way I fly is hell ; myself, am hell.'

It seems to me in that utterance, he expressed the very sentiment to which you have just listened; uttered by one, no less brave, malign and fallen. This man gathers up the meaning of this great contest, the philosophy of the moment, the prophesies of the hour in sight of the paradise of victory and peace, utters them all in this wail of terrible despair, 'which way I fly is hell.' He ought to add, 'myself, am hell.' "

No Consent Asked—Constitution and the Laws to Be Enforced.

General Garfield although more profoundly moved than ever before or afterwards in his service in Congress, nevertheless proceeded to make this calm, logical, statesmanlike reply to Long:

"The gentleman has told us, there is no such thing as coercion justifiable under the Constitution. I ask him for one moment to reflect that no statute ever was enforced without coercion. It is the basis of every law in the universe—God's law, as well as man's; a law is no law without coercion behind it. When a man has murdered his brother, coercion takes the murderer, tries him, and hangs him. When you levy your taxes, coercion secures their collection; it follows the shadow of the thief and brings him to justice; it accompanies your diplomacy to foreign courts and backs the declaration of the Nation's rights by a pledge of the Nation's power; but when the life of that nation is imperilled we are told it has no coercive power against the parricides in its own bosom."

Bryanism Considered Treason in 1864.

With this all-sufficient reply from the standpoint of logic and law, General Garfield could no longer restrain the righteous indignation which boiled within him. He said:

"Now in the quiet of these halls, hatched in the lowest depths of a dark treason, there rises a Benedict Arnold and proposes to surrender us all up, body

and spirit, the nation and the flag, its genius, and its honor, now and forever, to the accursed traitors of our country, and that proposition comes—God forgive and pity my beloved state—it comes from a citizen of the honored and loyal commonwealth of Ohio.

I implore you, brethren in this house, not to believe that many such births ever give pangs to my mother state such as she suffered when that traitor was born [suppressed applause and sensation]. I beg you not to believe that on the soil of that state another such growth has ever deformed the face of nature and forgotten the light of God's day [an audible whisper, 'Vallandigham'] but ah, I am reminded there are other such. My zeal and love for Ohio have carried me too far."

Effort to Expel Long as a Traitor.

The indignation excited by Long's speech did not subside even after Garfield's reply. The next day, April 9th, Speaker Colfax left his chair and came down to the floor to address the house. Among other things he said:

"You should call no more soldiers into the field to endeavor by the peril of their lives to save this country, because it is a solemn mockery to do so if from this hall shall go forth the words of encouragement to strengthen those arrayed against them in an unholy and parricidal work."

Mr. Colfax then offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, that Alexander Long, a representative from the second district of Ohio, having on the 8th of April, 1864, declared himself in favor of recognizing the independence and nationality of the so-called confederacy now in arms against the Union, and thereby give aid, countenance and encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility to the United States, is hereby expelled."

Practically the entire Democratic side rallied to the defense of Mr. Long. Allen, of Illinois, Harris of Maryland, Cox of Ohio, Wood of New York, Voorhees of Indiana, and Pendleton of Ohio were among those who spoke in his defense. In the course of the discussion Harris of Maryland used language fully as treasonable as Long, and a resolution to expel him was introduced, but failed of a two-thirds vote, the roll call showing eighty-one for expulsion and fifty-eight against. Some Republicans took the ground that free speech could not be in any way abridged in the house. The resolution was then changed to one of censure, declaring Harris "an unworthy member of this house," which was adopted by ninety-three to eighteen. A similar change was then made in the resolution affecting Long, and it was adopted by a vote of eighty to sixty-nine.

Long, who was not merely an anti-war man but a peace Democrat (otherwise known as copperheads), not only succeeded in bringing the party to his support in Congress, but as a delegate in the National Democratic convention a few months later, made a speech in which he denounced Lincoln's "odious emancipation proclamation." It will be noted that this entire proceeding, hideous and disgraceful as it was, arose from an adoption of the precise dogma which Bryan is proclaiming to-day as to the consent of the governed, militarism and coercion.

The Bryan-Long Parallel.

Bryan's Indianapolis speech opened the campaign of 1900, just as E. D. Washburne said that Alexander Long struck the keynote for 1864. A few of his utterances and those of others of the same copperhead stripe (including Vallandigham, who was afterwards sent through the lines for treason), may well be set in close comparison with those of Bryan now.

Bryan at Indianapolis.

Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying and brutal doctrine of imperialism with the Golden Rule.

Bryan at Indianapolis.

They must expect the subject races to protest against such a policy and to resist to the extent of their ability * * * Our whole history is an encouragement to all who are denied a voice in their own government.

Bryan at Indianapolis, 1900.

I assert that on the important issues of the day, the Republican party is dominated by those influences which constantly tend to elevate pecuniary considerations and ignore human rights.

Bryan at Indianapolis.

It is not necessary to own people in order to trade with them. We carry on trade to-day with every part of the world and our commerce has expanded more rapidly than the commerce of any European power. We do not own Japan or China, but we trade with their peoples.

Bryan's Indianapolis Speech, August 8th, 1900.

But if it were possible to obliterate every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, a war of conquest would still leave its legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was God himself

C. L. Vallandigham, Speech, Jan. 14, 1863.

The spirit of non-intervention is the very spirit of peace and concord.

Fernando Wood, Jan. 14, 1864.

No government can be lasting that is not founded on the consent of the governed * * * these political jackals, known as war Democrats * * * the bloody and brutal policies of the administration.—[Lincoln.] * * * There is no such thing as a war Democrat.

Fernando Wood, April 19, 1864, in the House,

Said the government under the Lincoln Administration "chose rather to increase the rent of the poor man's tenement than to dim the lustre of the jobber's palace."

Alexander Long, Demanding Recognition of the Southern Confederacy.

The great object of our government should be to develop and cultivate the internal resources of those friendly to its jurisdiction rather than to extend it over hostile and foreign peoples [Confederates.]

Alexander Long in the House, February 7th, 1865.

Every month it [the war] has been continued for coercion and subjugation has only tended to cement, perpetuate, and traditionalize hatred of the north in every southern household.

who placed in every human heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master.

Mr. Bryan at Indianapolis.

If we are to govern them [the Filipinos] without their consent, and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and mock us for our inconsistencies.

Bryan at Indianapolis.

That the leaders of a great party should claim for any President or Congress the right to treat millions of people as mere possessions and deal with them unrestrained by the Constitution or the bill of rights, shows how far we have already departed from the ancient landmarks, and indicates what may be expected if this nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire.

Bryan at Indianapolis.

Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient give way to the flag representing the idea of self-government, than that the flag of this Republic should become the flag of an empire.

Benjamin G. Harris of Maryland—Same Debate.

If we are to have dissolution, in the name of God, let us have it. Let us have it, and instead of having one great consolidated government, one imperial government, one splendid government, let us have on this continent two happy governments.

Alexander Long—Same Debate.

The experiment, now being tried at so fearful a sacrifice of blood and treasure will in the end demonstrate to the world that confederacies can not be held good by the mad policy of coercion. Governments deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed and existing only in the hearts and affections of the people, can not be held together by force. * * * There never has been and never can be a Union founded on the coercion and subjugation of sovereign states.

Alexander Long—Same Debate.

Engaged in the pursuance of wealth and material pleasures, they have apparently taken little interest in the question [preservation of the Constitution], content even to accept a despotism that did not prohibit their sacrifices at the footstool of mammon. Their only idea has been to preserve the territory, the land, of the Republic intact; and if that was effected, the form and nature of the government over it was a secondary consideration.

Alexander Long.

The Union of 1789 is gone never to be restored. If we who yet claim to be under the forms of the Constitution would save anything from a political and social wreck; if we desire even to make an effort to again recover our lost condition, we must abandon the war, recognize the sovereignty and separate independence of the states and their right of self-government, and then begin the work of reorganization anew in a spirit of mutual compromise and concession.

Adlai Stevenson at Indianapolis.

Against this policy stands imperialism. Imperialism knows nothing of limitations of power. Its rule is outside the Constitution. It means the establishment by the American Republic of the colonial methods of European monarchies. It means the right to hold alien peoples as subjects. It enthrones force as the controlling agency in government. It means the empire.

Bryan at Indianapolis.

If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed it is impossible to secure title to people either by force or by purchase.

C. L. Vallandigham Speech, January 14, 1863.

I have denounced from the beginning the usurpations and the infractions, one and all, of law and Constitution by the President [Lincoln] and those under him.

J. K. Edgerton in his speech of February 20, 1865, said there was one choice only:

"A separation of the sections or a war of absolute subrogation or extermination of the states to end in military and monarchical despotism.

"Lincoln loves power; he will bear no rival near the throne to share his honors as the great emancipator."

George Bliss of Ohio in a Copperhead Speech of March 12, 1864, in the House.

They [the Southern States] are to be governments not in the language of the Declaration of Independence, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, but as governments imposed upon the people by the omnipotency of the President [Lincoln.]

A Dangerous Doctrine Now and Then.

No honorable Democrat cares to revive this deplorable incident in the history of his party, where the anti-war or peace element (known in that day as copperheads) gained the ascendancy, overpowered the loyal war Democrats and committed the organization to a wrongheaded and disgraceful opposition to Lincoln, but everyone should know that disgraceful transaction was done in the name of the precise doctrine Bryan is preaching now—zeal for consent of the governed and opposition to alleged militarism.

When men like Vallandigham and Long and Bryan go to putting their anarchist interpretations on the teachings of Thomas Jefferson, it is time to throw out cautionary signals. Now, as in 1864, there is danger of great dishonor to the Democratic party from an unworthy leader and of alarm to the country from the renewal of a destructive dogma. Appropriately enough, this theory of the consent of the governed, as fanatically pushed beyond all limits, is being preached by Mr. Bryan in the same sentences which breathe forth threats not only against the financial honor of the country and the authority of its Supreme Court, but against the proper and orderly action of the people themselves.

The Climax of Mob Rule.

Eating of the same insane root which drove Long and Vallandigham into political madness in 1864, Mr. Bryan put a fit climax to his dangerous and distorted doctrine when in his speech at Springfield, Ohio, he said to the crowd:

"You have the power and the right to *take the reins of government into your own hands* and administer the law, not for foreign syndicates, but for the people of the United States."

After Mr. Bryan had been criticised for this dangerous doctrine, he deliberately repeated it with emphasis, saying in his speech at Ottumwa, Iowa:

"The people suffer until suffering ceases to be a virtue; they are patient until patience is exhausted, and then *they arouse themselves, take the reins of government, and put the government back upon its old foundation.*"

John C. Calhoun never equalled that. Let it be said of the arch-nullifier that he contemplated a three-fourths vote of all the states as necessary to give full and final validity and power to an ordinance of nullification. He had, at least, some respect for the provision of the Federal Constitution which requires two-thirds of Congress or of the state legislatures to propose amendments, and then a three-fourths vote of all the states to ratify them. Such is the requirement of the Constitution, but Bryan tells the crowd they can change or alter the government at their own will without regard to the Constitution.

Appropriately enough did this same Bryan call out in his speech at Brooklyn four years ago:

"The Supreme Court changes from time to time. Judges die or resign, and new judges take their places. When did our opponents find that a decision of the Supreme Court was so sacred?"

It is time for the people to say what they think of pushing the doctrines of Thomas Jefferson to such excess and danger. In 1864 it meant Copperheadism and virtual treason, and in 1900 it smacks of political mob rule and the overthrow of the Supreme Court.

The doctrine of those who assailed Lincoln has been quoted not merely to show the grotesque absurdity or inconsistency of Bryan in citing him now. Beyond that—instructive to the people as that is—they should see that the vaporings against the Supreme Court and the demagogical misrepresentation of popular authority are rooted in the old copperhead doctrine of 1864, which now, as in the past and the future, must of necessity put forth only evil and dangerous fruit.

Adlai Stevenson Too.

As if to make the connection between the distorted consent of the governed dogma in 1864 and 1900 perfectly clear, it was not left for Bryan to preach the old doctrine from the old text, but Adlai Stevenson had to be put on the ticket with him. Mr. Stevenson is an old timer whose political activity dates back to 1864, when he was a candidate for presidential elector on the consent of the governed platform of that year as gotten up by the Longs and Vallandighams and other

enemies of Lincoln. He stood on that platform and in public speeches approved all its utterances, including the declaration that the war for the Union was a failure. The doctrine which Bryan preaches is no new thing to Stevenson.

Stevenson's Record.

"There seems to be a general belief that Adlai E. Stevenson has a war record," said ex-Governor Hamilton of Illinois, in an interview in Chicago, June 24, 1892, "and so he has, but it is not exactly the record that will make him popular with lovers of the Union, or will make the battle-scarred veteran enthusiastic in his support."

"Now," continued the ex-governor, "I do not want to do anything or to be quoted as saying anything harsh in regard to Mr. Stevenson. He and I are friends. We practiced law at the same time in Bloomington. Together and opposed to each other, we have fought many a hard legal battle. We were neighbors, and the members of our families were very intimate. So I do not wish to be construed as making any personal attack on Mr. Stevenson. When I was a boy I lived in Marshall County. It was during the war, and Mr. Stevenson was said to be a most unrelenting copperhead. It was generally so understood and accepted as a fact. He was in fact a most intense sympathizer with the rebels in the South."

"I belonged to what was known then as a Union League. Opposed to us was the organization known as a Golden Circle. It was organized for the purpose of assisting the rebel cause and aiding them, not only by expressions of sympathy, but in every possible way, even to fitting out men for the southern army. Mr. Stevenson was, so it was said, a permanent officer in that region; in fact, it was claimed by some that he was an organizer. As long as he remained in that district, he had the reputation of having once been a copperhead. When he made his races for Congress the thing has been brought up repeatedly, and these charges are of long standing in Bloomington. I understand it is claimed by some that the Bloomington Pantagraph has affidavits of men who swear that as an officer of the Golden Circle he had drilled them. There was a place in Woodward County known as Hoosham's Pasture, a secluded, quiet place where the drills took place."

Shooting Niagara.

Up to the winter of 1864, a considerable number of Democrats in Congress held back from the ultra and destructive interpretation of the Declaration of Independence, but the Long-Vallandigham outburst drew the lines and forced them to take a stand for or against Lincoln, to become War Democrats or go over to the Copperheads. It was impossible to shoot Niagara and stop half way down. Those who were not for the Union were against it, and could not claim to be true loyalists while fighting Lincoln with false cries of militarism and imperialism.

Among those who then sounded the cry of militarism loudest was Congressman John D. Stiles, of Pennsylvania, who said in the House, July 4th, 1864:

“Sir, it would seem that an offended God has already made visible the signs of retribution for the recklessness with which we have been plunged into civil strife. Our deluded people have witnessed as its consequences the destruction of all that was most precious to them of their political inheritance. The shrine of their liberty has been profaned and its costly treasures trampled under foot. They have seen the bayonet at their ballot boxes, the bayonet in their courts of justice, the bayonet in their legislative halls, at their homesteads, and at their bedsides in the dead of night. At every place once held sacred the bayonet has been seen, threatening, insulting, and applying the rule of force to the will of freemen.”

Lincoln a Caesar.

“We have seen the elective franchise controlled by armed force in States powerless to resist the minions of tyranny who thwarted them in the exercise of their most sacred right. Our Cæsar then passed his Rubicon, and the Republic may well fear that he will not henceforward pause in his unlawful career, unless he be swept from its course by the torrent of the popular will sustaining the ballot-box, if need be, with weapons as those which have assailed it.”

Militarism with a Vengeance.

Another Copperhead who foamed with charges of militarism against the Lincoln Administration was Congressman Andrew J. Rogers of New Jersey. Hear him in his speech of April 14, 1864:

“When I reflect upon the awful and solemn events which surround us, I can but weep for the unity and liberties of my country, and I, in these once sacred Halls of Congress, raise my humble voice and call upon every man, woman and child in this land, and entreat them to advocate some reasonable compromise before our country’s doom shall be forever sealed. My soul sickens at the radicalism and fanaticism of the age, unnecessarily squandering away our resources, wasting our public treasure, and spilling the people’s blood.”

Wailing over the Declaration.

Then, as now, there was loud wailing over the Declaration of Independence. Said Mr. Rogers:

“The rights of free speech are principles of liberty that are laid down in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution of my country. Sir, without liberty the Union is worth nothing. I want no such Union as that. It is not such a one as our fathers made, it is not such a one as the patriots and statesmen of the times that tried men’s souls established and consolidated for the protection and defense of the liberties of the white race of America. It is a Union of despotism and tyranny, not a Union of fraternal independent States, each legislating for itself its own internal policy. It is a Union without freedom of debate, without freedom to

exercise the constitutional right of free speech, that right which has been guaranteed to us by the laws of God and man. It is a Union without freedom from those unconstitutional, outrageous, and tyrannical acts which have characterized the Administration in power."

Voorhees of Indiana on Consent of the Governed.

But perhaps no one in the Long-Vallandigham crew wailed louder over the ruin of the country or assailed Lincoln and his alleged militarism more bitterly than Voorhees of Indiana, who in his speech of March 5, 1864, said:

"The rebel chief at Richmond, who makes open war against the Union, and the Executive here who does not make war for it, and who would not accept its restoration today on the ancient doctrines of the Constitution, are engaged by conscription, force and violence in hurling against each other the unwilling and peaceful populations of every section, bleeding, palpitating, and mangled, to struggle, to combat and to die, like the gladiators in the amphitheatre of Rome, butchered to make a Roman holiday. These are facts which will not escape history, and yet the consent of the governed is the just measure of power which a public ruler can exercise in a free government, and we fondly imagine that we still are free!"

Present Day Anti-Imperialists Outdone.

Mr. Voorhees in his speech of March 5, 1864, said:

"This government is dying; dying, sir, dying. We are standing around its bed of death and will soon be wretched mourners at its tomb unless the sovereign and heroic remedy is soon applied."

It was not the war or the acts of the confederates in arms which Mr. Voorhees deplored as putting the life of the nation in peril. Not at all. It was because Lincoln and the Republicans were not faithful to the Constitution, which was intended to secure the blessings of liberty, whereas, said Mr. Voorhees:

"Who will dare rise in his place and say this government has been administered during the last three years in a mode even tending toward the accomplishment of these grand results? The very foundations of civilized jurisprudence have been torn away and the whole edifice is in ruins. Not one right which constitutes the freedom and safety of the citizen but what has been wickedly and wantonly violated."

Lincoln and His Subordinates in Crime.

It was this speech of March 5, 1864 (Cong. Globe, Part 4, Page 73), in which Mr. Voorhees exclaimed against "the executive or his subordinates in crime" who had swept away the jury system.

Lincoln's Hellish Dance of Glee.

Mr. Voorhees continued:

"Will some poor crawling and despised sycophant and tool of executive despotism [under Lincoln] dare to say, I shall not pronounce the name of Vallandigham? * * * There is not one square mile of free soil in the American republic. It is slave territory from the Aristook to the Columbia. * * * They [Lincoln and his supporters] invoked the storm which has since rained blood upon the land. They danced with hellish glee around the bubbling caldron of civil war and welcomed with ferocious joy every hurtful mischief which flickered in its lurid and infernal flames."

Revival of Copperhead Doctrine.

Let no man say there is no significance in the revival now of the lurid and baleful Copperhead doctrine of 1864. It is the old text, the old preaching, and the results can only be the cultivation of a dangerous and disloyal spirit—a destructive animus which, as formulated now by Mr. Bryan, its principal spokesman, appropriately enough and in accordance with its fell purpose, aims at the integrity of the Supreme Court, the honor of the Nation's financial system and the maintenance of the Nation's authority in the Phillipines. It can not now assail the very Union itself, but it menaces with deadly purpose much which makes that Union what it is. The governed are not to consent to the preservation of the gold standard, the enforcement of law and treaty obligations in the Phillipines nor even to the decisions of the Supreme Court at home. All sorts of anarchy hatch from that old egg.

In 1864 the Longs and Vallandighams fanatically turned the "consent of the governed" clause of the Declaration against itself and perverted it into sectional anarchy—turned it into a falsified shield behind which seceding states were to defy the laws and constitution of the Union.

With fanaticism like the Longs, and with the scent of a hound for dangerous demagoguery, Bryan now seizes on the old Copperhead perversion of 1864. He invokes it now, not to protect seceding states and save slavery, but for ends well nigh as foul and wrong—to estop the assertion of national authority and the suppression of insurrection in our new possessions. Moreover, as if to show how dangerous this perversion must ever be, Bryan, characteristically and appropriately enough for one ever keen to torture honest doctrine, tells the people they can "take the reins into their own hands" and rule regardless of the Constitution, sweeping away its provisions by mere majorities, and, to say nothing of overthrowing financial honor, may subject even the Supreme Court to populist domination.

The American people may be trusted to condemn this insidious and dangerous demagoguery. As Daniel Webster said in one of his great arguments, the people have seen fit to put limits to their own power; and they will surely rebuke the man who, torturing and perverting the Declaration of Independence itself, tells them they can "take the reins into their own hands" regardless of the Constitution or the Supreme Court.

Failures are Fewer.

LESS BUSINESS WRECKAGE UNDER THE MCKINLEY ADMINISTRATION
THAN IN EIGHTEEN YEARS.

Calamity Howler Struck Dumb by General Prosperity's Remarkable Exhibit—
Disastrous Effect of Democracy and Free Trade—Success of Republican Protection.

The real prosperity of a country can always be judged by the number of failures among its business men. It is an astonishing tribute to the sound state of our finances and prosperous commercial condition when Bradstreet's mercantile agency reports for the first six months of the calendar year, 1900, the smallest number of failures noted for eighteen years past. This is a showing for McKinley prosperity that must strike the calamity howlers dumb.

The records of the mercantile agency show that for the first six months of 1892 the business failures of the country were 5,351, with liabilities of \$56,535,521.

In November of that year the Democratic party was voted into power, and in March, 1893, took charge of the country's finances. The first six months of that year showed failures of 6,239 in number, with liabilities of over \$70,000,000.

All through the Democratic free trade Wilson Bill administration the number of failures steadily increased until the first six months of 1896, when they reached the high water mark, viz.: 7,602, with liabilities of \$105,535,936.

In November of that year McKinley prosperity was voted in, and the number of failures steadily declined, until the first six months of 1900 show only 4,880 failures, with liabilities of \$60,064,208, the smallest number reported for eighteen years.

In the following tables are compared the first six months of 1896, the last year of the last Democratic administration, with the first six months of 1900, the last year of President McKinley's present administration. This compares the results of nearly four years of both policies on the business affairs of the country. These tables are worthy of the careful consideration of the free traders and free silver men, as well as of those who believe in the prosperity and protection of a Republican Administration. Thus:

EASTERN STATES.

Number of Failures for Six Months.

	1896.	1900.
Maine.....	140	63
New Hampshire.....	73	55
Vermont.....	37	55
Massachusetts.....	550	756
Rhode Island.....	43	46
Connecticut.....	125	104
Total Eastern States.....	968	1,084

WESTERN STATES.

	1896.	1900.
Ohio.....	406	180
Indiana.....	155	57
Illinois.....	412	219
Missouri.....	330	197
Michigan.....	173	56
Kansas.....	387	164
Kentucky.....	152	78
Colorado.....	11	36
Total Western States.....	2,026	987

NORTHWESTERN STATES.

	1896.	1900.
Wisconsin.....	184	70
Minnesota.....	197	79
Iowa.....	178	113
Nebraska.....	125	40
South Dakota.....	24	28
North Dakota.....	6	4
Montana.....	25	13
Wyoming.....	3	6
Total Northwestern States.....	742	353

MIDDLE STATES.

	1896.	1900.
New York.....	1,059	857
New Jersey.....	110	102
Pennsylvania.....	673	428
Delaware.....	10	11
Total Middle States.....	1,852	1,269

SOUTHERN STATES.

	1896.	1900.
Maryland.....	75	38
Virginia.....	134	35
West Virginia.....	21	24
North Carolina.....	30	37
South Carolina.....	24	17
Georgia.....	101	64
Florida.....	24	16
Alabama.....	45	35
Mississippi.....	69	31
Louisiana.....	107	47
Texas.....	335	124
Tennessee.....	80	70
Arkansas.....	63	53
District of Columbia.....	28	8
Total Southern States.....	1,161	599

PACIFIC STATES.

	1896.	1900.
California.....	515	257
Oregon.....	38	53
Nevada.....	.....	3
Utah.....	45	30
Washington.....	104	33
Idaho.....	12	6
Total Pacific States.....	764	382

TERRITORIES.

	1896.	1900.
Arizona.....	12	2
Indian Territory.....	19	38
New Mexico.....	21	2
Alaska.....	1	...
Oklahoma.....	36	34
Totals.....	89	76

SUMMARY OF THE ABOVE.

	1896.	1900.
Eastern States.....	968	1,084
Middle States.....	1,852	1,398
Western States.....	2,026	987
Northwestern States.....	742	353
Southern States.....	1,161	599
Pacific States.....	764	382
Territories.....	89	77
Total—United States.....	7,602	4,880

The liabilities of those failing for the first six months of the two years compared are as follows :

	1896.	1900.
Eastern States.....	\$ 11,233,158	\$ 13,898,018
Middle States.....	33,320,605	29,704,398
Western States.....	30,342,383	6,435,335
Northwestern States.....	10,567,612	3,409,502
Southern States.....	13,847,302	4,001,299
Pacific States.....	5,651,076	2,402,600
Territories.....	563,800	211,866
Totals	\$105,535,936	\$60,064,208

It will be noted that the liabilities of those failing in the Middle States in the first six months of 1900 were \$3,616,207 less than they were in 1896. In the Western States they were \$23,907,048 less. In the Northwestern States they were \$7,158,110 less. In the Southern States they were \$9,846,103 less. In the Pacific States they were \$3,248,476 less. In the Territories they were \$351,934 less, a grand total of \$45,471,728 less than in 1896.

Only in the Eastern States where the "hated aggregation of wealth," as the Democrats term it, is supposed to exist, were there more failures this year than in 1896.



Anti-Imperialism Answered

How We Came to Get the Philippines and Why We Are Holding Them

By HON. W. A. PEFFER, former United States Senator from Kansas.

The island of Cuba and its inhabitants have long been a source of more or less anxiety to the people and government of the United States. Many years Cuba was a rendezvous of the slave traders, and filibustering expeditions to its shores were not infrequent. President Polk offered to buy the island in 1848, and the Ostend Manifesto, in 1854, signed by Buchanan, Soule and Mason, argued that conditions then existing would justify our taking and annexing the island in case Spain should refuse to sell. The inhabitants were restless, and in the revolution of 1868, which held out ten years, a movement for independence was begun, enlisting the sympathies of our people. Five years ago another formidable revolution broke out with the declared purpose of establishing an independent government on the island, republican in form. In her measures to subdue the revolutionists, Spain was so cruel and inhuman toward them that her barbarities moved the American people to demand that our Government should take steps to stop the wretched business. Congress took the subject up and the President urged upon the Spanish government the importance of giving speedy and permanent relief to the starving poor in Cuba and of restoring peace and order on the island.

But Spain was without heart, sluggish and slow. It appeared that nothing short of an earthquake would move her, and it came. The blowing up of the battleship Maine, "while rightfully lying in the harbor of Havana on a mission of international courtesy and good will," and the finding of the naval board of inquiry that the "origin of the explosion was external, by a submarine mine," rendered it evident "that a crisis in our relations with Spain and toward Cuba was at hand."

CONGRESS ROSE TO THE EMERGENCY.

The Maine affair happened on the 15th day of February, 1898, and on the 19th of April following Congress passed the following joint resolution:

First.—That the people of the island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second.—That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority

and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third.—That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

If the reader will re-read the second resolution above, he will see exactly what the President was required to do—to get Spain out of Cuba and Cuban waters. The resolutions were approved by the President the next day, the 20th. A copy was delivered to the Spanish minister at Washington, and Spain was given till the 23d to answer. The President, in the meantime, blockaded Cuban ports, notified the nations, and issued his proclamation calling for volunteers.

Spain declined to retire, and regarded the resolutions equivalent to a declaration of war. The President recommended and Congress passed a formal act, on the 25th, declaring a state of war to exist between the United States and Spain.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the “President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States.” Congress alone declares war and the President prosecutes it. That is the law and the practice. In this case it was the President’s duty to use the army for the purpose of destroying the power and government of Spain in Cuba, and to drive the Spanish army and navy out of Cuba and Cuban waters, and to do his work so effectively that it would not have to be done more than once.

If Spain’s army and navy had all been on or near the island of Cuba the situation would have been very different from what it actually was. But her navy was divided, as was her army, and part of both to the extent of about 18,000 regulars and ten warships well manned, were on duty in the Philippines, the ships and most of the soldiers being at or near Manila, the capital city of the archipelago.

A large expanse of ocean waters lying between the United States and Cuba made it absolutely necessary to employ the navy in the first strategical move on our part. It so happened that our Pacific squadron was then lying at Hong Kong, a seaport on the coast of China, about six or seven hundred miles from Manila, with Commodore George Dewey in command. Immediately after the declaration of war by Congress, the President telegraphed orders to Dewey to go and capture or destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila. On the morning of May 1st the President’s orders were executed to the letter. The next day the naval station and the forts at Cavite were captured, “thus annihilating the Spanish power in the Pacific and completely controlling the bay of Manila, with the ability to take the city at will.”

But Dewey was in an odd predicament. He was master of the bay and could get the city by demanding it. He was not there, however, for purposes of conquest. It was to weaken the sea power of Spain that he was sent to Manila bay—to put her Pacific fleet out of the way, so that it could not be sent to Cuban waters to interfere with our operations in that quarter when we should be ready to send an army there. And besides, there was a large force of trained Spanish soldiers in and about Manila, who might cause a great deal of trouble on the outside, in case the surrender of the city should be demanded before he had men enough of his own to properly govern the city and protect the persons and property of the people. Still more: There were a great many foreigners in the city, merchants, builders, bankers, invalids, travelers, students, artists, pleasure seekers, professional men, and others from different countries, and all of the trading nations of the world were officially represented in Manila by consuls.

These facts, if there had been nothing more of importance in the situation, made it prudent on Dewey's part to exercise his best judgment in order to avoid international complications.

WHY MANILA WAS TAKEN.

But there was something more of importance in the situation. To take and temporarily hold Manila by our forces would operate as a powerful factor in bringing Spain to her senses and thus hastening her departure from Cuba and bringing about an early and honorable peace. It was clear from every point of view that the city ought to be taken by our forces as soon as possible, but that involved our government of the city and our assumption and discharge of additional international obligations, and also required the presence of a land force of American soldiers; so, as soon as Dewey's report reached the President, he was asked how much additional force he would be likely to need; and on receipt of his answer, the President issued an executive order directed to the Secretary of War, under date May 19, 1898. Here is an exact copy of the first paragraph of that order:

“Executive Mansion,
“Washington, May 19, 1898.

“The Secretary of War:

“Sir—The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila, followed by the taking of the naval station at Cavite, the paroling of the garrisons, and the acquisition of the control of the bay, has rendered it necessary, in the further prosecution of the measures adopted by this Government for the purpose of bringing about an honorable and durable peace with Spain, to send an army of occupation to the Philippines for the two-fold purpose of completing the reduction of the Spanish power in that quarter and of giving order and security to the islands while in possession of the United States. For the command of this expedition I have designated Major-General Wesley Merritt; and it now becomes my duty to give instructions as to the manner in which the movement shall be conducted.”

EXTENT OF GENERAL MERRITT'S INSTRUCTIONS.

It will be observed that the President expressed a "two-fold purpose" in sending General Merritt and his army to the Philippines: (1) "of completing the reduction of the Spanish power in that quarter," and (2) "of giving order and security to the islands while in possession of the United States."

In the next paragraph he states a principle of international law, thus:

"The first effect of the military occupation of the enemy's territory is the severance of the former political relations of the inhabitants, and the establishment of a new political power. Under this changed condition of things, the inhabitants, so long as they perform their duties, are entitled to security in their persons and property and in all their private rights and relations."

The President then states his own official desire in the matter in these words:

"It is my desire that the people of the Philippines should be acquainted with the purpose of the United States to discharge to the fullest extent its obligations in this regard. It will therefore be the duty of the commander of the expedition, immediately upon his arrival in the islands, to publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines, nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, co-operate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose, will receive the reward of its support and protection. Our occupation should be as free from severity as possible. . . . The freedom of the people to pursue their accustomed occupations will be abridged only when it may be necessary to do so." And he adds:

"While the rule of conduct of the American commander-in-chief will be such as has just been defined, it will be his duty to adopt measures of a different kind if, unfortunately, the course of the people should render such measures indispensable to the maintenance of law and order. He will then possess the power to replace or expel the native officials in part or altogether, to substitute new courts of his own constitution for those that now exist, or to create such new or supplementary tribunals as may be necessary. In the exercise of these high powers the commander must be guided by his judgment and his experience and a high sense of justice."

Situations like this cannot be regulated by statute. War is not carried on in accordance with laws enacted by legislatures. Battles are not fought before courts and juries. The parties to a war are nations, not individual persons.

But there is such a thing as the law of nations—a code of rules and regulations which the civilized nations have agreed upon by treaties or by common consent, and which they recognize as binding on all. These rules and regulations are especially

applicable in time of war. One of these rules is, that when, in time of actual war, one of the belligerents takes possession of territory belonging to the other, the commander of the occupying army is charged with the duty of preserving order and protecting life and property of peaceably disposed persons living there. He is in supreme control while the military occupation continues. The inhabitants pass under a temporary allegiance to his rule.

War is not made on the people in their individual capacity, but on the nation to which they belong, and private rights of persons and property are to be respected as far as consistent with the security of the holding and the interests of the conqueror.

This subject was discussed at length by President Polk in messages to Congress relating to incidents of our war with Mexico—to the occupation and military government of Mexican territory by our armies. When that war began all the country now covered by the States of California, Utah, Nevada, the western part of Colorado, and the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona, belonged to Mexico. President Polk had part of the army march to New Mexico to conquer and hold that region while the main body of the army moved toward the heart of the country. At the same time he directed the Pacific squadron to capture and hold California. As fast as Mexican territory was conquered by our army or navy, military governments were established over it—and in some cases civil governments also were set up, officered by military men.

PRECEDENTS IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

The House of Representatives inquired of the President by what authority these military and civil governments were put in force on Mexican territory. The President answered, sending copies of his orders to the commanders in the field, and said he had acted in accordance with the rules of war as recognized in the law of nations. (See his special message to the House, December 22, 1846.)

Again, July 24, 1848, in answer to another similar inquiry by the House of Representatives, the President said:

"The temporary governments authorized were instituted by virtue of the rights of war. The power to declare war against a foreign country, and to prosecute it according to the general laws of war, as sanctioned by civilized nations, it will not be questioned, exists under our constitution. . . . In prosecuting a foreign war thus declared by Congress, we have the right by 'conquest and military occupation' to acquire possession of the territories of the enemy, and, during the war, to 'exercise the fullest rights of sovereignty over it.'"

The United States Supreme Court, in many cases, has sustained the position here asserted by President Polk; and in the case of *Cross vs. Harrison*, 16 Howard, 190, the court passed on these particular instances mentioned by President Polk. In that case the court said:

"Early in 1847 the President, as constitutional commander-in-chief of the army and navy, authorized the military and naval

commander of our forces in California to exercise the belligerent rights of a conqueror, and to form a civil government for the conquered country, and to impose duties on imports and tonnage as military contributions for the support of the Government and of the army which had the conquest in possession. . . . No one can doubt that these orders of the President, and the action of our army and navy commander in conformity with them, were, according to the law of arms and the right of conquest, or that they were operative until the ratification and exchange of a treaty of peace. Such would be the case by the law of nations in respect to war and peace between nations. In this instance it is recognized by the treaty itself."

General Merritt, with a force of 15,000 men, had arrived off Manila by the 20th of June, and our Cuban victories following within two weeks afterward, Spain sued for peace, and general terms were agreed upon in Washington August 12th, in a peace protocol, the third article of which reads as follows:

"Article III.—The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines."

The city surrendered a few days later. Commissioners, on the part of both nations, were appointed to meet at Paris and prepare a treaty in accordance with the terms of the protocol. It was then that the future "control, disposition and government" of the Philippines began to be considered, and on our side there were several points from which to view the subject.

First.—Our duty to the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Second.—What they had a moral right to expect from us.

Third.—What international obligations, if any, we had incurred, and our duties in relation thereto.

Fourth.—Our own interests in the matter.

As to the first point, we could not think of going into partnership with the Filipinos, for that would spoil everything. Several parties may unite as allies in war, but sovereignty is a unit. If we remain on the islands at all it must be as the sovereign power, that would preserve order and peace locally, besides ensuring faithful discharge of any international obligations which might be assumed. As between the Filipinos and ourselves, we must either leave them entirely alone or we must assume jurisdiction over them as we have done over the Indians in this country, and as we did over the inhabitants of Louisiana in 1803, over the inhabitants of Florida in 1819, over the inhabitants of New Mexico and California in 1848, and over the inhabitants of Alaska in 1867, when those countries were ceded to us. The people of the United States were unanimous in the opinion that it was our duty to the Filipinos to not turn them over again to Spanish rule, as our war was waged to destroy that rule in Cuba.

As to what they had a moral right to expect of us, they might reasonably expect and demand of us fair and honest treatment, which, being interpreted, means a good and stable government.

As to the third point, our only international responsibilities assumed up to that time were the preservation of order on the islands and the protection of life and property as far as we were able.

The fourth point—our own interests: The more the subject was discussed, the more important it appeared to be. Our own country here has been developed to a wonderful extent. Our productive powers are far beyond our home requirements in each of the great departments of industry, and new markets are a necessity if we would avoid the troubles sure to accompany a market continuously glutted. Our recent enormous exportations have been worth millions to us as producers, and vastly more to us as citizens enjoying the peace and prosperity which attend a general employment of labor and a ready market for labor's surplus productions.

We had already obtained a foothold in the markets of China, with her millions of industrious people, and her vast extent of territory, presenting a great field for exchange of the productions of our farms, factories and mines. Every year our trade with China would naturally increase, furnishing additional employment to our people on land and sea, thus making it important that we should have at least one coaling station near the coast of China, and a shipyard, where we could build and repair our ships. For this purpose it would be better for us to have a whole island, rather than a bay and a few acres of land on an island belonging to some other nation. No place could be better for these purposes than one of the Philippines; and none of them would suit us better than the island of Luzon, whose capital city (Manila) was then in our possession. But to take any one of the Philippine islands, and only one, would leave us uncomfortably near our present enemy, besides leaving her in power over the inhabitants of all the other islands, from which we might be compelled, some day, to drive her away as we were now driving her from Cuba.

JEFFERSON'S MARVELOUS ACQUISITION.

We once needed possession of New Orleans and the mouth of the Mississippi river to accommodate and protect our growing southwestern and western commerce. President Jefferson got them for us, and with them he got all of Louisiana Territory, including what are now the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, the two Dakotas, Nebraska, Montana, Idaho, Kansas, Indian Territory and part of Colorado. He paid \$15,000,000 for the whole.

In the Philippines case, the question arose, why not take the whole of them and pay for them, following Jefferson's example in Louisiana?

The Philippine islands are an undeveloped region, rich in all the elements of wealth—a fruitful soil, with abundance of valuable timber, with beds of coal and iron, with plenty of water, a people capable of becoming intelligent and productive in all departments of tropical labor. What a field there is there, under good government for profitable exchange of commodities

produced by us in our temperate latitudes for things produced by them in their tropical regions. Mines to be opened, mills and factories to be erected, public highways to be laid out and graded, railways to be built, wharves and boats and ships to be constructed, warehouses to be put up, towns located, streets opened, and a thousand other things to be done, furnishing employment for the natives and offering work for engineers, surveyors, builders, and skilled workmen of almost every class from our own country.

DUTY COMPELLED OUR ACTION.

All things considered—our duty to the Filipinos and to ourselves, saying nothing about indemnity—the people of the United States, with practical unanimity, came to the conclusion that we ought to keep the islands, and it was so agreed in the treaty and ratified by both countries; and we paid twenty million dollars for them.

The personal and property rights of the inhabitants of the islands are secured in articles 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the treaty. The last clause of article 9 reads thus:

“The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by the Congress.”

Congress has not yet taken action in that direction. The insurrection of Aguinaldo and his followers must be completely and permanently suppressed before civil government can be permanently established. In the meantime the President is exerting every effort to preserve order and protect all peaceably disposed persons.

As before stated when one sovereign power cedes territory to another, the allegiance of the inhabitants is transferred to the new sovereign. “The same act which transfers their country transfers the allegiance of those who remain in it.” That is the language of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of the American Insurance Company vs. Canter, 1 Peters, 511.

Our national title to the Philippines is as good in law as the titles we hold for our homes; and the allegiance of the Filipinos to the United States is due the same as that of the people of Alaska or Hawaii, or New Mexico, Arizona or Oklahoma.

A commission of able and conscientious men, headed by Judge Taft, of Ohio, an eminent jurist, is now at work in the Philippines, opening the way for free government and collecting information for the use of Congress when that body takes up the work of determining the “civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants,” as provided in the treaty.

Answering the questions at the head of this sketch, we got into the Philippines as an incident of war.

We are holding them because, after due deliberation, the American people concluded that that was the best thing to do for the Filipinos and for ourselves.

W. A. PEFFER.

"The Republican party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession but of performance."

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

The Fiction of "Imperialism."

The Sovereignty of the Nation the Safeguard of Self-Government.

By

HON. DAVID JAYNE HILL, LL. D.

THE ILLUSIONS OF 1896.

In the light of our present knowledge, the fruit of our practical experience, it seems incredible that a great political party could, in 1896, have written in its platform the following sentences, and that multitudes of men could have accepted them as the truth :

"We are unalterably opposed to monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened upon the United States only by the stifling of that indomitable spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the War of the Revolution."

There is in these sonorous sentences a certain oratorical magnificence, pleasing to the ear and seeming to call for applause at every period ; but

their sense is as remote from the actual facts as the fleeting clouds from the solid surface of the earth. All men now see in them nothing but the art of the irresponsible rhetorician, aiming to stir the patriotic sentiments and awaken the fears of honest men for the purpose of gaining votes by means wholly foreign to the policies in question.

MORE GOLD THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY.

With the largest stock of gold possessed by any nation in the world, with a much larger per capita circulation of money than Great Britain, with a foreign trade so great as to overshadow every other period in our history, with a general prosperity which gives employment to labor at increased wages and secures to enterprise a good return, when American capitalists are loaning vast sums of money to the British and Russian governments, and our annual exports exceed our imports by \$600,000,000, we now see that it was not gold monometallism which was the cause of "the paralysis of hard times," that this system involved no "financial servitude to London," and that it contained no peril to our liberties similar to that of which the demagogues of 1896 so confidently declaimed. The American people have discovered that the Democratic pretensions of 1896 were false and empty, and that in matters of fact, as in matters of theory, the representations of that party are not to be implicitly trusted.

THE PRETENSIONS OF 1900.

At the present time, while stoutly maintaining every sophistry put forth in 1896, too partisan to confess an error and too stubborn to abandon it, the Democratic party deftly endeavors to conceal the real issue by fabricating a new one, and while reaffirming its pledges to adopt a revolutionary financial policy which would unsettle and destroy the business prosperity of the country, it tries to divert attention from these pledges to a new product of the imagination, as baseless as "financial servitude to London," under the opprobrious name of "*Imperialism*." This time it is said to be Washington instead of London that is proposing to "enslave" some one, and "the indomitable spirit and love of liberty" which Republicans were represented as stifling in the bosoms of free coinage theorists in 1896 they are now said to be "stifling" in the breasts of armed insurrectionists against the legal authority of the United States!

A NEW FIELD FOR SOPHISTRY.

The merely partisan character of this sudden change of front becomes perfectly apparent in view of the fact that it is now impossible to repeat the rhetorical exaggeration of the Chicago platform regarding the "British policy" of the gold standard, the "servitude to London," and the suppression of "the indomitable spirit and love of liberty" which the Republicans were accused of stifling in 1896. A new field for sophistry is required and it seems to be offered in the events growing out of the late war with Spain. A faithful review of the facts will show that the pretensions of the Kansas City platform are as false and as empty as those with which the Bryan Democracy tried to exploit the nation four years ago.

THE PARTY ATTITUDES ON THE PHILIPPINE QUESTION.

The war with Spain has been triumphantly ended under a Republican Administration by a brilliant series of events which have reflected new honor upon the American army and navy. No political party in the

United States would dare to violate public sentiment to the extent of denouncing the war or the diplomacy by which it was brought to its termination. If "Imperialism" has any existence, its beginning must be found and its development must be traced after the Peace of Paris, which was concluded on December 10, 1898, and ratified by the Senate on February 6, 1899.

POSITIONS OF THE TWO PARTIES.

The positions of the two great political parties upon the questions growing out of that settlement are stated in the following extracts from their respective platforms:

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM

ADOPTED AT PHILADELPHIA.

"In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibilities of our victories in the Spanish War, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands. *That course created our responsibility before the world and with the un-organized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations.* Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law."

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

ADOPTED AT KANSAS CITY.

"We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has involved the Republic in *unnecessary war*, sacrificing the lives of many of our noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of *crushing with military force the efforts of former allies to achieve liberty and self-government.* The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without endangering our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert our republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation: First, *of a stable form of government*; second, *independence*; and, third, *protection from outside interference*, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America."

These extracts present clearly the views of the Republican and Democratic parties upon the question of the Philippines. The whole issue raised by the cry of "Imperialism" is simply this:—

HAS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES PROCEEDED IN A LEGAL AND BENEVOLENT MANNER, OR HAS IT USED FORCE WHERE IT WAS NOT WARRANTED OR REQUIRED BY LAW?

If the word "Imperialism" has any meaning, it signifies *the substitution of arbitrary force for law*. Has there been, or is there contemplated, any such substitution? If not, "Imperialism" as applied to the present Administration is a *pure fiction*, an invention of the imagination. Under the laws of the United States, "Imperialism" is impossible. Has any law been violated, has any act of the President or of Congress been illegal? If not, this charge that "the Republic is being converted into an empire" is false and without foundation. It is more; it is a vicious calumny invented for purely partisan purposes.

1. THE PEACE OF PARIS.

The Peace of Paris was concluded in harmony with the Law of Nations, and the Constitution of the United States.

THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN.

On July 26, 1898, after the superiority of the forces of the United States had been evinced on sea and land, the Spanish Government through the French Ambassador at Washington asked President McKinley upon what terms the United States would consent to peace. On July 30, the President made his reply, proposing the independence of Cuba, the cession of Porto Rico and one of the Ladrões to the United States, and the retention of Manila by the military and naval forces of this government pending the final disposition of the Philippines by a peace commission. On August 9, the French Ambassador presented to the President Spain's acceptance of the terms of peace proposed, and on August 12, a protocol was signed embodying these terms.

On August 26 the Peace Commission was appointed by the President which met a similar commission appointed by Spain in Paris on October 1. During the negotiations at Paris a closer study of the nature and condition of the Philippine Islands made it evident that the principles which gave reason to the war with Spain required the cession to the United States of the entire archipelago, an arrangement fully covered by the comprehensive provisions of the protocol.

SPAIN'S SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The sovereignty of Spain in the Philippines had exhibited the same traits as in Cuba, and the interests of humanity demanded that her rule be terminated.

To have surrendered the islands to Spain would have been to abandon them to a continuance of oppression and misrule.

To have procured their independence would have been to deliver them over to domestic anarchy and the strife of petty despots.

To have permitted their transfer to any other power would have been to place the destinies of their population in the market, to be sold to the highest bidder.

To have accepted Manila alone, or a single one of the islands, for naval purposes would have been to involve this country in the probability of complications both with the future governments which would have been set up in the neighborhood and with foreign powers which would certainly come into possession of some of them.

Two additional considerations of great weight were opposed to any and all of these solutions:

(1) The fact that, having broken the sovereignty of Spain in those islands, our act would have left them without the possibility of a peaceable restoration of order; and (2) the fact that inevitable domestic disturbances would have exposed them to the certainty of international interference. The situation, therefore, created an extraordinary duty for this Government and placed upon it an obligation which it could not refuse to discharge.

THE PERFORMANCE OF THAT DUTY INVOLVED THE EXTENSION OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES OVER THESE UNFORTUNATE ISLANDS, and with the exception of certain political fanatics in our own country, no intelligent person in any

part of the world doubted for a moment that every human right and every aspiration of liberty would find ample protection under the flag of the United States. During the whole history of our country, which has been the secure refuge of the oppressed of every land, no one has ever before considered it a misfortune to live under the Stars and Stripes—the symbol of the most perfect freedom ever enjoyed by man.

RIGHT TO ACQUIRE AND GOVERN TERRITORY.

According to the universally accepted principles of international law the right to acquire and to govern territory is inherent in the very nature of sovereignty. It was never a subject of doubt with the great constitutional lawyers that the United States, as a sovereign nation, possesses this right. As Chief Justice Marshall said long ago, in a judicial decision, "The Constitution confers absolutely on the Government of the Union the powers of making war and of making treaties; consequently that Government possesses the power of acquiring territory either by conquest or by treaty." (*American Insurance Company vs. Canter*, 1 Peters, 511.)

In a speech in the Senate, on February 5, 1850, Henry Clay said: "The public law of the world, of reason, and of justice is that Congress has the right to legislate for the territories from the very moment they are acquired by conquest or treaty; and this point has been settled by all the elementary authorities and by the uniform interpretation and action of every department of our Government."

If there could be any theoretical doubt upon this point, it had long ago been settled in practice. The acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, under the presidency of Jefferson, tested and determined the right of the United States to acquire territory by treaty and to govern it as a possession of the United States. Out of the Louisiana purchase have been erected the great States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Nebraska, Kansas and Colorado, besides the Indian Territory and the Territory of Oklahoma—a vast empire in extent, long held and parts of it still held under the absolute rule of Congress. Two-thirds of our entire domain has been acquired by purchase or conquest, each accession bitterly opposed by a faction of critics, but in every instance the territory in question has passed under American sovereignty and been ruled by the American Congress without the evil consequences which were predicted.

It was, therefore, no novelty in our national experience when, after magnanimously granting to Spain \$20,000,000 to repay her for her public property in the Philippines and as a sign of justice and generosity, the Commission signed the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, and the question of the Philippines was settled by the cession of the entire archipelago to the United States.

RELATION OF THE DEMOCRATS TO THE TREATY.

The treaty was laid before the Senate for ratification on January 4, 1899. On January 11 the injunction of secrecy was removed and on the 13th it was ordered printed. Thus brought under the criticism of the entire country by its publication in the leading newspapers, the treaty became the subject of extensive public comment, which was generally in favor of its ratification. Among those who came to Washington to urge the Senate to act favorably upon it was the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, by whose influence in large measure the necessary two-thirds majority of votes was secured. Ten Democrats, three Populists, three Silverites and one Independent composed the contingent outside of the Republi-

can ranks voting for the adoption of the treaty. Without these votes it could not have been ratified.

In his speech of acceptance, delivered at Indianapolis, Mr. Bryan, referring to the Treaty of Paris, said:

"I was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war."

He adds: "I believe we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we could have been had the treaty been rejected."

But, if the treaty had been rejected, there would have been no question of "Imperialism," for the United States could have been prevented by a continued opposition to the treaty from annexing any territory whatever. Had the Senate insisted upon it, does Mr. Bryan doubt that Spain would have been less willing to grant independence to the Philippines than to Cuba? Being compelled to renounce them, she would quite as readily have granted their independence as their cession to the United States. Why, then, did not Mr. Bryan oppose the treaty and urge his friends to do so? He has kindly and frankly given us the reason: "With the treaty ratified, A CLEAN-CUT ISSUE IS PRESENTED BETWEEN A GOVERNMENT BY CONSENT AND A GOVERNMENT BY FORCE, AND IMPERIALISTS MUST BEAR THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL THAT HAPPENS UNTIL THE QUESTION IS SETTLED."

BRYAN'S EFFORT TO CREATE AN ISSUE.

To create an issue! That was the confessed motive of Mr. Bryan in urging the ratification of the treaty. He was quite willing to fasten upon his friends, the Filipinos, "a government by force," in order to create a political issue in his own country and to be able to represent his party as the defender of the idea of "government by consent." What do the people of the United States think of such motives in a candidate for the chief magistracy of a great republic?

It implies a strange conception of political and moral obligation to say that, since the treaty was ratified, "imperialists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled." Was the adherence of Mr. Bryan and his friends to the cause of ratification, then, the mere act of the sophist seeking new materials for his rhetoric, not the act of a patriot or of a philanthropist seeking to make the best possible arrangement for his country and its wards?

The responsibility for the ratification of that treaty rests equally upon all who approved it and aided in making it a law. Whatever the private motives of its supporters may have been, all who supported it are responsible for the ratification which made it a part of the supreme law of the land, prescribing and commanding execution by the President. Either Mr. Bryan and his friends who voted for the treaty approved of its provisions or they did not. If they approved of those provisions, they should not complain of their execution. If they did not approve of them, they should not have urged their adoption.

II. THE SUPPRESSION OF INSURRECTION.

The task of suppressing insurrection and enforcing law and order in the Philippines became a legal duty imposed upon the Chief Executive by the Constitution and the Treaty of Paris.

A TREATY IS A PART OF THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND.

In order to give authoritative effect to treaties and conventions and to bind the nation to the performance of its international obligations, the

Constitution of the United States provides that "all treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be *the supreme law of the land.*" (Art. VI, Clause 2.) Of this supreme law the President is by the Constitution the Chief Executive, and the obligation is expressly laid upon him to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." (Art. II, Sec. 3.) By advising the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, therefore, Mr. Bryan and his friends made it the duty of the President to execute the provisions of the treaty. To say that they did not know this, or that they did not know what the provisions of the treaty were, is to say that they were incompetent advisers upon the affairs of the nation. To say that they did know and intended to place the President in a difficult or disadvantageous position, is to say that they had more regard for their political designs than for the honor of their country and the welfare of its wards.

PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY OF PARIS.

What, then, were the principal provisions of that treaty under which sovereignty over the Philippine Islands was acquired by the United States? Those which it is important to mention here fall into two classes:

(1) Those relating to the rights of Spain and of native Spaniards—the admission of Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as those of the United States for a period of ten years (Article IV); the evacuation of the Philippines by Spain (Art. V); the optional purchase of certain materials of defense by the United States (Art. V); the release and return to Spain of prisoners in the hands of the insurgents (Art. VI); the relinquishment to the United States of the public property of Spain in the Islands, for which an indemnity of \$20,000,000 was paid (Art. VIII); security in the rights of property, and of its sale and disposition (Arts. IX and XIII); and the free exercise of religion (Art. X).

(2) Those relating to the native inhabitants of the Philippines—the free exercise of their religion and the determination of their civil and political status by Congress, as provided for in Article X, which reads: "The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress."

It will be seen that by this treaty the United States entered into important obligations of an international character, which nothing less than complete sovereignty would enable the Government to fulfill. It also extended over the natives the protection of the Congress of the United States, to which was referred the duty of securing their civil rights. The honor of the nation was thus pledged in this treaty to create in the Philippine Islands the guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—inalienable rights long withheld from a population just emerging into a consciousness of their civic existence. When the treaty by its ratification acquired the force of "supreme law," it became the constitutional obligation of the President, as chief executive, to execute these provisions and fulfill these pledges. Not to have done so would have been to neglect a solemn duty involving the pledged honor of the nation.

THE PRESIDENT'S PRECAUTIONS AGAINST MISUNDERSTANDING.

In order to avoid misconception on the part of the inhabitants of the Philippines, the battle of Manila having occurred on May 1, 1898, on May 19 the President issued an executive order to General Merritt, in which he said: "It will be the duty of the Commander of the expedition, immediately upon arriving in the islands, to publish a proclamation declaring that WE COME NOT TO MAKE WAR UPON THE PEOPLES OF THE PHILIPPINES, NOR UPON ANY PARTY OR FACTION AMONG THEM, BUT TO PROTECT THEM IN THEIR HOMES, IN THEIR EMPLOYMENTS AND IN THEIR PERSONAL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS."

On the very day when that order was issued, May 19, Aguinaldo, a revolutionary chief who had been bought off by Spain, and who, the revolution having ceased, was living in Hong Kong in the enjoyment of his reward, came on board the Olympia, the flagship of Admiral Dewey. He had been permitted to come on the McCullough from Hong Kong to Manila, where he hoped to revive the insurrection against Spain. In the language of Admiral Dewey, "he was allowed to land at Cavite and organize an army. This was done with the purpose of strengthening the United States forces and weakening those of the enemy."

"NO ALLIANCE OF ANY KIND was entered into with Aguinaldo nor was any promise made to him then or at any other time." On May 20, the day after Aguinaldo's appearance on the Olympia, Admiral Dewey telegraphed to Washington: "Aguinaldo, the rebel commander-in-chief, was brought down by the McCulloch. Organizing forces near Cavite, and may render assistance which may be valuable." On the 26th the Secretary of the Navy sent to Admiral Dewey this message: "It is desired, as far as possible, and consistent with your success and safety, NOT TO HAVE POLITICAL ALLIANCES WITH THE INSURGENTS OR ANY FACTION IN THE ISLANDS that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future." On June 6 Admiral Dewey replied: "*I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment.*" The reference to "former allies" in the Democratic platform and in the speeches of Mr. Bryan has no historic foundation and is merely a flourish of rhetoric.

With a view of avoiding all complications, on August 17, after the fall of Manila, General Corbin telegraphed to General Merritt: "The President directs that there must be *no joint occupation* with the insurgents. *The United States must preserve the peace.*" Again on December 21, after the signature of the Peace of Paris, the President said: "It will be the duty of the Commander of the forces of occupation to announce that *we come not as invaders or conquerors but as friends.*" Thus with repeated insistence, whenever the crisis seemed to demand new assurances, the President was prompt to proclaim the pacific and benevolent intentions of the United States.

THE CRY OF "IMPERIALISM."

Notwithstanding the clear and reiterated expressions of the President, certain political partisans eager to find fault with the Administration, and certain sensational writers fond of dealing in novelties and nightmares

for literary effect, coined and circulated the word "Imperialism", intended to designate a degeneration from the principles of pure republicanism. These dealers in the wares of the imagination found little sympathy and small support among the people of the United States, who generally received with ridicule the grotesque conceits of these writers. But their morbid fancies, innocuous in the open daylight of American public opinion, were swiftly carried across the Pacific and to the innocent minds of the Filipinos appeared as the augury of misfortune in store for them.

Taking advantage of this unexpected instrument of attack upon the generous and disinterested policy of the President, even Senators of the United States joined in the cry of "Imperialism", and on the floor of the Senate predicted to the world the despotic use of power by the American Congress. The Philippine newspapers repeated and distributed these speeches, giving to their readers the impression that the United States was divided in its purposes towards them and that the prevailing party wished to crush them under the heel of a despotism similar to that from which they had just been liberated. "Mr. Bryan"—says one of these articles, after referring to him as "the presidential candidate selected for the future of the Democratic party"—"Mr. Bryan announces himself decidedly opposed to the imperial policy of the Government and shows the danger in which American institutions will be placed by this entirely new ambition for colonization."

Assured that a great political party in the United States would support them in their armed opposition to the Government, the leaders of the insurrection, who would never have held out against a united country, DREAMED OF ESTABLISHING THEIR SUPREMACY OVER THE ENTIRE ARCHIPELAGO, and in October, 1899, Aguinaldo was so far encouraged as to say in a signed manifesto: "WE ASK GOD THAT HE MAY GRANT A TRIUMPH OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, IN THE HONEST WISH, WHICH IS THE HOPE THAT DEFENDS THE PHILIPPINES, THAT IMPERIALISM MAY CEASE FROM ITS MAD IDEA OF SUBDUING US WITH ITS ARMS."

THE NATURE OF THE INSURRECTION.

It is now time to consider the nature of that insurrection which the President was required to suppress by the supreme law of the land, established as a law by the advice of Mr. Bryan and his friends, and which, notwithstanding his previous support, he encouraged the insurrectionists to violate.

Until after the fall of Manila, May 1, 1898, the opponents of the Spanish government in the island of Luzon were not strong enough to incite an effective rebellion, having surrendered their arms for a fixed price on December 14, 1897. When the Spanish fleet was sunk in the bay of Manila and the capture of the city threatened by the Americans, the Spanish Governor-General, Augustine, endeavored to enlist the Filipinos for the defence of the city, promising them autonomy as the reward of their compliance. He also formed a consultative cabinet of Filipinos, but through distrust of Spain his plans met with little success.

The arrival of Aguinaldo on May 19 turned the tide of Filipino sentiment against Spain, and he assumed the leadership of five thousand rebels

who had camped near the city. The Filipino militia, now believing in the triumph of America over Spain, deserted the Spanish flag and gathered about Aguinaldo. An authentic and instructive digest of subsequent events is presented in the following testimony of Senor Legarda, a native Filipino resident in Manila, and a prominent officer in Aguinaldo's government :

"Q. Now, will you tell us about the early relations between our own troops and those of the Filipinos? A. When I heard that Aguinaldo had come to Cavite I went over * * * and I was appointed sub-secretary of the treasury in the revolutionary government.

Q. What was the date of that? A. June 15 (1898). And a short time after I took my position I became convinced of the hostile feeling which Aguinaldo had toward the Americans.

Q. What reasons did you have for thinking so? A. The first proclamation that he issued after his arrival here said that the war of the great American nation against Spain would be a very humane war, and that the liberty of his country had been promised. A short time afterwards, as soon as he had some forces, he proclaimed independence in the few towns which he had procured, without the consent of Admiral Dewey, at whose orders he had come, and the first time that I presented myself to him I HEARD FROM HIS OWN LIPS THAT NEITHER ADMIRAL DEWEY NOR ANY OTHER AMERICAN HAD EVER PROMISED HIM SUCH INDEPENDENCE. And this hostile spirit of his became more and more pronounced all the time, and when the forces were disembarked at Paranaque and occupied the vicinity of Paranaque he became very much enraged and wished to begin hostilities against the Americans (July, 1898). * * *

Q. What reason was there for this change of feeling? A. The reason was because he knew that he could not obtain independence, and that was what he wanted.

Q. Why did he want independence? A. On account of his ambition.

Q. How did he know he could not obtain it? A. He had no promise of it, and he had no hope of getting it, and he WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE WAR AT ALL, OR, IN FACT, GET HERE WITHOUT THE AID OFFERED HIM BY THE BLOCKADE OF THE AMERICAN SQUADRON. In this time the troops disembarked at Paranaque, and he wished to open hostilities against the Americans, and he again passed the word along to resist in the different towns and give no aid whatever to the Americans.

Q. Do you know that of your own knowledge? A. I know that of my own knowledge, because I was there myself."

A PLAN TO ROB MANILA.

After stating that Aguinaldo got his first arms from the arsenal at Cavite and that he and his troops were disappointed in not being permitted to enter Manila at its capture, the witness says: "THERE WAS A PLAN TO ROB THE WHOLE CITY. Aguinaldo himself, while in Bacoor pointed out crowds of people to me, passing, carrying sacks, who, he said,

were on their way to Manila to sack the city when they were able. His plan was to come in with the Americans and to make arrangements to get the arms of the Spanish prisoners and attack the Americans from the inside after the city had been occupied, if the Americans didn't give the independence of the Philippines." (Report of the Philippine Commission, II, pp. 381, 383.)

The witness goes on to speak of the barbarities inflicted by the insurgent troops, especially kidnapping. People who favored the Americans were "ordered to be seized." "Some were carried away and flogged and others were taken off in the hills and disappeared and were never heard of again. Then the principal agitators of Aguinaldo, who were Sandico and others, established here in Manila the popular clubs, a society similar to the Katapunans, and this society became very widespread here, and its PRINCIPAL OBJECT WAS TO PREVENT FILIPINOS FROM GETTING IN SYMPATHY WITH THE AMERICANS. * * * Sandico himself told me that the principal fear which he felt was that the Filipinos, considering the free spirit which existed in American laws and American institutions WOULD BECOME MORE AMERICAN THAN THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES." Militia, the witness adds, was organized by Aguinaldo's agitators to promote a popular outbreak in the city. Such were the secret proceedings of Aguinaldo against his alleged "allies," carried on for months before the Peace of Paris was signed, and, therefore, quite irrelevant to its provisions.

BREAKING OUT OF HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE AMERICANS.

The witness already cited says that "one week before the outbreak of hostilities Aguinaldo sent word to all the people in the city that all who were friendly to him, with their families, should withdraw." "Orders were given to all the Philippine forces not to let a single American pass. The chief of the pumping station, an American officer, who wished to go to Santolan, was received by bayonets in Santa Mesa and made to go back. * * * The Filipino soldiers were ALWAYS COMMITTING ROBBERIES HERE. One of the reasons for the outbreak of hostilities was that the Filipino soldier thought the American soldier was a coward. * * *

Q. Is it true that the Filipino soldier would insult the Americans, would point his gun at them, would call them cowards, would ask them if they wanted to fight, would make gestures of menace toward them? Is that all true as we have heard here?

A. It is, certainly; and there were daily disputes for this reason, for the Filipinos thought the Americans were cowards and would never attack, and what gave them reason to think this was the fact that THE AMERICANS AVOIDED TROUBLE AND ENDEAVORED TO PREVENT THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES HERE."

When it is remembered that, at the moment hostilities began, February 4, 1899, a treaty was pending, it became the imperative duty of the military officers to maintain the *status quo* until the action of Congress had been taken. When the treaty was ratified by the Senate, with the full

knowledge of this situation, on February 6, that act was a mandate to the President to suppress the insurrection.

Mr. Bryan and his friends knew the situation and what it involved. Did he think that this nation should immediately repudiate the international obligations just solemnly accepted by the treaty, that the rights and powers of Congress should be yielded to a usurper, and that the political destinies of 82 native tribes, not constituting a homogeneous nation, scattered over 1200 islands, should be surrendered on demand to the domination of a single dictator of a single tribe on a single island?

Or was his whole purpose wrapped up in creating "a clean-cut issue between government by consent and government by force," for the profit of his party?

PLANNING TO MASSACRE FOREIGNERS.

But while the Anti-Imperialists were praising the new Washington of the Pacific, he was issuing a proclamation, to be executed on February 22, to massacre every foreigner. It reads: "You will so dispose that at 8 o'clock at night the individuals of the territorial militia at your orders will be found united in the streets of San Pedro, armed with their bolos, revolvers and guns, and ammunition if convenient. FILIPINO FAMILIES ONLY WILL BE RESPECTED. They should not be molested, BUT ALL OTHER INDIVIDUALS OF WHATEVER RACE THEY MAY BE WILL BE EXTERMINATED WITHOUT ANY COMPASSION, AFTER THE EXTERMINATION OF THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION."

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

It is alleged by the Anti-Imperialists that the right of revolution is a fundamental human right, and that the Filipinos have acted upon strictly American principles in opposing a foreign sovereignty and seeking to expel it. Such an extension of the doctrine that all just government is derived from the consent of the governed is practically a plea for universal anarchy. Consent implies freedom of expression, unrestrained choice by duly constituted deliberative assemblies. Such assemblies representing the whole population, or the most intelligent or responsible portion of the population, have never been convoked in the Philippines. The Tagalogs number about 1,600,000 souls. The Visayans number about 2,600,000 and the whole population of the islands is about 8,000,000. It is the Tagalog provinces of Luzon which have been in rebellion. But even they have never been properly represented in a deliberative assembly. The Philippine Commissioners report: "In the remaining provinces of Luzon, the Tagalog rebellion was viewed at first with indifference AND LATER WITH FEAR. Throughout the archipelago at large there was trouble only at those points to which armed Tagalogs had been sent in considerable numbers. In general such machinery of 'government' as existed served only for plundering the people under the pretext of levying 'war contributions', while MANY OF THE INSURGENT OFFICIALS WERE RAPIDLY ACCUMULATING WEALTH. The administration of justice was paralyzed and crime of all sorts was rampant.

MIGHT WAS THE ONLY LAW.

"Never in the worst days of Spanish misrule had the people been so overtaxed or so badly governed. In many provinces there was ABSOLUTE ANARCHY, and from all sides came PETITIONS FOR PROTECTION AND HELP, which we were unable to give, as troops could not be spared." (Report of the Philippine Commission, I, p. 177.)

Witnesses before the Commission testified: "NINETY-FIVE PER CENT. OF THE PEOPLE ARE NOT IN REBELLION. What they want is good government." Speaking of the Island of Luzon, where the insurrection existed, a highly intelligent witness said: "I do not believe that ten per cent. of the people of the island of Luzon are opposed to the United States." As to Aguinaldo's so-called Republic, the following testimony of one of its high officers, Senor Legarda, is instructive:

"Q. Now, suppose we go back and take up the events in the Filipino congress prior to the war. * * * In the first place, how was that congress got together; was it elected or appointed? A. THIS CONGRESS WAS MADE UP BY AGUINALDO. * * * A great majority were appointed by Aguinaldo and naturally the decisions of the congress had to be as Aguinaldo desired.

Q. DID AGUINALDO HAVE THE POWER TO REMOVE MEMBERS THAT DID NOT VOTE TO SUIT HIS WISHES? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he ever employ this right? A. Yes, sir; HE APPOINTED ME VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS. * * *

Q. I wish to know whether the Congress was dominated by Aguinaldo and his cabinet or not? A. Completely. * * *

Q. Was it not true that the congress passed a measure to the effect that the protection of the United States should be requested for the Philippines? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And what was the reason that the resolution was not carried out? A. Because Aguinaldo disapproved of it."

In answer to the question whether any one in Aguinaldo's government was favorable to the Americans, the witness said: "I THINK THAT EVEN IF HE WISHED TO BE HE WOULD HAVE TO BE VERY CAREFUL OR HE WOULD BE SHOT." (Report of the Philippine Commission, II, pp. 386, 388.)

Arguelles, one of Aguinaldo's commissioners, was disgraced by military order, expelled from the army and condemned to twelve years' imprisonment because he approved of the American propositions.

III. THE PROPOSALS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The plans of self-government proposed by the United States authorities meet the aspirations of the best representatives of the Filipino people.

PROPOSALS OF THE PRESIDENT.

By authority of the President the first Philippine Commission, upon its arrival at Manila, under date of April 4, 1899, issued a Proclamation which contained these terms:

"The aim and object of the American Government, apart from the fulfillment of the solemn obligations it has assumed toward the family of nations by the acceptance of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, is the well-being, the prosperity and the happiness of the Philippine people and their elevation and advancement to a position among the most civilized peoples of the world. * * * * THE MOST AMPLE LIBERTY OF SELF-GOVERNMENT will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States. * * * Public funds raised justly and collected honestly will be applied ONLY in defraying the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine government."

In accordance with this Proclamation an administration formed in the Island of Negros accepted American sovereignty and sent a commission to Manila to secure American protection. The President of the congress of the island, Senor Luzuriaga, testifying before the Commission, said that after the sovereignty of America was accepted everything went along very well until orders came from Aguinaldo's government *promising a division of the property* if they would take up arms. Thus incited to revolt, houses were burned, cattle seized, and more than 100 plantations destroyed.

This testimony shows that self-government, inaugurated and in successful operation in the Island of Negros, under American protection, was attacked from the outside by emissaries of Aguinaldo and the country reduced to anarchy, which was subdued only by the aid of American troops. It establishes conclusively three propositions: (1) that some of the islands desired and promptly sought the protection of American sovereignty; (2) that the wishes of the people were not respected by the Tagalogs; and (3) THAT NOTHING SHORT OF AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY CAN SAFE-GUARD SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES TO THOSE WHO WISH TO ENJOY IT AS AGAINST THE RAPACITY OF LOCAL DESPOTS.

According to the testimony of Senor Albert, a civil officer of the Filipino government, no session of their congress was held during January, February, March and April, 1899, while the insurrection was most active. When at last a session was called on May 5, 1899, sixteen members being present, IT WAS VOTED TO ACCEPT AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY by a majority of fifteen, the proposition being favored by "ALL BUT ONE, WHO DID NOT VOTE". (Report of the Philippine Commission, II, pp. 128, 129). The plan of government desired by this congress was almost identical with that suggested in conference by the Commissioners. The testimony shows that it would have been finally adopted but for a quarrel among the Filipino military commanders.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

After a careful study of the condition of the islands and the wishes of their inhabitants, the first Philippine Commission recommended a plan of government for the Philippines based on a large body of testimony showing that, if the real desires of the Filipino people could be freely expressed, American sovereignty would be gladly welcomed by all but the military adventurers. This plan was similar in many respects to that adopted in

1803 for the government of Louisiana, but with several ameliorations. Jefferson complained with regard to public criticisms upon the system then adopted that, "although it is acknowledged that our new fellow-citizens are as yet as incapable of self-government as children, yet some cannot bring themselves to suspend its principles for a single moment." The Commissioners, believing that "from the very outset it will be safe and desirable to extend to the Filipinos LARGER LIBERTIES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT THAN JEFFERSON APPROVED for the inhabitants of Louisiana," would not "suspend" the principles of self-government, but put them into gradual operation as soon as a state of peace—the first essential of civic existence—can be secured, by developing local governments. Their general conception is expressed in the following paragraph with which they conclude their preliminary report on government:

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the Commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. ONLY THROUGH AMERICAN OCCUPATION, THEREFORE, IS THE IDEA OF A FREE, SELF-GOVERNING AND UNITED PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH AT ALL CONCEIVABLE. And the indispensable need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless, they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos cannot stand alone,"

THE DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

Considerations like those just cited did not enter into the crowded deliberations of the Kansas City Convention in the heated hour when its platform was adopted, but they appeal to the cool, dispassionate judgment of thoughtful American citizens who wish their country to make no mistake. The Kansas City idea of the Filipinos is that they constitute a homogeneous nation composed of aspirants after national unity and independence and prepared to constitute a general government for the entire archipelago. But they are not in any sense a nation. They are "a variegated assemblage of different tribes and peoples, and their loyalty is still of the tribal type." Many, perhaps most of them, are fitted for a degree of local self-government, but they have no unity of race, tradition, religion or aspiration and no political experience.

It is evident, therefore, how futile is the "easy" solution proposed by the Democratic platform, which naively promises to solve the problem by a simple "declaration" of (1) a stable form of government; (2) independence; and (3) American protection. Although a mere "declaration" would be nugatory and impotent, the promise tends to encourage renewed insurrection and to endanger the lives of American soldiers by reviving the hope that Aguinaldo's prayers for a Democratic victory may yet be answered.

It is the first time in the history of our country that a candidate for the presidency has promised that, if elected, his first official act would be to summon Congress for the purpose of rendering fruitless the blood and sac-

rice of American soldiers, bravely offered in defense of the flag, for the preservation of peace and order and to maintain the national honor.

It is the first time that the maxim, "The Constitution follows the flag," was ever evoked as a reason for dishonoring both by lowering the one and withdrawing the beneficent guardianship of a sovereignty created by the other.

It is the first time that territory of the United States has ever been menaced with alienation to a defeated foe as a reward for persistent rebellion. Yet these are the elements of which the Democratic programme in the Philippines is compounded, these the novelties of which the "paramount issue" is composed, these the substitutes offered for that defense of the national honor and fulfilment of national obligations which have marked the course of the present Administration.

Between these alternatives the American people may safely be trusted to decide.



A reign of terror is not the kind of rule under which right action and deliberate judgment are possible.—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

Republican Policy Triumphs

Leaders of the Party Attest the Wisdom of the
President's Administration.

LINCOLN AND MCKINLEY

Comparison of the Presidential Campaigns Thirty-six
Years Ago and Now.

ART OF HUMBUGGERY

Genuine Anti-Imperialists Not Caught in the
Kansas City Net.

NO MAN CAN TAKE HIS PLACE.

President McKinley's Re-Election Demanded for the Good of
the Country.

[By Hon. DAVID B. HENDERSON of Iowa, Speaker of National House of Representatives.]

No man can take the place of President McKinley, and when the ballots are counted in November, the sensible people of the country will demonstrate to the world that no man will be allowed to take his place.

The name of Hamilton suggests three thoughts to me that may be appropriate for 1900: First, a strong government; second, a just government; third, a protective government. In this great world of ours, full of powerful nations, aggressive in their governments, this nation as a government must be strong to take care of our people. No government can be strong that is not just. We cannot hold the love or support of our people unless we are just in the interpretation and enactment of our laws. No government will answer the purposes of the American people that is not protective. These three principles were the cardinal ones of that great statesman and patriot, Alexander Hamilton.

PROTECTION BY THE GOVERNMENT.

This government must protect capital and labor and give each a fair chance. It must protect rich and poor, black and white—and brown—old and young, men and women, and the children, too. Unless we have a government strong enough to protect our citizens everywhere the flag floats we shall fail in our duty to ourselves and the world about us. It must be a government that will protect its citizens whether in the heart of Chicago or in the heart of China. These doctrines I take as the watchwords of the hour. I would have men elected who would act them like McKinley, as

well as believe in them. I want the people to elect such men because I believe in them thoroughly. I therefore say, elect William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

VITAL ISSUES OF THE HOUR.

Militarism a Bugbear—Our Policy in the Philippines and in China Entirely Justified.

[By Hon. CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, United States Senator from Minnesota.]

This campaign is portentous. Others have been conducted on few issues, economic or moral. In this one, the Democratic party and its candidate means the reversal of every policy, domestic and foreign, monetary, financial, protective and expansive, which has made the administration of President McKinley one of the most glorious in our history by the splendor of its military and naval achievements, by its revival of dying industries, by its financial legislation, by its making the United States the first money power in the world, by its extension of our sovereignty, and by our advancement to the forefront of international influence.

The measures and policies which have wrought these imposing political transformations are denounced and their abrogation is demanded by the declaration of Democratic principles made at Kansas City.

This declaration does not denounce the administration of President McKinley for its failures, it condemns it for its achievements. It declares them to be destructive of true prosperity and subversive of our institutions. It demands that the gold standard shall be abolished, and that protection to American industries shall cease.

PLAN FIRST LOWERING OF FLAG.

For the first time the sovereignty of the United States over territory held by an unquestionable title is to be abandoned and the flag lowered, and that, too, in capitulation to a flagrant insurrection against its authority. All this, and more than this, is demanded by the Democratic party as a reason for its investiture with power, and is promised to the American people in case power is given to do it. Such demands, such promises, such threats, such consequences will receive the most considerate condemnation of the people.

No Democratic platform, no Democratic speaker expresses any satisfaction with our triumphs in war, or with the abounding prosperity of our people, or with our international ascendancy. How can they rejoice in a prosperity which falsifies every prediction they made four years ago, and the approval of which now would refute every claim that they can possibly make for their political restoration?

The present administration has kept the faith in which the American people invested it with power, has performed every act to which it was pledged, and has fulfilled every expectation which has arisen from sudden events which were foreseen four years ago.

IMPERIALISM NOT THE ISSUE.

The real, the paramount question before the American people is not imperialism. It is whether these conditions and the policies which have produced them are to be abandoned, or even put to the chance of abandonment in the pursuit of—theories, I was about to say, but not of theories—in the repetition of experiments which have always proved disastrous in the very respects in which our prosperity is now so abounding, for it is never to be forgotten that the Kansas City platform, while it denounces expansion and what it calls imperialism, also specifically condemns the policy of protection as enforced by the statute which was passed immediately after the inauguration of President McKinley; condemns our financial policy and the gold standard under which money has become more abundant than it ever was before and interest lower, and twice demands the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.

McKINLEY ON TRUSTS.

The President laid the subject of trusts before Congress, and an amendment to the constitution was proposed by the Republicans in the House of Representatives during the last session. It provided that "Congress shall have power to define, regulate, prohibit, or dissolve trusts, monopolies, or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise. The several states may continue to exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States."

Here was such an opportunity as the Democracy had never had to demonstrate the sincerity of its declarations. The amendment came to a vote. The Democrats (with one or two exceptions) voted solidly against it. The Republicans (with one or two exceptions) voted for it. The Democrats could have completed the two-thirds vote required by the constitution. They did not. They voted against the proposition with practical unanimity.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY INVOKED.

And upon what ground? Upon the ground that the proposed amendment would diminish the existing sovereignty of the states upon this subject. This is an assertion by them that it is a subject of state jurisdiction under the constitution, as it is, except as to interstate and foreign commerce. The Supreme court has defined the limitations of legislation. The legislation which the Democrats vaguely promise would be void when tested by their own arguments and votes upon the amendment. In other words, the Democrats purpose, and have voted, to leave the power of legislation just where it now is, while the Republican party proposed to vest it in Congress to the fullest extent necessary.

The administration of President McKinley has done its full duty to this country in the matter of the Boer war, and it owes no duty to any nation excepting the United States.

DEMOCRATS SILENT ABOUT CHINA.

The Democratic party was silent respecting our relations with China, because to declare opinions upon that subject which the American people would receive with contempt and spurn with disgust would cause the broomstick ghost of imperialism and militarism to vanish in an instant. So to speak would annihilate those "paramount issues," because it would admit that even the blind, when told, can perceive, even if they cannot see it, that the status, the occupation, and the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines are at this moment and in this great crisis of civilization commanding and absolutely indispensable. They vindicate the wisdom of holding those possessions, unless the United States is to recede to the shores of the American continent, become herself a little China, cancel herself as a factor in the great civilizing and commercial change in the Asiatic Orient, an event fully as important as the discovery of America by Columbus.

There are few events in our diplomatic and military history more honorable than the consummate skill, the wise conservatism and the unflinching courage by which the administration of President McKinley relieved our legation and at the same time maintained proper relations with the Chinese empire.

The policy of the United States as to China should, in my opinion, be this: It must rescue its citizens. It must exact indemnity for all injuries to their persons or property. It will insist that China shall observe all treaty stipulations, and that, under any and all conditions of sovereignty, cession, or foreign ascendancy, the open door shall remain open. We shall use no military force for conquest, and have no concert with any European power, except to rescue our citizens and theirs.

COVET NO CHINESE TERRITORY.

We covet no Chinese territory and we will acquire none. We desire no territorial sphere of influence. We will give no approval or support, physical, moral or sentimental, to the dismemberment of China, or to the extinc-

tion of her sovereignty by the acquisition of spheres of influence by any European power.

I look for a regeneration of China as the result of the convulsions she is now suffering. It will come to pass not by the partition of that mighty and immemorial empire, but by its full entry into commercial relations with the other nations of the world. The process will not be a long one. It has been going on for fifty years, and has become more perfect and extensive every year. When fully completed the United States will be the greatest participant in that trade of the Pacific which Humboldt predicted more than seventy-five years ago would be the greatest commerce that land and sea have ever known. We need cross but one ocean to grasp the "wealth of Ormuz and of Ind." Europe must traverse four seas to share it. We can produce everything which that insatiable market can absorb, just as now we are producing and exporting our fabrics, textile, metallic and miscellaneous to every market in the world, as the direct result of Republican economic policies put in force during our civil war and steadily persisted in by that party ever since.

This is manifest destiny; it is written by an auspicious astrologer upon the sky of a visible future. It will give 15,000,000 of people to our states of the Pacific coast; it will open a career to the talents of aspiring youth and in every way carry the United States far along on that course of national grandeur for which I believe the nation was ordained.

PARAMOUNT ISSUES ARE ECONOMIC.

Imperialism is not the paramount issue of the campaign and cannot be made so. The adjustment of any question as to the Philippines is to be considered after rebellion against the sovereignty and authority of the United States has been put down. The paramount issues this year are financial and economic. Shall the anti-protection party of 16 to 1 be put in power to advance its principles by the enormous powers and executive influence in case Mr. Bryan is elected and win the first engagement in a campaign the next battle of which will be for the control of both Houses of Congress?

The question for the plain people is, do they wish, with the instructions of a bitter experience fresh and deep in their memories, to change or submit to the chance of change that abounding prosperity which came with the election of President McKinley—a prosperity which no Democratic platform or speaker denies nor dare not rejoice in or even allude to? Aguinaldo can wait until the American people take "a bond of fate," if necessary, by annihilating for the preservation of their own domestic interests the political combination which is at the same time their enemy and the aider and abettor of the Tagal rebels.

OUR DUTY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The immediate duty of this government as to the Philippines is to maintain its sovereignty and to crush rebellion against it. What its constitutional powers and limitations are can be more profitably discussed and considered after the authority of the United States shall have been firmly established. I do not believe that the constitution contains any disabling inhibition which will prevent this government from governing those islands as their best interests may demand, and according to the capacities of their people. No such difficulties intervened in the administration of Louisiana, Florida, or the territory which we acquired from Mexico. Congress legislated at the last session in regard to the government of Alaska in some particulars entirely unwarranted by the constitution, if the disabling construction placed upon it by our opponents is correct. There are certain large and general considerations, however, which, to my mind, demonstrate that the authority to govern these dependencies is vested in Congress subject to no disabling limitations of certain provisions of the constitution,

which, because they are inapplicable to such a situation, never could have been designed by the framers to apply to it.

BRYAN SHRINKS FROM THE RESPONSIBILITY.

In declaring that he will convene Congress for these purposes Mr. Bryan shrinks from the logical consequences of his own position. If elected President of the United States he will become Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy, conducting a war which he and the platform upon which he stands assert to be a "criminal aggression" against a people who ought to be independent. As such Commander-in-Chief, holding to such principle, he would have the right to withdraw every man from the Philippines, cause our squadron to sail out from Manila Bay, to evacuate entirely the archipelago, and—to use his own language—leave their people to work out their own destiny. As President he could recognize the existence and independence of the Philippine republic. A bold man, holding such views as these and with such powers, would say that he intended to use them, but there Mr. Bryan halts and recoils. He purposes to throw the responsibility upon Congress, well knowing that with a Republican Senate and House of Representatives no such action as he proposes to recommend would receive the least sanction.

MILITARISM A BUGBEAR.

I shall say but little of this bugbear of militarism. We are crippled to-day by the inadequacy of our military force in performing our manifest duties as to our people in China. The events in that empire demonstrate, as did our unprepared condition at the beginning of the Spanish war, how suddenly and unexpectedly crises may arise which will call for the exercise of our military power and find it entirely lacking. A nation of 75,000,000 of free people, vast in extent, need have no fear that an empire will be erected upon the ruins of the republic by the scattered forces of an army of 100,000 men.

But if an increased army leads to militarism, so does an increased navy, and yet we hear no word of protest from the Democratic party against that, because such a protest would be carrying the argument too far; and yet a navy, in the establishment of militarism or imperialism, could reduce our coast cities, could attack Washington, could hold the arsenals and strategic points on all our shores, and do as much as and possibly more than an army could toward the overthrow of this government or the change of its form. A small Brazilian navy did this once as to Brazil and attempted it again. The truth is, there is no danger from either of these great arms of our military service. They are the right hand and the left hand of our power and defense at home and abroad. Their officers and men are as loyal as Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and Farragut, and Porter, and Worden, and their soldiers and sailors were in their time.

THE PARTY'S MAGNIFICENT HISTORY.

If the existence of the Republican party should be closed to-day its history would be that of the nation saved, of a protective system under which the United States has become the greatest manufacturing nation in the world, of a general industrial development which sustains 75,000,000 people, of a financial system which has created an unimpeachable credit, of all the blessings which civilization can confer upon humanity.

But its existence will not end this year, nor for many years to come. Its august mission is not yet performed. So long as it represents, as it does now, the national prosperity and honor, national growth, with renown and right, national prestige in the relations of the United States with foreign powers as the result of the neutrality of a puissant nation, safe in the enjoyment of all its rights, because of its manifest ability to cause other nations to respect them, the Republican party will shape the destinies of the American people.

PROSPERITY COMES WITH REPUBLICANISM.

Good Times Inevitably Follow the Guidance and the Policies of the Republican Party.

[By Hon. J. P. DOLLIVER, United States Senator from Iowa.]

The subject of prosperity would be one entirely non-partisan if it were not for the fact that good times in the United States have got so completely mixed up with the Republican party that it is almost impossible to separate them in the public thought. By far too little attention is given in this world to a study of the blessings which surround us, while our troubles, the disasters and adversities of our experience, never lack either for orator to embellish them or for audiences to appreciate them.

The chairman of the National Democratic committee evidently had this side of human nature in view when, the other day, in predicting Mr. Bryan's success, he said that the workingmen of the United States who voted for McKinley four years ago could be counted for Bryan now. Four years ago, he said, they voted the Republican ticket under the impression that if they lost their jobs they would have difficulty in finding others. Now, Senator Jones argues, owing to the universal employment of labor, they will perceive that if they lose the job they now have it will be easy to find another.

CHANGE IN THE LAST FOUR YEARS.

Almost every man recognizes that since March 4, 1897, the conditions of American life have undergone a change which may almost be compared, without irreverence, to a resurrection from the dead. I have heard many attempts made to account for this. In the spring of 1896 I conferred upon William McKinley a title which his administration has fully lived up to. It was at a time when the State of Iowa was presenting to the country as a Presidential candidate one of the most famous and useful members of the Senate of the United States. I had come back from a Western State populated largely by old Iowa men, and in trying to explain to our people why everybody was for McKinley I told my friend, Walter Wellman, that the whole Northwest seemed to have its heart set on McKinley and to look on him as the "advance agent of prosperity," a phrase which subsequently passed into the proverbial literature of the campaign.

The President put his signature on the tariff law of 1897, which in the years to come will bear the honored name, now left to us as a part of our Republican inheritance, of Nelson Dingley of Maine. That law was adopted by Congress against the written protest filed by the diplomatic representatives of nineteen different foreign nations. It went through by the almost unanimous consent of the only nation for whose benefit it was framed—the United States of America. I count that great statute as the corner-stone of the national prosperity which followed close upon its enactment.

In 1892 no other question was discussed. To-day the Democratic party runs away from the tariff question in which the wages and employment of every American citizen are involved, attempts to decoy us across the Pacific Ocean, and to hide its record and plans for the future in a network of cant and hypocrisy about the Declaration of Independence. The Republican party stands ready to meet them, either on the main land or the high seas, but while we propose to meet them, while we propose to whip them wherever we find them, we recognize that the real field of this battle is here and not on the other side of the world. We fight for the rights of American labor, now everywhere employed, for the comfort of the scattered homesteads.

MAINTAINING STANDARD OF VALUE.

Hardly less important, and in the judgment of many, even more important as a foundation of national prosperity, was the solemn determination of the American people recorded on the election day in 1896 to maintain the standard of value on which all contracts of the people were drawn and all their business transacted. In their victory of that year party lines were in a large measure lost, so that the verdict was in a high sense a popular

verdict rather than a partisan one. The strength of our institutions has been increased by the notice then served upon mischief-makers, agitators, candidates, and political leaders that whoever threatens the integrity of American business has to settle his account, not with a political party, but with the united conscience, judgment, and character of the whole people. Does anybody suppose that the author of that obsolete volume called "The First Battle," which four years ago sold readily for \$3.50 and can now be purchased at any second-hand book store for 25 cents, would have telephoned the Kansas City convention that he would not take their nomination unless they stated again their intention to overthrow the gold standard, in the words of his war cry of the last campaign, if he regarded any other issue as paramount to the Chicago program of 1896?

DEMOCRATIC TALK INSINCERE.

The world is so arranged that every masquerade of false pretenses, trying to do business upon a high moral scale, sooner or later comes to a point along its line of march where it can distinctly hear the laughter of gods and men. Such a point was reached at Kansas City when "Pitchfork" Tillman was selected on account of his voice to read the Declaration of Independence, with its sublime precepts about the equality of men and the ultimate basis of human government. On February 26th last I heard Mr. Tillman boast in the Senate that his people had openly nullified the law of the land, treating the great amendments of the constitution as null and void, and with bloodshed and fraud, for which he offered no apology, had driven more than one-half of the population of South Carolina from any participation whatever, either in the government of the United States or in the government of the community in which they were born. Until Mr. Bryan shall stand up somewhere before the American people and, in an audible tone of voice, utter one word of manly disapproval of the crime against civil liberty, which, in the undisputed Democratic communities of the United States, has left ten millions of people helpless and outcast before the law, I, for one, intend to treat his noisy declarations on the subject of equal rights as unfit for the respect of the American people.

McKINLEY'S SPLENDID ADMINISTRATION.

With such a hand as President McKinley's on the helm of our affairs, the nation, troubled and perplexed as seldom before, goes steadily forward, without doubt or fear in all the great departments of the national life. Our leader sits in the executive office surrounded by trusted counselors, with his eyes on the map of the world and the fixed purpose in his heart that neither loss nor harm shall come to our people in any quarter of the earth. He has appealed to the patriotic manhood of America to stand firm and unmoved under the responsibilities of our day and generation.

The first answer has come from far off Oregon, where the majority of 1896 was multiplied by five. Vermont will follow, and then Maine, and the united voice of every other State, except those Democratic strongholds where love for the constitution and devotion to the Declaration of Independence have at last openly abolished the republican form of government. Whatever danger lies in our path, however rough the road which we must travel, let us keep our faith strong in our country and in our countrymen. Let us be sure there is a guidance in the affairs of men higher than our poor human wisdom, which will make the dawn of the approaching century radiant with the promise of civil liberty not only for the helpless races within our own borders but for the scattered millions throughout all our possessions in all the seas.

LINCOLN AND McKINLEY.

The Presidential Campaigns Thirty-six Years Ago and Now.

Thirty-six years ago in the City of Chicago, in the last days of August, assembled the representatives of the Democratic party, and they protested

then as they are exclaiming now, that the President of the United States was carrying on wantonly, unconstitutionally, contrary to the faith and hope of the fathers of the Republic, in violation of the fundamental principles of our government, a vindictive, horrible, imperialistic, devilish and totally hopeless war, and that the perfidy of the President was wholly at fault, and he, spattered with the blood of brethren, defied humanity and disgraced the name and smirched the fame of America, and was a baboonish imbecile, incompetent for public affairs, rushing the country headlong to ruin and jesting about it.

OLD DEMOCRATIC PREDICTIONS.

The Democratic party then, as now, asserted that the war was not progressing to a victory for the Union, but going the other way.

Mr. Vailandigham, the master spirit of his party in the Chicago convention, because he had been ordered out of the country by President Lincoln, insisted upon the invincibility of those who were in arms to destroy the Union, and the impossibility of overcoming the military power of the Southern States, and wrote an argument that Grant was not pressing Lee but that Lee was pressing Grant, that the national army could not take Richmond and was beaten back toward the sea.

The Democratic convention passed a resolution declaring the war to restore the Union a "failure," and demanding a convention of all the States to compromise away the authority and integrity of the Union. The Democratic party in the City of Chicago not only wrote the word "failure" over the war, but charged it to the bloodthirsty incapacity of Abraham Lincoln. This was even more redolent and rabid in the speeches and prevalent conversation of the convention than in the platform. The official literature, bad as it was, was a marked modification of the general spirit of the occasion.

WHAT COST LINCOLN HIS LIFE.

In the campaign following, in the Northwestern States, particularly and especially in Ohio and Indiana, the partisan copperhead Chicago platform Democrats carried, at many of their meetings in the copperhead counties, white flags in token of abject submission to the Southern Confederacy. Their weekly papers in the counties were malicious beyond all that is now believable by those who have "malice toward none and charity for all," toward the author of that revered phrase.

President Lincoln was charged with blood guiltiness, and those passions were aroused and intensified that culminated in the tragedy that closed Mr. Lincoln's life.

The current opinion is that the re-election of Abraham Lincoln—and that is conceded to be the event that decided the fortunes of war in favor of the Union—was almost a matter of course. It is held that the martyred President won his second election almost without an effort. The fact was far otherwise. The Democratic party made a determined and even desperate struggle. The majority of Mr. Lincoln in 1864 in the State of New York was less than the majority for McClellan in New Jersey. The majorities for Lincoln in New Hampshire and Connecticut were less than 3,000 in each state, and Pennsylvania was carried for Lincoln outside the army vote by less than 6,000.

Fancy the infernal howl that would go up now about imperialism if it were arranged that the vote of the army in the Philippines and China should be taken in the Presidential election. The troops sent home by General Sheridan and General Meade from the valleys of the Shenandoah and the Rappahannock increased Lincoln's Pennsylvania majority to about 15,000.

DEMOCRATIC PRAISE FOR LINCOLN.

Mr. Lincoln for a time believed that he would be defeated, and wrote a letter to that effect, which he sealed and gave to Gideon Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, to keep for him. It was not to be opened until after the election. In that letter, written in what he believed to be the shadow of

defeat cast before the event, he promised if beaten to spend the time between election day and the inauguration day of his opponent in helping save the Union, because the platform upon which McClellan was running, in fact, though he had repudiated it in phrase, would make it impossible for him as President to save the Union.

The attacks upon Mr. Lincoln during this campaign—and that which Democrats are saying of Lincoln now show how fast and far the nation has traveled in the right way—were of unceasing and astounding virulence. Let us be grateful that Democrats of this generation think so well of Mr. Lincoln, praise his name, commend his statesmanship and approve even of his principles and war policy. It arouses recollections that provoke melancholy reflections when Mr. Bryan quotes Lincoln and lifts up his strained utterances in eulogy—but let us “accept the gifts the gods provide,” and “praise God from whom all blessings flow.” The fact that Lincoln’s stature towers beside that of Washington may yet save the country, if the extravagance of adulation does not weaken the appreciation of services inestimable.

THEIR ATTACKS UPON McKINLEY.

But the people of the United States should remember that the Democratic party is warring upon William McKinley in 1900, precisely as they warred upon Lincoln in 1864, making many of the same charges in the very same words, even to the “imperialism,” for their favorite epithet of disrespect was in the mock title “Abrahamas I.,” and there was a great deal of an unprintable character.

The Bryan Democracy say now that the United States is at war to-day with the Philippine nation, and that the war is a failure now, and they use the same language about it that they used in the time of Lincoln, and they charged that war to him just as they charge this one to McKinley. They said the Lincoln war, as they called it, and they regarded it as a happy thought to spell his name “Linkhorn,” was a wicked war and without hope, just as they charge President McKinley with the responsibility for the Tagal war, and say that it is perfidious against an “ally” and brutal, and that a favorable termination is not possible. Those who remember what the Democratic writers, speakers and talkers—reference to the copperhead part of the party, and they were usually in control—made the theme and burden of their utterances in ’64, find what they are saying now of President McKinley an old, old story.

They said then that the war was caused by Lincoln’s refusal to compromise, and was malignant toward the foe. One of Lincoln’s special defamers, distinguished now as a brazen trumpet blown each day for Bryan, regarded Lincoln’s murder humorously, and indulged in grotesque speculation about the judgment of God upon him, four months after his death.

WHAT HISTORY WILL SAY OF HIM.

The time will come and it will not be long delayed, when William McKinley will be greeted by all rational mankind as ever faithful, true and brave, noble, upright, of perfect probity, of absolute courage as a subordinate officer on the battlefield, and as President in the Cabinet.

What history will say of him will be worthy to be written in letters of gold.

The war of this day and of a few months and two years ago, is small comparatively, and far away, but the cause is just, humane, according to the traditions, the events and the dignity of the American nation. President McKinley walks in the footsteps of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson—of the great line of Presidents of Virginia, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois—one does not need to name them—the world knows them—and he upholds the standard unstained, and as Webster said, “full high advanced,” of the great Republic.

LINCOLN AND McKINLEY COMPARED.

He will leave it when he leaves the White House, whenever that is, greater and better than he found it; and no man can read clearly the life of

Lincoln and fairly the life of McKinley, and capable of distinguishing the difference between the true patriotism and false pretension without being enlightened—unless the light has failed to guide him—that those who upheld Lincoln in '64 must uphold McKinley now.

The cause that is now tried is hardly less momentous than then. The prosperity, the nationality, the character, the spirit of the people—the popular instinct that is in the intelligence that insures the “capacity for self-government” is now to be tested by the highest standards, weighed, measured, to withstand one of the strains that our form of government contemplates; and one would be of little faith and fertile in apprehension who did not believe, and indeed in his soul know, that there is to be a triumph for all causes that are honorable and of good report, in the re-election of President McKinley.

The approaching victory will be scarcely less renowned than that of 1864, for the same characteristic cause, the defense of the national life and glory, is committed to the Republicans now as then. The redemption of the land from a cloud that would blight the splendor that has been brightened in the four years just past will place the victory of McKinley in 1900 on lines as elevated and as luminous as that of Lincoln in 1864.

AT CHICAGO IN 1864 AND 1900.

Now, 1864 was the year and Chicago the city, and the last days of August the days that the war for the nation was by the Democratic party denounced a failure.

Behold in a glorious vision, a magical, mighty change! It is the march of the Grand Army through Chicago, with such a triumph as Rome never gave her legions when she welcomed them from victorious wars. It was the celebration of the crowded victories for the cause of Lincoln that immediately followed the Democratic proclamation of the decline and downfall of all he represented.

Look around over this continental country to-day and see the monuments of glory, the mountains of prosperity, the free “life, liberty and pursuit of happiness” by people who, in less time than has elapsed since Lincoln left us, will number more than 100,000,000.

HEROES OF WAR AND PEACE.

Not since the days when the armies of the Potomac, the Tennessee, the Cumberland and the Ohio marched from Virginia across the long bridge before the national capitol, unfinished but majestic in superb incompleteness and soon to be crowned by the dome not unworthy to rise among the stars—not since the four armies marched up Pennsylvania avenue, on their left the unfinished monument of Washington, now the loftiest white shaft memorial of a great life that stands on the globe, has a grander army marched than that at the grand 1900 review.

Behold the march continuing by the then unfinished Treasury Department to salute before the White House the President of the United States—not, alas, Abraham Lincoln, whose work was done—dead since the triumphant return across the Potomac of the Grand Army of the Republic—a shining river of steel flowing back from the tremendous scenes of cementing the Union with the blood of the brave—the vast columns North and West, homeward bound to work of peace—the valiant Confederates who had fought against the course of the constellations across the sky, included too in the general triumph—all countrymen again, since Grant and Lee met “near Appomattox with its famous apple tree” and made the treaty written by Grant himself to be followed by the benediction of the hero, “let us have peace”—never has there been a pageant reviving such riches of memory, representative of splendid achievement and prophetic of the greater hereafter of our country as well as of the magnificent present—or one that was so replete with the pathos that tells the sad story of glory and kindles the pride of Americans into a flame, that consumes the Belittlers of the common

inheritance that is of the people and for them—the heroes of war came home to be heroes of peace, and welcomed those they had confronted on fields where there were two lines of fire to the House of the Fathers of the Republic, to stay under the stately roof and be at home forever,—for Father Abraham kept sacred in his heart and hand the constitution, and preserved it for all the nation. When he was dead those who praised him not knew him not.

LONG LIVE THE GRAND ARMY!

The armies that marched through stately Washington when the war was over, redeemed with the plow and the seed that brought golden harvest the fields that had been fallow, and North and South a million homes were made happy by the returning brave.

Long may the veterans of the Grand Army have their reunions and remember with full hearts those who fell on both sides on the memorable fields, where the volleyed thunders scattered in the opposing ranks Death and Immortality! Long live the Grand Army of the Republic and green and flowery be the graves of the dead, and forget not the story the name of the Grand Army tells—that it carries the flag and keeps step to the music of the Union, that grows grander and more thrilling as the years roll away.

MURAT HALSTEAD.

ART OF HUMBUGGERY.

Genuine Anti-Imperialists Not Caught in the Kansas City Net.

[By THEODORE W. NOYES, of *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C.]

[Theodore W. Noyes, one of the editors and proprietors of *The Evening Star*, of Washington, D. C., in the early part of the present year, 1900, made a visit to the Philippine Islands, going by way of Hawaii, China and Japan. Mr. Noyes is not only a man of marked ability as an editor and writer, but he has traveled all over the civilized world and is a close observer. In the issue of his newspaper of August 10, 1900, there appeared an article on "Anti-Imperialism," which has attracted the widespread attention of political students and all who are most interested in the subject of expansion of our territory and commerce. His article will be read with intense interest during the impending campaign.]

There are anti-imperialists who have not assumed that role hypocritically for the purpose of revenue or revenge; who oppose without discrimination every tendency toward expansion by force and government without the consent of the governed; who denounce every insular acquisition by the nation in the belief that the republic's strength is in its compactness and homogeneity; and who resist any and every policy which involves the possibility of the creation of a large standing army or a powerful navy, and the fostering of the war spirit among the people of the republic.

Their platform, roughly outlined, would take the following shape:

ANTI-IMPERIALIST PLATFORM.

"1. We reaffirm and endorse Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, the Sixth and Eighth Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Historic Protest of Philip, King of the Pokanokets, the Seminoles' Reply and the Proclamations of Emilio Aguinaldo.

"2. We denounce and deplore the land greed, born of the spirit of imperialism, which has taken concrete shape in the annexation of Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, and we reaffirm the vigorous denunciations by statesmen now dead of the unconstitutional and imperialistic acquisition and government of Louisiana; of Florida, with the preceding and accompanying despotic outrages upon the natives and the Spaniards; of the land wrung by a hateful war of conquest from helpless Mexico, and of non-contiguous Alaska.

"3. We demand abandonment by the United States of Hawaii, the Philippines, Porto Rico and unsettled and imperially ruled Alaska, and independence for their people.

"4. We denounce the Republican party for its bold, unblushing, systematic and defiant imperialism and militarism in annexing and forcibly

and despotically ruling Alaska; in going to war with Spain; in annexing Hawaii; in making and voting to ratify the treaty of Paris; in annexing and governing Porto Rico and the Philippines and in sending troops to the Asiatic islands to crush under the iron heel of military despotism the Filipino patriots; and we demand the immediate cessation of the American war of criminal aggression in the Philippines."

SARCASM ABOUT LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

"5. We denounce the Democratic party for annexing Louisiana without the consent of its inhabitants and for governing that vast territory (larger than the annexing republic itself) as an empire on the principles of absolute despotism, without the consent of the governed and outside of the Constitution; for waging an unholy war of conquest against Mexico; for "pushing President McKinley into the war with Spain," according to its own boastful confession; and for working, through its recognized leader, W. J. Bryan, for the ratification of the treaty of Paris, well knowing the infamous criminality of that instrument, thus deliberately endangering the stability of the republic, with no excuse save the low, unworthy purpose of securing a supposed partisan advantage.

"6. We denounce militarism with its instruments of tyranny, a standing army and a navy and its baleful influence upon the youth of the republic in developing land hunger and blood thirst. We demand that the United States withdraw within itself; as soon as practicable disband its army and destroy or convert to peaceful uses its navy, those fruitful breeders of strife. We approve the spirit of Jefferson's recommendation in 1803 that the United States navy be stored in a dry dock at Washington for safety and economy and destruction by the elements. We denounce any extension of the United States into non-contiguous territory in either hemisphere, for the reason that it may lead to quarrels with our neighbors and bloodshed. We protest against any act or omission which by any possibility may lead to war, except in self defense. For this reason we denounce the Kansas City convention's indirect pledge to intervene between Great Britain and the Boers, Great Britain having already refused our offer of mediation and indicated that it would fight to the last Englishman against intervention. We should mind our own business, not burden ourselves with responsibility by encouraging further bloodshed in South Africa, and not declaim ourselves into a useless and hateful war with our kin across the sea.

NO DEMOCRATIC PROTECTORATE NEEDED.

"7. For the same reason we further and especially denounce the Democratic party (which poses as the exponent of anti-imperialism and anti-militarism) for the treacherous stab given under the cloak of hypocritical friendliness to our cause by the Kansas City platform in that it proposes for the Philippines a protectorate, that cunning device of despotic government to cloak imperialism, instead of granting them the full independence to which they are entitled; and in that it virtually declares a protectorate by the United States over the whole of Central and South America and unmistakably proposes to extend the strife-provoking Monroe doctrine to Asia, thus aiming blows at the foundation of the peaceful constitutional republic under which the whole fabric threatens to totter to its fall.

"8. We denounce government by protectorate as un-American and unconstitutional, never contemplated in their wildest dreams by the forefathers; as historically the preliminary process in the operation by which a monarchical power absorbs an independent principality, corresponding to the boa's preparatory saliva treatment of its victim before swallowing; as a strife-breeding, war-provoking arrangement, involving the United States in entangling foreign alliances or rather in the entanglement of foreign quarrels without the assistance of allies; as burdening the republic with heavy responsibilities and at the same time denying it the power and the control necessary to meet them; as fostering the military and meddlesome

spirit among American youth; as inflaming the imperialistic greed for land through foreign acquisitions and for gold through foreign trade; as rendering essential a large army and navy to the injury of the peaceful taxpayers, and as developing a spirit of rampant militarism and pointing straight to the overthrow of the republic.

A STABLE GOVERNMENT WITHOUT CONSENT.

"9. We denounce the Democratic proposition to delay indefinitely independence for the Filipinos, on the pretext of first establishing there a stable government imposed upon them by us without their consent.

"10. We denounce the method of construing the Constitution proposed by the Democratic party, which would make of the Philippines instantan an integral part of the Union and thus prevent forever their separation or secession from the United States and their enjoyment of an independent government.

"11. We declare that the government of our foreign acquisitions would be safer under the Republican program of treatment as "territory belonging to the United States" (a status recognized by the Constitution) to be governed under limitations stated in the Constitution and construed and precisely determined by the Supreme Court, than under the Democratic program of an imperial, war-provoking, unconstitutional protectorate, or under "a stable government" forcibly imposed by us on the Philippines as an integral part of the United States.

"12. But we declare that both parties are worthy only of our condemnation. Instead of suggesting and upholding any special form of government for the Philippines, whether a protectorate or otherwise, we demand that the United States immediately grant them full independence, leaving them free to determine for themselves the form of government most pleasing to them."

ARE MALAYS BETTER THAN NEGROES?

Will the Malay Filipino fare better at their hands than the North Carolina negro, whom the Constitution takes specifically under its protection, but whose consent or dissent in matters of government is not to be expressed except at peril of his life? Which organization represents more truly the rule of force that constitutes tyranny and imperialism, that fosters the empire and menaces the republic—the Red Shirts intimidating, murdering and disfranchising the North Carolina negroes, or our army in the Philippines, seeking to restore order and protecting peaceful Filipinos against the robber bands?

The pillars sustaining the Kansas City platform are the Solid South and Tammany Hall. The Red Shirts are indignant that the Filipinos' consent to be governed has not been obtained, and they uphold the Constitution manfully—in Luzon. Tammany Hall vigorously denounces official corruption—in Havana.

FREE RIOTS AND ANTI-MILITARISM.

The German-Americans, who are impressed by warnings against the evils and dangers of a large standing army and by praise of the National Guard as a substitute therefor, remember that the Chicago platform reaffirmed at Kansas City, in its free riot clauses caters to those who savagely denounced the American militia also; and they note that the combined effect of these attacks upon both army and militia and of practical mob rule in certain Southern states is to point not to anti-militarism, but to free riot, anarchy and the complete triumph of the forces of disorder.

The German-Americans are reasonably opposed to a large standing army and to the system of conscription and heavy taxes which such an army involves. But they are also great traders, conspicuous in all mercantile enterprises here as in Germany, and they favor any expansion which tends to build up foreign trade, provided the accompanying danger of militarism is reduced to a minimum. Of course, there is no standing army in

existence or proposed for the United States, which furnishes the slightest reasonable ground of apprehension on this score. The republic which after the civil war absorbed into civilian pursuits without the slightest jar or hitch and without the slightest perceptible danger of the supremacy of militarism eight hundred thousand soldiers hardened in the military mold by years of desperate struggle, has nothing to fear from the army, insignificant in numbers and largely enrolled to meet an emergency from civilian volunteers, which has developed from the war with Spain. The German-American, shaken in his belief in the sincerity of the anti-imperialism declarations of the Kansas City platform, is the more ready to accept the Republican claim that the G. O. P. is the true exponent of practical anti-imperialism.

TRUE REPUBLICAN ANTI-IMPERIALISM.

Summarizing its anti-imperialism achievements, the Republican party may be imagined as saying :

"I freed nearly four million slaves ; I prevented the creation of a southern empire and saved to republicanism and from imperialism the Southern states ; I expelled French imperialism from Mexico ; I effected the withdrawal of Russian imperialism from Alaska ; I ejected Spanish colonial imperialism from both hemispheres ; I substituted a republic for the imperialism of a corrupt monarchy in Hawaii ; I freed the Cubans from a most oppressive and destructive form of imperialism, and will quickly enable them to enjoy in lieu thereof self-government, republican in form ; I freed the Porto Ricans from Spain's despotic imperialism, and have sent them rejoicing far along the path which leads to American self-government ; I relieved the Filipinos from the grinding, unbearable imperialism of oppressive, cruel Spain, and would long ago have blessed them with good and stable government in accordance with American precedents but for the present hateful and unnatural warfare precipitated under a misunderstanding of the American intention by the Filipinos themselves.

INSTALLING AN ASSASSIN.

"The true anti-imperialistic policy of government is not that which sets up a protectorate over our Asiatic islands, binding the republic without constitutional authority to guard against foreign attack Aguinaldo's dictatorship, a despotism buttressed by assassination, whose first independent, unrestrained act would be to murder the European friars and confiscate their alleged property, and to kill the hated Chinese. Genuine anti-imperialism demands that the republic, having struck off the chains of Spanish oppression from the Philippines, shall govern them as part of the territory belonging to the United States (a status recognized by the Constitution), through Congress (a body created by the Constitution) exercising powers defined by the Constitution and construed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Anti-imperialism consists in giving to the Filipinos, rescued from Spanish despotic rule, as full a measure of American rights, including the privilege of local self-government, as is consistent with national and territorial welfare and as is permissible in accordance with the Supreme Court's construction of the Constitution. Anti-imperialism consists in the exercise of the same powers by Congress in relation to the Asiatic and insular territory of the United States, saved from imperialism, as were exercised in dealing with Louisiana in the beginnings of national growth, and in dealing with Alaska, our latest acquisition prior to those which came to us during and after the war with Spain. Modern anti-imperialism is even more considerate of the interests of the territory belonging to the United States than that which prevailed in the earlier days. Hawaii and Porto Rico have been favored and pushed toward American self-government far more rapidly than Louisiana and Alaska. The latter waited thirty-three years and until 1900 before it reached the stage attained by Porto Rico in the very first legislation concerning that

island, and Alaska is not to-day so far advanced as the organized territory of Hawaii.

"I am for sound money and practical anti-imperialism; for anti-imperialism at home and abroad, in North Carolina as well as in Luzon. I oppose silver free coinage at 16 to 1 as an act of fraudulent bankruptcy, dishonoring the nation. I oppose government by force through Red Shirts at home and imperialistic government by American protectorates abroad. I oppose contraction of American trade in territory by cowardly abandonment under fire of any of our acquisitions from Spain. My motto is: "Prosperity at home; prestige abroad!" as opposed to "Panics at home, and a perilous pusillanimity abroad!"

PLATFORM HUMBUGGERY PERSONIFIED.

The various humbugging, vote-inviting inconsistencies which have been noted as developing in and under the Kansas City platform give to that document, as varyingly construed and practically applied, the aspect of groveling in the dust to beg for votes and of submitting even to the humiliation of confessing insincerity and disregard of veracity if only its mendacity may be successful. To such an extent, indeed, does this spirit permeate and characterize the document that, without any severe strain upon the imagination, the platform, personified, may be conceived as saying to American voters:

"If you are offended at anything I assert, don't believe it. I can say without either undue vanity or mock modesty that I have built up a notorious reputation which entitles me to make this request for incredulity with full confidence that it will be readily granted.

"You will remember that I made free trade the paramount issue in 1892 and won upon it, but the prophecies of evil based upon my success were not fulfilled, for I did not redeem my pledges. I adopted the Wilson tariff bill which, you will remember, was denounced by my own people as protective in principle.

DISPOSED TO SHELVE SILVER.

"In 1896 I made free silver at 16 to 1 the paramount issue to please the Populists and silver Republicans. Of course being unsuccessful, I cannot demonstrate that I was no more in earnest about free coinage than about free trade. It is significant, however, that with the conditions unchanged from 1896 except that the Republicans have identified themselves more completely than ever with the gold standard, I consider the money question as no longer paramount. I treat it as subordinate and incidental, and, outside of the perfunctory verbal reiteration of it, I am disposed to shelve it as not an issue at all.

"If by directly contradicting the money plank of the Republican platform I have inadvertently made silver free coinage the one technical, legal issue of the campaign, I am inclined rather than have words over the matter to yield and confess judgment on that issue.

"So in respect to anti-imperialism about which I have so much to say as the paramount issue to-day, no expansionist need to be alarmed. You will notice that I do not propose to abandon any of our acquisitions; that I hint at this course only in the case of the Philippines, and that even in respect to these islands I announce as the first step the provision of a stable government. I do not say that I would take any other course to establish this stable government than that followed by the Republican administration. Who can say how long it will take me to establish this stable government? Who can say that long before this stable government is established to my satisfaction the Filipinos themselves will not wish to remain annexed?

INSINCERITY OF THE BRYAN PRESS.

"A number of statesmen and newspapers support the Kansas City platform in the light of this reading and construction of it. Why may not any

expansionist do the same? The solid South, my strongest backer, produces the cotton which is the most conspicuous factor in our wonderfully-increasing Asiatic trade. The material interests of the South demand expansion, and the merest glance at conditions, in North Carolina and Louisiana, as sample states, will indicate how much solicitous care will be taken in the Philippines to secure the uncoerced consent of the dark-skinned governed.

"The independence which is suggested by me for the Filipinos is sandwiched between a preface of stable government and the postscript of a protectorate. It is to be delayed indefinitely during the unlimited period of establishing a stable government, and modified indefinitely, if it ever arrives, by a sovereignty-dividing protectorate.

"The foreign policy declared by me is viewed by some of you as pusillanimous, but I call on you to note that as the supporter of an advanced Monroe doctrine in this hemisphere which declares the republic's imperial jurisdiction over the Three Americas and throws down the gauntlet of defiance to the outside world, I go farther than the farthest, for I announce that (1) the United States has exercised and is now exercising a protectorate over the republics of Central and South America, and (2) that this protectorate is of the same order as that which the United States would exercise over territory once belonging to it to which it might grant domestic self-government. There is not much peace-loving pusillanimity in a policy which thus irritates the sensitive and jealous Spanish South Americans, and slaps the whole world in the face. Nor is there any pusillanimity in my suggestion of a war with England over the inalienable right of the Boers to govern the outlanders without the latter's consent.

ALL SORTS ARE WELCOME.

"All sorts and conditions of political opinion may gather comfortably on my declarations—free coinage and anti-free coinage voters; silver Republicans and gold Democrats; Populists and conservative anti-populist Democrats; contractionist anti-imperialists and trade and territorial expansionists; imperialists who favor a protectorate and the manifest destinarians of the advanced Monroe doctrine.

"To any class of voters whatsoever who are inclined to cast their ballots against me because they credit what I assert or seem to assert on any subject I can only say: 'Believe me, I am not to be believed.'

"Hosea Biglow has well stated my political creed:

" 'In short, I firmly du believe
 ' In Humbug generally,
 ' Fer it's a thing thet I perceive
 ' To hev a solid vally;
 ' This heth my faithful shepherd ben,
 ' In pasturs sweet heth led me,
 ' An' this'll keep the people green
 ' To feed ez they hev fed me.' "

Until this money question is fully and finally settled, the people will not consent to the consideration of any other important question.—*Bryan's Letter of Acceptance, 1896.*

BRYAN—the Prophet

HIS NUMEROUS PREDICTIONS, AND HOW THEY HAVE
STOOD THE TEST OF TIME.

MOST SWEEPING INDICTMENT IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

PROSPERITY IMPOSSIBLE—"VICTORY WILL COME"—NOT ENOUGH
MONEY TO DO BUSINESS—GOLD DEMOCRATS MUST SAW
WOOD—"A WAR OF EXTERMINATION"—CON-
VICTED OUT OF HIS OWN MOUTH
ON MANY COUNTS.

BY D. F. KENNEDY, OF INDIANA.

When a man who was once defeated for the presidency is again presented for the suffrages of the American voter, for the highest office in their gift, it is well for the voter to ask what this man has done since the last election that entitles him to their consideration a second time. Have the issues and policies he stood for then had their wisdom demonstrated by the four years that have elapsed? Has the test of time vindicated his predictions? Have the policies he opposed been found failures when tested? These are not idle questions; they are questions fraught with destiny, for if we believe in the perpetuity of our government, we must believe that the mass of voters desire to vote for the best interests of our country and its people.

Voters Must Be Intelligent.

Therefore, we will be doing our patriotic duty to make a careful investigation of the facts. We assume that the question of a man being eloquent or sincere in the advocacy of an issue can have no weight in the effect or value of a governmental policy. This government will suffer just as much from a wrong policy carried into effect by an honest executive as if he was a dishonest one, and the voter who votes honestly for a bad policy, will suffer just the same. Therefore, the voter must be highly intelligent in order to do his whole duty as a citizen. Mr. Bryan came to the front suddenly as a leader, dominated by one overmastering thought, the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1. To him it was the one vital issue. Mr. Bryan said in his Philadelphia speech in 1896: "I studied the money question. I read books on the money question. I compared the works that I read—and I read on both sides of the money question—and the more I read the deeper became my convic-

tions, until, my friends, I became so firmly of the opinion that there could be no prosperity in this country until free silver was restored and the white metal was put again by the side of the yellow metal and given free access to the mints as gold is given. I became so convinced that I was willing to risk all I had or hoped to be upon the correctness of the conclusion."

He staked his fate and that of his party on that one issue. He lost before the people and time has proved that his issue was a gilded fallacy.

Seeing the narrow escape the nation had four years ago, can we safely trust the destiny of the nation to the guidance of a man so impulsive and easily led astray by fallacies that vanish at the first test, like the one advanced by W. J. Bryan four years ago?

We will now examine the record.

Prosperity Impossible.

"There can be no return to prosperity in the United States until we stop the appreciation of money by giving the people more standard money."—*Bryan at Kenosha, Wis., Sept. 5, 1896.*

"There can be no general prosperity in this country until we stop the conspiracy of those who would make gold the only standard of the world."—*Bryan's First Battle, page 41.*

"There is no end to the gold standard. You think you have suffered enough; your suffering has just begun. You think there has been enough depression, but depression has just commenced."—*Bryan at Wheeling, W. Va., Oct. 1, 1896.*

"When prices are falling and money is rising a man can better afford to lock his money up in a vault and gain the rise, than invest it in property. You are making property not worth having and everybody is trying to turn their property into money, and while the *gold standard lasts that condition* must remain, and *times must be hard*, and hard times mean more idle men and more destitute men."—*Bryan at Raleigh, N. C., Sept. 17, 1896.*

In concluding a speech at Baltimore, Sept. 19, 1896, Mr. Bryan said with marked emphasis:

"If we win this fight now, then the reform begins at once. If we are defeated in this campaign there is nothing before the people but four years more of hard times and greater agitation, and then victory will come."

Time has demonstrated that the direct opposite of these predictions has come about. The gold standard remains and is more fixed than it was four years ago. Property of all kinds has increased in value and money is seeking property. The army of the unemployed has practically disappeared, wages of labor has increased, employment has become more constant and general prosperity is upon every hand.

"There is but one way to stop this constant issue of bonds, and that is to return to bimetallism."—*Bryan's First Battle, page 370.*

"The Republican party is pledged to continue the present financial system, which means a continued issue of bonds."—*Bryan at Richmond, Ind., Oct. 21.*

Four years of the gold standard system since this prediction has shown it to be utterly false, for we are farther away from the issue of bonds than ever before.

Gold Must Go Abroad.

"The only way to stop the outflow of gold is to adopt bimetallism."
Bryan at Asheville, N. C., Sept. 16, 1896.

"Under the gold standard, our gold must go abroad and we must either issue bonds to bring it back or else we must lower the prices of products and bring it back that way. These are the only two ways the treasury can be replenished. If we issue bonds, we simply postpone the evil day. We must pay interest on the gold while we have it. If, on the other hand, we lower prices, we drive down the value of our exports below the cost of production and throw upon the producing class the burden of maintaining the gold reserve."—*Bryan's Peoria speech, Oct. 23, 1896.*

To the contrary, gold has flowed into the treasury for four years until at the present time the gold reserve in the treasury is the largest in the history of our government. There is more gold in circulation among the people. The prices of products have increased to a healthy profit level. New life pervades every branch of industry and traffic.

"If the Republican party succeeds, it will go on contracting the currency instead of increasing it."—*Bryan at St. Louis.*

"The Republicans are pledged to the present financial system, which means a continued decrease in the volume of the currency."—*Bryan at Richmond, Ind., Oct. 21, 1896.*

"If you vote the Republican ticket you will not be troubled with seeing too much money for the next four years. There is \$150,000,000 less money in circulation now than two years ago, and it will still go lower under the present financial system. It means the substituting of bonds upon the people instead of putting money in the pockets of the people."
Bryan at Harper's Ferry, Sept. 30, 1896.

Not Money Enough to do Business.

"I call your attention to the fact, that the Republican party proposes to make no effort to supply sufficient money to do the business of the country. If I was to tell you that a grown person could wear the clothes of a child, you would think me foolish; and if I should tell you that a grown person could live on the food necessary to sustain life in a child, you would call me foolish; and yet, they call these men financiers, who assume that the people, growing in numbers, can survive on a money decreasing in its amount."—*Bryan in New York.*

"What is going to be the result when the election is over? Why, the money which they now furnish in exchange for treasury notes and greenbacks, can be withdrawn the next day after the election. Having blinded the people during the election period, they will then bleed them for another four years."—*Bryan's Milwaukee speech, Sept. 5, 1896.*

The record shows that during the first year of President McKinley's administration the circulation of money was brought up to \$1,640,209,519, a raise of \$134,000,000. In 1898 it raised to \$1,837,000,000. In 1899 it reached \$1,904,071,881, increasing the per capita circulation to \$25, this being the largest per capita circulation in twenty-five years. The next largest was at the close of President Harrison's administration in 1892, when it was a fraction over \$24. At the close of President Cleveland's term the per capita circulation was down to \$21 and total circulation \$1,506,000,000, which was the lowest since 1880. The interest

on money has gradually diminished. Money is more plentiful now than it has been since the resumption of specie payments. The volume of trade is nearly twice as large as it was at the end of President Cleveland's term. Money is seeking investment in property and business ventures with a view to future gains. Our exports have nearly doubled, reaching the phenomenal amount of \$1,400,000 in 1899.

Gold Bad for Farmers.

"If there is any Republican farmer here who feels that when he sells his oats at ten cents a bushel that he is getting too much for them, all he has to do is to vote the Republican ticket and he will not get more than five cents a bushel, and he can keep on voting the Republican ticket until the price is so small that it will not trouble him at all."—*Bryan at Martinsburg, Va., Sept. 30, 1896.*

"Is it a fair measure of value that in our great producing section ten bushels of potatoes must be paid for a dollar, ten bushels of oats for a dollar, six bushels of corn for a dollar, three bushels of wheat for a dollar, and all other products, and labor also, at the same ratio? This is the condition to which the gold standard has brought us. So it has been and so, under the present gold standard, it must continue to be."—*Bryan's First Battle, page 438.*

"The producers of wheat and cotton have a special grievance; as silver goes down the prices fall."—*Bryan's Book, page 98.*

"The gold standard makes dear dollars. Dear dollars make cheap men and cheap products."—*Bryan's Book.*

The result is just the opposite. The prices of all products that had fallen below living profits under Democratic mismanagement have risen to a fair price. The farmers, who suffered most in this respect, have had their prices largely increased. They can buy a dollar now with less than a bushel and a half of wheat. They can buy a dollar with less than five bushels of oats. They can buy a dollar with less than two and a half bushels of corn, and all other farm products have advanced in the same ratio. The farmer can now pay his mortgage with a much less amount of products than he could four years ago. This is even better than Bryan promised under free coinage. The man who pays interest on a mortgage is now on a level with the man who gets the interest, for they both spend their dollar in a market that has been adjusted to the gold standard.

Gold Democrats Must Saw Wood.

"Let not the Democrats, who so delude themselves with the thought, that this is but a temporary disagreement—let them not delude themselves with the thought that they can separate from us now and come back hereafter to assume positions of command. This contest is not for now or for to-day. Any Democratic son, who desires to leave his father's house, may do so, but let him understand that when he gets tired and comes back we may not kill the fatted calf for him. It may be that those whom he left at the house will make him saw wood a long time before he gets to the dinner table."—*Bryan's First Battle.*

And yet we see Mr. Bryan on his knees before these wandering sons. He has laid down the softest carpets for them to walk back on, he has

invited them to the dinner table without sawing wood, he has even refrained from mentioning the money question in his public utterances, and yet we know his mind has not been changed, despite the fact that every prediction he has made has been proved to be false. He has simply undertaken to win by deception what he failed to win in a frank and open campaign. Mr. Bryan charged the Gold Democrats with deception in putting a ticket in the field and voting for another at the election. He is now making a campaign for votes on one issue with the intention of making another issue the dominant one in his administration. A few weeks before his nomination at Kansas City, he said: "The Democratic party has begun a war of extermination against the gold standard. We ask no quarter, we give no quarter. We shall prosecute our warfare until there is not an American citizen that dares to advocate the gold standard."

"Until the money question is fully and finally settled, the people will not consent to the consideration of any other important question."—*Bryan's Letter of Acceptance, 1896.*

Bryan and Workingmen.

"If these men who pride themselves upon their prominence in business, and who glory in the title of business men, are going to make a business out of politics and are going to use their ballots to increase their income, I beg you to consider whether the great toiling masses of this nation have not a right to make a business out of politics once, and protect their homes and their families from disaster."—*Bryan's New York Speech.*

"I say that until a man is willing to give up faith in our institutions, until he is willing to make us a province of a foreign nation, until he is willing to go back on the Declaration of Independence, he cannot vote for the Republican ticket."—*Bryan's Speech at Cambridge City, Oct. 21, 1896.*

"The Gold standard makes dear money and dear money makes cheap products and cheap men. Prosperity must begin with the workingman and the farmer and work upward. The free coinage of silver will do this, hence, when we open the mint we will start the factory; there is no other way."—*Bryan.*

"Mark my words. If the gold standard goes on, the gold standard advocates, instead of trying to improve the condition of the people will be recommending that you close your schools so that the people will not realize how much they are suffering."—*Bryan's First Battle, page 72.*

This is indeed a dark prophecy, a dark prophecy for labor, but fortunately the workingmen took Mr. Bryan's advice and made a business out of politics and voted in a business administration, and thereby averted the dire calamity, but they showed that they knew more about business than Mr. Bryan. The gold standard prevails and the schools are still open. These are only a small portion of Bryan's prophecies, but they are all of this kind.

The False Proposition.

Mr. Bryan's whole philosophy is based upon a false proposition, and for that reason every prediction he made has been refuted by experience. In most of his speeches he said the law of supply and demand controlled

the value of money just the same as commodities. He asserted when dollars are scarce they are dear, and when dollars are plentiful they are cheap. He asserted in all his arguments that the gold standard was too narrow to have a sufficient quantity of money to do the business of the country, and therefore money must be dear and products of labor cheap. But unfortunately, he got his erroneous idea from a Democratic administration that was utterly incapable of handling the financial question. He saw money get scarce under President Cleveland, and he assumed it must remain so. Mr. Bryan, like the party he represents, is utterly unreliable on great governmental questions, and especially is this true on finance and tariff. The manufacturing and business world have no confidence in the Democratic party. This accounts for the fact that most of this class of men are in the Republican party. The great governmental questions of the country have been handled in such a masterly way in the past three years that all classes of people have been doing the very best that is possible under our present system. The factories never operated so steadily, the farmer is getting good prices for all kinds of products, the railways and mercantile establishments never did better, and labor has as good an opportunity as it can hope for under the present system of production.

Democrats Bad Financiers.

In this connection it is well to remember that the Democratic party have always been unfortunate in dealing with the finances and tariff. When President Buchanan turned the treasury over to Mr. Lincoln there was not enough money in it to make a report. When Cleveland was filling his first term he scared the country by warning the people in his message that a money famine would result from the enormous accumulation of money in the treasury. He said he knew no way to get it out except by lowering the tariff. Mr. Harrison said if he was elected he would get the money out among the people by paying off some of the nation's bonds. Mr. Cleveland said this could not be done because the bonds were not due, but President Harrison found no trouble in doing it when he took charge. Mr. Cleveland, during his second term, said the gold standard could not be maintained without bond issues. He contracted the circulating medium to the lowest point since the Civil War. Mr. Cleveland maintained a gold standard but he showed his utter lack of skill in doing it, and Mr. Bryan was foolish and inexperienced enough to think nobody else could do any better than Grover. The Democrats, after years of agitation on the tariff question in opposition to Republican policy, were finally successful in getting a free hand to carry out a Democratic policy, and then made such a mess of it that the party dares not talk tariff since.

Farmers and Wage Earners.

The price of farm products has advanced and the markets have greatly increased. There has been an increase of at least fifteen per cent in the price of farm products. To an average farmer, producing two thousand dollars' worth of products per year, this is a net gain of three hundred dollars per year. Now suppose this farmer had a mortgage of \$1000 on his farm upon which he paid eight per cent interest. He can

now refund that debt into a five per cent debt and save thirty dollars per annum. This, added to his three hundred increase in prices, will pay his mortgage off in three years. All the farm mortgage indebtedness in the United States can be paid in three years by the net results of the improved conditions, and the farmers' conditions are growing better every year. Why should he vote to change this? This improved condition of the farmer amounts in the aggregate in the nation to about three billions of dollars.

How is it with the wage worker? Has he suffered or has he been benefited by the gold standard? The aggregate number of days work has increased by at least one-third per year. This is proved beyond a doubt by the fact that the production of wealth has increased by more than that amount. If production has increased thirty-three per cent, then the labor that creates it has increased by like amount. By whatever amount production is increased or diminished, by that ratio is labor increased or diminished. Now let us see what this means to the workingman. To illustrate: Suppose a man is getting \$1.50 per day and is only able to work two hundred days, that gives him a yearly income of \$300. Now suppose that this number of days is increased one-third, he now gets \$450 per year. His yearly wages have been increased fifty per cent. This represents his purchasing power.

There has been an average increase of ten per cent in per diem wages. If we add this to the increase in days work we have a net increase of \$195 per year. Now we will take a mechanic receiving \$2.50 a day and working one hundred and fifty days. Previous to the last three years his yearly income was \$375. Now suppose the number of days work is increased to two hundred and fifty, then his yearly income is increased to \$625. Now add an increase of ten per cent per diem and we have \$687—a yearly increase of nearly ninety per cent.

Increased Purchasing Power.

Taking a dollar and a half per day man again as shown in the first illustration, this shows an aggregate increase in yearly wages in a town of twenty thousand people amounting to \$780,000. It is this immense increase in the purchasing power of labor that caused the merchant to take on more clerks and delivery wagons. It is this new market that made the railways and factories prosper. These facts can be easily verified by any workingman. This illustration, when applied to the whole nation, shows the enormous amount of four billions increased purchasing power. When we add to this the increased purchasing power of the farmer we have a total of over six billions. This vast amount of money, thrown into the channels of trade all over this country, vitally affected every branch of traffic and manufacture. Money that, like labor, had been idle for several years, now went to work, paying wages in the factory and paying for the necessities and comforts of life over the counters of merchants.

The Value of Wages.

If any workingman doubts this, let him ask the merchant who it was caused him to increase his facilities for handling goods. The merchant will tell him that labor buys twice as many goods as it did four years

ago. Then, if labor had nothing but wages with which to buy goods, it follows that wages must have been increased by whatever amount the sale of goods increased. And here let no one be confused. It is the increased yearly income that accounts for the major part of this purchasing power. Per diem wages got very low in many branches of industry, but there has been a very decided improvement in wages and the movement is upward. Now we ask is it wise for the workingman and farmer to take the risk of disturbing these conditions by following the advice of Mr. Bryan, who proved to be a false prophet to labor four years ago? Are we going to be deceived by his false issue of imperialism which is a sham to cover his deeper purpose to destroy the stability of our finances?

Bryan Honest But Mistaken.

The fact that Mr. Bryan is honest in his free silver contention counts for nothing against the demonstrated fact that he is mistaken. We are now fully adjusted to the gold standard and we have achieved more under it than Mr. Bryan promised us under free coinage of silver. Then why should we take the risk of change? Does anti-imperialism propose to accomplish anything good for labor? Will the success of Aguinaldo add anything to the benefit of American labor? But labor asks, how did President McKinley and the gold standard bring about these good times? This is not hard to answer. Under our productive system, labor cannot work unless capital works, for labor works for and with capital. Capital owns the tools and is the superintendent. Anyone who will stop to think must know that capital has no more desire to be idle than labor, but capital, like labor, does not care to work without fair prospects for returns. Capital will always be active when it sees a fair prospect to make dividends, therefore any governmental policy that causes an uncertainty in value, must cause capital to hesitate and wait till values are settled.

No matter how eloquently Mr. Bryan may plead, nor how many prophecies he may make for the weal or woe of this nation, he cannot rub out the stern fact that he has been a false prophet, that he represents a party that is feared by the best interests of this country, and that he now represents a false issue to shield himself from the real issue that is his hobby.



CHANCES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Some of the Opportunities which Await Young Americans with Energy and Small Capital.

Fred Funston's View of the Possibilities—Almost an Unknown Country—What Modern Methods of Agriculture Would Produce—Cheap and Inexhaustible Lands to be Had—Fortunes in Virgin Forests—A Great Future for Hemp Raising—Coffee Culture—Undeveloped Mineral Resources.

BY FRANK G. CARPENTER.

(From the Saturday Evening Post, Philadelphia, June 16, 1900.)

"If I were not in the army I could make \$40,000 a year on a capital of \$10,000." These words were uttered by General Frederick G. Funston not long ago in the Oriente Hotel, in Manila. We had been chatting of the chances which the Philippine Islands offer to enterprising young Americans. General Funston had just returned from a trip along the coast of eastern Luzon, and he was full of the riches of the country and of its possibilities. He went on to say that the above sum might be made by trading there with the natives, by selling cloths and other goods to the merchants of the various towns, and taking in exchange the products of the country, such as hemp, tobacco, sugar and rice. He then spoke of other lines in which money could be made, and grew enthusiastic as he described the country, the fertility of its soil, and the wealth of its mineral and timber resources.

His view of the opportunities for fortune making here is not an uncommon one. Nearly every practical business American who has investigated the subject expresses a similar opinion, although few would venture to predict such large returns within such a short time.

After a stay of several months, and travels which have covered the principal parts of the Philippine Islands, I am impressed with

the enormous development that must come in the near future. As soon as the war is entirely over the country will be opened up along modern lines, and its vast resources will be exposed to the world. At present, the conditions are such as to make most travel and investment unsafe. The principal islands are overrun with brigands and robbers, and it is dangerous to go anywhere outside the cities without a military escort of twenty or more men. The country, however, is fast being pinned down with bayonets, the *insurrectos* have lost their organization, and the pacification of the people is only a matter of some months. Within a year conditions should have become settled, and then the big, fat oyster of the Philippines will be ready for any one who is big enough and brave enough to attempt to open it.

THE FIELD FOR LABOR AND CAPITAL.

At the start, I would say that this part of the world has no place for young Americans without money, who have only ordinary muscle and brains as their stock in trade. The common day laborer cannot expect to find work here. He cannot compete with the Chinese or the Filipino. He cannot do hard manual work day after day in the tropics, nor can he live on the twenty-five cents a day which the ordinary day laborer receives. There are also plenty of cheap clerks and bookkeepers here, and ordinary second-class positions of all kinds are easily filled.

When it comes to skilled labor the situation changes. There will be plenty to do for engineers and high-grade mechanics. The land will be opened up by railroads, and it has been estimated that at least one thousand miles of profitable road can be constructed, necessitating an investment of more than \$25,000,000. Factories and machine shops will be established, and all sorts of modern improvements will be introduced into the cities, so that plumbers, electricians and mechanics of various kinds will be needed.

As to professional men, there are already American doctors and dentists who have opened offices in Manila and are doing well. They charge high prices for their services, and get them. There are a number of American lawyers who boast many clients, and, in the litigation which is sure to arise in the transfers of landed property, there will be abundant opportunities for others. There will also be places for stenographers and men able to act as foremen and managers of estates. The photographers who are here are making money, and the same may be said of the small traders who are handling American goods.

No one should come to the Philippines unless he has enough money to pay his way here and back home, and no one should come with the idea of staying without enough to enable him to go into some business, even though it be in a small way. Three thousand dollars is the least capital with which the venture should be made. The passage here, supposing the start be made at New York, will cost about \$400, and the living expenses in the islands while looking about will be much the same as at home. If the

man is disgusted he will need another \$400 to take him back, so that he cannot allow much less than \$1,000 for an experimental trip.

This is a great deal to pay for an experiment, and a young man should think well before he decides. He would better not come unless he has the expectation of spending from ten to fifteen years in making his fortune, if not with the purpose of making the Philippines his home for life. For such men there are many opportunities, and such men are practically the only men who will succeed.

HOW LITTLE IS KNOWN OF THE ISLANDS.

But what are the Philippine Islands, and what are the chances which they offer? It is difficult to answer in detail. The country



A STRAND OF HEMP.

is so little known that it is hard to get an intelligent idea of it, even when on the ground. The Spaniards held it for more than three hundred years, but they have merely skimmed the surface of the more accessible parts. They did not know what they had, and the United States to-day is not able to give accurate figures as to the extent of the land and the character of its resources.

There are large tracts of the islands which have never been explored, and mountainous districts which have never been prospected. But few parts of them have been accurately surveyed, and the actual area has not been scientifically calculated.

We only know that the islands number more than a thousand, and that the archipelago is longer from north to south than from our Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. We know that it is wider from east to west than from New York to Pittsburg, and that certain of the islands are as big as certain of our greatest States. Luzon, at the north, about equals New York in area, and Mindanao, at the south, is almost as big as Ohio. Panay and Mindoro are much larger than Connecticut, and Negros, Leyte and Cebu would each cover one of our smaller States.

The topography of the Philippine Islands is of a somewhat uniform character. Coasting about through them, you are never

out of sight of mountains, many of which are extinct volcanoes. Every large island has its ranges rising from fertile plains along the coast, with extensive tracts of valley and plateaus in the interior. The Philippines, in fact, are made up of valleys and mountains, although some of the valleys are so flat as to be almost plains. The valley of Luzon, just north of Manila, has a slope so slight that its rivers sometimes change their course, now flowing into the gulf of Lingayen at the north, and again flowing southward into the bay of Manila.

Nearly all of the valleys are flooded during the rainy season. The water, loaded with the earth-washings of the mountains, lies for weeks upon the land, dropping its rich fertilizing silt and revivifying it as the Nile does Egypt. Indeed, some of the best lands of the Philippines are of this nature; they raise abundant crops year after year without artificial fertilization. Take, for instance, the Cagayan Valley, of northeastern Luzon, the best tobacco lands in the Philippines. Tobacco is a soil-exhausting crop. In the United States the best tobacco farms are regularly manured, and it is necessary to renew the land by rotation of crops. In the Cagayan Valley tobacco is raised in the same place year after year, and the soil is such that the crops in the older estates are better than those grown on land newly cleared, as the latter are too rich to produce tobacco of the finest flavor.

PRESENT AND FUTURE OF FARMING.

So far I have seen no fertilization whatever in the Philippine Islands. Sugar lands and rice lands are cultivated year after year by merely planting and harvesting the crop. No deep plowing is done, and all farming is of the rudest possible character. The agriculture is about the same as was that in Palestine in the days of the Scriptures. The plows are little more than forked sticks, with now and then an iron mould-board attached. The harrows are made of bamboo poles, with the branches left on; a half-dozen such poles are tied together, and the branches scratch the soil as they are dragged over it. The reaping is all done by hand. In many localities the rice is cut a stalk at a time with a little knife which the harvester holds inside his or her hand.

Fully half of the farming is done by the women. The rice is usually hulled by women, who pound the kernels out in a mortar made of a hardwood log. Much of the grain is threshed by piling the straw upon the ground and driving water-buffaloes or ponies over it. Indeed, I have seen men and women jumping up and down upon the sheaves of rice with their feet to thresh the kernels out of the stalks.

Sugar making, which requires such costly machinery in other countries that it takes tens of thousands of dollars to establish a small factory, is, in the Philippines, of the rudest possible nature. Some of the mills are run by water-wheels like those which turn our old-fashioned grist-mills. In others, the motive power is the carabao, or water-buffalo, which is driven round and round, turning the wheels which, after the principle of the ordinary clothes-

wringer, squeezes the juice from the cane. Nothing but the lowest grade of unrefined sugar is made; notwithstanding which it is said that the business is so profitable that the planter makes at least twenty-five per cent annually upon his capital invested.

LAND PRICES AND REAL VALUES.

And what about the lands of the Philippine Islands? Are there good lands in the market, and can they be bought at reasonable prices? Yes. Much of the best land here was owned by the Spaniards, some of whom have already left, and almost all of whom are anxious to get away.

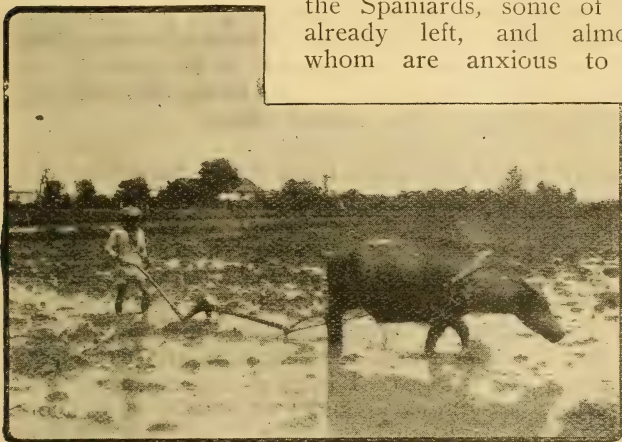


Photo by Squires & Bingham, Manila, P.I.

NATIVE PLOWING.

There are large tracts held by the natives which are offered for sale, and among these some on the very outskirts of Manila. I was told the other day of a tract of 7,500 acres upon which an American had an option price of \$112,000 gold. He offered the land to persons in New York for half a million dollars, but his proposition was not accepted, and his option has expired. At the first price the land would have cost about fifteen dollars an acre, and, considering that it was good sugar land near Manila, it was exceedingly cheap.

As an illustration of how the natives handle such property, the owner did not cultivate more than one-third of his estate, and this was farmed out on shares. Nevertheless, his receipts were about \$10,000 a year. This appears to have satisfied him, for when he was

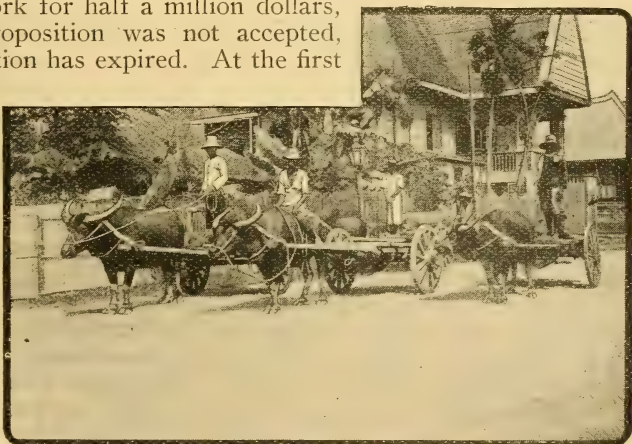


Photo by Squires & Bingham, Manila, P.I.

BUFFALO TEAMS IN PALO.

5

asked why he did not cultivate the whole of his property, he replied: "Why should I? I cannot spend in one year more than \$10,000. Why should I?"

The above should not be accepted as an average price for land in the vicinity of Manila. Some of the property is held very high, but there are lands scattered over the islands which can be purchased for five and ten dollars an acre, and some for much less. I do not pretend to give prices.

There is also an enormous amount of land here which belongs to the United States Government. The lands in the mountains and of the out-of-the-way districts have not been taken up. They still belonged to the Spanish Government at the time of our taking possession of the islands, and, by the treaty of Paris, they have become the property of the United States.

CHOICEST HARDWOODS FOR THE WORLD.

These lands include most of the timber of the Philippine Islands, timber which is of enormous value. There are, indeed, few parts of the world which have so much and such valuable hardwood as this archipelago. Mahogany is as common here as pine is in the United States. Woods that in the United States would be cut into sheets and used for veneering are here manufactured into boats and bridges. I have ridden my horse over planks of mahogany and rosewood, and I walk daily upon floors, the boards of which would make excellent piano cases. I have seen houses built of mahogany, with stairs of rosewood and posts of ebony, and I find almost daily some new tree or log, the wood of which has a beautiful grain, but which is almost unknown to commerce.

It is difficult to describe the timber resources of the Philippines. Most of the mountains are covered with trees, and there are vast tracts of virgin forest. The timber resources of the great island of Mindanao, which, as I have said, is almost as big as Ohio, are practically untouched. Mindoro is almost all woods, and there are valuable forests in the mountainous parts of Luzon. Some of these trees are easily accessible, while others, owing to their distance from the sea and the fact that certain kinds of the logs are so heavy that they will not float, will not soon pay for their cutting and transportation.

The trees in nearly all the mountainous regions are enormous. I have seen some so big that you could not reach half way around them with your two arms, which rose up to a distance of 150 feet from the ground without a branch. Mahogany boards six feet wide are now and then met with, and I have been told of rosewood logs which were nine feet in diameter, but have so far seen none which approximate this size.

AN INDUSTRY OF VAST POSSIBILITIES.

Up to the present time no modern means of exploiting these timber resources have been attempted. The Spanish Government

had a heavy tax upon all lumber industries, and the restrictions on cutting the trees were such that the industry was never developed. There are not a dozen sawmills in the whole archipelago, and such a thing as a planing mill is almost unknown.

Nevertheless, lumber is very high in all Philippine cities, due largely to the rude method of bringing the trees to the market and manufacturing them into lumber. Many of the largest trees are cut down with boloes, knives which somewhat resemble the old-fashioned corn cutters of the United States. The logs are squared in the forest, and are often dragged for miles upon buffalo carts or sleds to the streams. In turning them into boards the sawing is done by hand, the motive power being two Filipinos, and the saw being much like our cross-cut saws, with an upright handle set at right angles to each end. There are millions of feet of flooring in the islands which have been hewed out with the adz. Some of the floors of the best houses of Manila are of this nature. You can see the rough places where the chips have been cut out, but the grain of the wood is so fine that, from daily sweeping and scrubbing, it has taken a polish like that of a plate-glass mirror.

ENORMOUS PROFITS IN HEMP RAISING.

One of the most profitable crops of the Philippines is hemp. It brings into the islands about \$18,000,000 in silver every year, and it forms an aggregate product weighing more than a quarter of a billion pounds. There are hemp plantations in nearly every one of the islands, and there are large provinces which are supported almost entirely by the hemp industry. There are merchants and exporters who devote themselves to dealing in hemp, and millions of pounds of it are shipped by them annually to the United States. Nearly all our clothes-lines are made of Manila hemp, and vast quantities of it are sent to our grain fields of the Northwest for the binding of grain.

Hemp raising is one of the most attractive as well as the most profitable kinds of farming. The hemp plant is a species of the banana. The plants look just like the banana plants, from which come the fruit sold in our markets. Each plant is composed of many leaves wrapped about a central stalk, and extending, when full grown, to a distance of ten or twelve feet from the ground. Each leaf of the plant is composed of thousands of fibers as fine as human hair, and the harvesting consists in cutting off the leaves, squeezing out the juice or sap, and drying the fiber for the market. The plants are set out six or eight feet apart. It requires three years for them to arrive at maturity. After that they continue to reproduce themselves.

The profits of hemp farming are enormous, and when one, in addition to raising the hemp himself, has enough capital to buy of his poorer neighbors, he can do exceedingly well. Only a small portion of suitable land is now in use.

There are vast tracts of uncleared country suitable for the

plant. All that is required is some capital and energy, and the waiting of three or four years until the plantation comes into bearing.

JAVA'S POSSIBLE RIVAL IN COFFEE.

I believe there is a big future for the coffee planter in the Philippine Islands. The great island of Mindanao is in much the same latitude as Java, and its soil is said to be of the same nature. I saw luxuriant coffee plants about Zamboanga and on the island of Sulu, near by. I visited a plantation containing 35,000 trees, which is, I believe as fine as any plantation of its age in the world. I have traveled quite extensively through the coffee regions of the West Indies and Brazil, and I have never seen anything which quite equals this plantation in Sulu. The trees are but three years old, the age at which the coffee tree first comes into bearing. Each of these trees will produce this year at least a pound of coffee, and some are so heavily laden that their limbs are breaking down with the fruit. The trees are about three inches in diameter, and are perfectly healthy, although I am told that the coffee plantations of southern Luzon have been ruined by the blight. As to this, however, it is said that a remedy has been discovered within the past year by some man in the Hawaiian Islands, and, if so, there may be opportunities to buy the Luzon plantations at low prices and revivify them.

Another extensive field of investment and work in the Philippine Islands will be in the development of their mineral resources. There are now prospectors moving cautiously here and there through the mountains looking for gold. Small quantities of the metal have been found in many localities, and some promising quartz mines have been located. Extensive coal deposits are known to exist here and there throughout the archipelago, and also veins of copper, iron and lead. In the south an extensive industry is carried on in the shipping of shells to Europe for the making of mother-of-pearl buttons, combs and similar articles, and the same fisheries produce valuable pearls.

The whole Philippines, in short, are an undeveloped empire of agricultural, industrial and mineral wealth, and if they are to remain the property of the United States they will, within the near future, have a development which will be surprising to the world, and which will furnish our young men opportunities for successful ventures along many lines.

A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenues has been written in public law.

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

The Tin Plate Industry

ESTABLISHED UNDER MCKINLEY PROTECTION, CHECKED BY
DEMOCRATIC FREE TRADE, IT HAS EFFECTED A SAV-
ING OF \$35,000,000 TO THE COUNTRY AND
NOW GIVES EMPLOYMENT TO 17,000
PEOPLE, WHO EARN \$10,000,000
A YEAR IN WAGES.

By B. E. V. LUTEY,

[EDITOR "*TIN AND TERNE*," PITTSBURG.]

The American tin plate industry is the best illustration of the benefit of a protective tariff. It is for this reason that it is singled out by the Democrats for especially vicious attack.

The McKinley protective duty of 2.2 cents a pound went into effect on July 1, 1891. For years prior to that time there was a revenue tariff on tin plate of one cent a pound. Under it no tin plate could be made in the United States, our supply being all imported from Wales, which had a monopoly. The Welsh manufacturers had an understanding among themselves which amounted to a trust, and charged exorbitant prices. The duty, being a revenue one, was paid by the American consumer. The reduced duty of 1.2 cents in the Wilson-Gorman law went into effect on October 1, 1894, and caused a wage dispute which kept all the American tin plate works closed from that date until the latter part of January, 1895, when they were put in operation at greatly reduced wages. The American tin plate works were then enabled to operate under the existence of the Wilson-Gorman tariff law because :

"Growth of the Industry."

1. The industry had acquired great momentum under the McKinley law.
2. Economies and new processes were introduced during that period, after great expenditures of time and money.
3. There were heavy wage reductions.
4. The Wilson-Gorman duty of 1.2 cents a pound was .2 cent higher than the old revenue duty.
5. The general depression in the iron and steel and other industries, caused by the Wilson-Gorman law, brought the raw materials of tin plate manufacture in the United States down to lower points than had ever been seen before.

Five Hundred Mills Busy There.

Up to July 1, 1891, when the McKinley tin plate duty became effective, over 500 tin mills were kept in practically steady operation in Wales. Since then there has been a continuous succession of strikes and lockouts. The number of

mills in operation has fallen below 300 at times, and prices of tin plate in Wales were brought down to a level formerly unknown. The Welsh tin plate trust was completely broken up. The following table shows the decline in the Welsh tin plate trade, due wholly to the establishment of the American industry :

British Exports Decrease.

Exports of tin plate from Great Britain to all countries since 1887, in long tons :

Year.	Long Tons.
1887.....	354,773
1888.....	391,291
1889.....	430,623
1890.....	421,797
1891.....	448,732
1892.....	395,580
1893.....	379,233
1894.....	354,081
1895.....	365,982
1896.....	266,955
1897.....	271,230
1898.....	250,953
1899.....	256,629

The following table gives the imports of tin plate into the United States since 1889 in long tons.

Year.	Long Tons.
1889.....	331,311
1890.....	329,435
1891.....	327,882
1892.....	268,472
1893.....	253,155
1894.....	215,068
1895.....	219,545
1896.....	119,171
1897.....	83,851
1898.....	67,222
1899.....	58,915

Our Imports are now Smaller.

The imports of the past three or four years have been confined almost entirely to tin plates which are re-exported in the form of cans containing oil, fruit, fish, meat, etc. By the terms of the Dingley law 99 per cent of the duty originally paid on such tin plate is refunded by the Government on its re-export.

The following table gives the production of tin plate in the United States in each calendar year since 1891:

Year.	Long Tons.
1891.....	552
1892.....	18,803
1893.....	55,182
1894.....	74,260
1895.....	113,666
1896.....	160,362
1897.....	256,598
1898.....	326,915
1899.....	397,767

High and Low Prices.

The following table shows the highest and lowest prices in Wales of full weight coke tin plate since 1889. The great decline caused by the American industry will be noted. The much higher prices in 1899 and 1900 were caused by the great advances in raw materials, especially steel and pig tin, which have occurred all over the world:

Year.	Lowest		Highest
1889.....	12s	9d	18s 0d
1890.....	13	3	17 3
1891.....	12	6	12 6
1892.....	11	9	12 3
1893.....	10	10½	12 6
1894.....	10	3	11 0
1895.....	9	9	10 9
1896.....	8	10½	10 6
1897.....	9	9	10 3
1898.....	9	9	10 6
1899.....	11	0	15 6
1900.....	15	0	16 9
(First half.)			

The following table gives the average price paid for full weight coke tin plate at New York each year since 1890; prices are for imported plates up to and including 1894 and for domestic plates since then:

1890.....	\$5.15
1891.....	5.30
1892.....	5.34
1893.....	5.15
1894.....	4.57
1895.....	3.66
1896.....	3.63
1897.....	3.26
1898.....	2.99
1899.....	4.50
1900.....	4.99
(First half.)	

A Saving of \$35,000,000.

By making a careful estimate of what tin plate would have cost the consumer from the beginning of 1892 to the middle of 1900, had there been no American industry and no protective tariff, and closely calculating what it actually has cost in these years, with the protective tariff and the American industry, it has been found that the country has saved to date fully \$35,000,000 through the McKinley tin plate industry. Most of this saving was due to the American product selling at so much below the imported, but part was due to the lower prices at which the foreign was sold, on account of the competition, before the country made all the tin plate it needed.

Earnings More than Three Times those in Wales.

Taking the average of all the tin mill employees, the wages paid in the United States average from two and a half to three times as much as in Wales.

The best paid in both countries are the skilled men in the hot mills, paid by the ton, including rollers, catchers, doublers, heaters and shearman. In Wales the roller and catcher receive \$1.96 per ton; doubler, \$1.16; heater, \$1.09, and shearman 44 cents, a total of \$4.65 per ton. In the United States these men received in May and June, 1900, roller and catcher, \$6.04 per ton; doubler, \$3.16; heater, \$2.94; shearman, 56 cents; total, \$12.70 per ton. This is 173 per cent more than the Welsh wages, but on account of the better machinery here the men are able to make fully one-fifth more output per day without extra exertion, increasing their earnings to 228 per cent above the Welsh earnings, so that their earnings are more than three and a quarter times the Welsh workers' earnings.

Wages Increased under the Dingley Law.

During the existence of the McKinley duty these five skilled men received \$11.09 per ton; when the Wilson-Gorman duty went into effect their wages were reduced to \$9.57 per ton, a reduction of 14 per cent. As stated, these men in May

and June, 1900, received \$12.70 per ton, which is an advance of 33 per cent over the Wilson-Gorman wages and of 15 per cent over the McKinley wages. These skilled men are thoroughly organized, and prevented a greater wage reduction when the Wilson-Gorman duty went into effect, at which time the wages of the common, unskilled labor were reduced in greater ratio, in order to strike the proper average to permit the American industry to live.

The report of the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of the Department of Internal Affairs of the State of Pennsylvania for the year 1895, when the Wilson-Gorman law was in force, gives the average number of persons employed in the tin plate works of the State during the year as 3,031, with daily average wages of \$1.78. According to the same authority the average number of persons so employed in 1899, under the Dingley law, was 8,008, who received average daily wages of \$2.33. This is an increase of 164 per cent in the number employed, and of 31 per cent in the average wages.

Less Advance in Finished Article than in Raw Material.

Tin plates are considerably higher in price now than they have been, but this is due entirely to advances in wages and in the cost of raw materials, caused by the iron and steel boom which has extended all over the world. The price in New York has never been more than 73 per cent above the lowest price on record; during the boom pig tin advanced to 34½ cents a pound, or 174 per cent above the lowest price on record of 12½ cents, and steel slabs to \$41 a ton, or 193 per cent above the lowest price on record of \$14. These are the principal raw materials in tin plate making. Bessemer pig iron advanced to \$24 a ton, or 174 per cent above the lowest price on record of \$8.75; steel tank plate advanced to \$3.25 per hundred pounds, or 261 per cent above the lowest price on record of 90 cents a hundred. None of these articles are controlled by monopolies or trusts of any description. The average advance of all iron and steel products has been considerably greater than the advance in tin plate. The highest price of tin plate in Wales has been nearly double the lowest price on record.

Tin Plate is Very Cheap.

Even at the moderate advance which has occurred, tin plate is very cheap. At present New York prices the value of the tin plate needed to make the following articles is: 2 lb. fruit can, 1.255 cents (about 1¼ cents); 3 lb. fruit can, 1.789 cents (about 1¾ cents); ½ pint tin cup, 1.056 cents; 1 quart tin cup, 1.778 cents (about 1¾ cents); 3 quart dinner pail, 5.771 cents; the same, including 1 pint tin cup, 7 cents. One dollar's worth of tin plate will make any of the following items: 80 two-pound fruit cans, 56 three-pound fruit cans, 95 half-pint tin cups, 56 one-quart tin cups, or 14 three-quart dinner pails with a pint tin cup to each.

If the duty were taken off tin plate it would be necessary at once for the wages paid in the American tin plate factories to be reduced to the level of the wages paid in the Welsh factories, and not only this, but wages would have to be reduced also in a great many of the other industries which furnish raw materials to the tin plate industry. If workmen could not be secured at these greatly reduced wages it would be necessary for the tin plate manufacturers to move their plants to Wales where such workmen could be secured.

There are fully 17,000 people employed directly in the tin plate factories of the United States, receiving fully \$10,000,000 a year in wages; the number is still larger of those employed in the steel works, blast furnaces, ore and coal mines, box factories, acid works, machine shops and many minor industries engaged in furnishing supplies to the tin plate works, and the employment of all these would be seriously curtailed by a change of duty injuring the tin plate industry.

WAS IT A CRIME?

“COIN AT SCHOOL” DISSECTED

BY

Hon. WILLIS GEORGE EMERSON,
OF WYOMING.

Let us imagine that we are back in the days of '96, and let us once more talk over political conditions as they existed in the last Presidential campaign.

Hon. W. H. Harvey, author of Coin's Financial School, is a gentleman I have known for many years, and for as many years as we have known each other, we have been warm, personal friends. Toward the man I entertain the greatest respect; as for his theories I regard them as idle, visionary sophistries as unstable as “the house that was built upon sand.”

The student who really gives thought to the financial question will early discover that Coin's Financial School rests upon a false foundation and the superstructure must surely fall when beaten against by the irresistible and truth-capped waves of facts and history. No better answer can be given to these misleading and false theories than a plain, truthful statement of our coinage laws and the effect of legislation relating thereto.

Whatever else we may be, we are all Americans, either by birth or adoption; we respect and love the same flag and the undying principles which it represents. We do not differ in a desire for good government. We may differ and differ widely, however, in our opinions and ideas as to what laws will insure the greatest blessings to the people of this nation.

Fortunately for the Republican party the American people are a reading and a thinking people, and the problems of the present campaign are now on trial before a jury of 70,000,000 of honest peers, not one of whom am I willing to believe would wantonly strike down the flag of our country, or any of its cherished institutions.

The People a Jury.

This jury, after the evidence is all in, will decide one way or the other, with an avalanche of snowy ballots, as spotless in their purity as the honest hearts of the voters who cast the verdict into the ballot boxes. As Americans we are justly proud of our birthright—proud of the air of freedom that kisses the Stars and Stripes—our nation's ensign, emblematic of mighty victories in the past, a guarantee of protection in the present to all who stand beneath its folds and laden with rich promises of future prosperity.

Our country is greater than the men whose election it is our pleasure to advocate. It is not men but measures which we are to consider. An earnest, conscientious desire to investigate and determine the right, should absorb and thrill the heart of every patriotic American voter.

The great parties in the present campaign do not differ so much in regard to the amount of money as they do in regard to its quality. "It is not the medium of exchange so much as it is an active exchange of the medium itself." On the tariff question we do not differ in schedules, but principles—principles which we, as Republicans, believe involve the welfare of all our people and the prosperity of all classes. Personally I have every respect for a conscientious, earnest opponent in this crusade of education, and while honestly differing from them, yet will endeavor to wound the feelings of none.

Moral Questions Involved.

This is a campaign embracing both political and moral questions. It is a political conflict, which the people will soon or later acknowledge to be one of patriotism. A moral conflict, which they will acknowledge to be indeed sublime.

We must not forget that patriotism in time of peace is a scarcer article than in times of war.

In the guise of citizens men like "Coin" Harvey are attempting ignorantly or otherwise to undermine and overthrow our nation's honor and credit, and it is these alone that can perpetuate our liberties and insure us prosperity.

The Republican Party comes before the American people advocating the maintenance of the Gold standard and the use of Silver as money, in the largest volume possible, consistent with safety; advocating the maintenance of our Nation's honor and credit; advocating a tariff, not for revenue only, but a protective tariff that will encourage domestic industries and give employment to all our people; advocating reciprocity, a doctrine which will open an unlimited market for the American farm and the American factory—a doctrine bequeathed to this generation by the now sainted James G. Blaine; advocating expansion of our trade and commercial relations.

Upon these issues the Republican party comes confidentially to the people, asking for their suffrage, appealing not to their prejudice but to their reason, not to their passions but to their judgment. In this holy crusade we are lead by that valiant champion of the people's rights, "that advance agent of prosperity," President William McKinley. On the other hand we find the Bryanized Democrats, Populists, and believers in Coin's Financial School arrayed in a solid phalanx against these cherished principles which we so ardently believe in.

Wilson Law Closed Factories.

The repeal of the McKinley law in 1893 closed down factories and manufactories by the hundred and deprived tens of thousands of American workmen of employment.

Under the operations of the McKinley Law the wage earners of the United States were receiving every Saturday night a little over \$41,000,000. Under the operation of the Wilson Law they received a little less than \$19,000,000 as a Saturday night pay roll, a falling off of over \$22,000,000 per week to the wage earners of this country.

If asked what has been the most unfortunate and appalling result of this wonderfully shrunken pay roll, I would answer by saying that American workmen by the thousands lost the roofs that covered their heads for themselves and families, were turned into the highways and were beggared in the most unfortunate sense of the word. The questions of free trade and protection, however, have practically been relegated into the background this year, and the sixteen-headed monster of free silver pushed to the front wherever deemed convenient to do so.

Free Trade and Free Silver are twin sisters of infamy, the assertions of Mr. Harvey to the contrary notwithstanding.

It was the province of the Republican party eight years ago to send forth its protests and warnings against free trade, and four years ago against free silver, and to-day with equal vehemence it is sending forth its warnings against destroying the high standard of our nation's finance, and reducing this country to a second class basis of silver monometallism.

Bread and Butter the Issue.

No doubt of it, the issue in this campaign is one of finance—the real issue is one of bread and butter. Free Trade has pauperized its tens of thousands, but this Free Silver Craze, if placed upon our statute books, will pauperize its hundreds of thousands.

I believe, and believe most earnestly, with every throb of my heart, that in the present campaign the Republican party is the only true friend silver has. We have elevated the silver dollar, our opponents seek to debase it. The Republican party has provided a redeemer for every silver dollar. Our opponents seek to destroy and alienate this redeemer. If the silver dollar was not exchangeable with gold, it would not be worth any more than a Mexican dollar, or not as much, for there is less silver in it.

Coin's Financial School and free silver advocates generally have much to say about the money of the constitution. The money of the constitution was based upon the relative market value of the two metals. The history of the last 408 years, from 1492 to 1900, is replete with evidence proving beyond the question of a doubt that the relative or market value of these metals is continually changing. When Columbus discovered America in 1492, ten ounces of silver would purchase one ounce of gold; when the Pilgrim Fathers landed on the rocky and barren coast of New England in 1620, thirteen ounces of silver would purchase one ounce of gold; in 1792 fifteen ounces of silver would purchase one ounce of gold. In 1873 one ounce of gold would not purchase sixteen ounces of silver. To-day one ounce of gold will purchase over thirty-three ounces of silver.

This fluctuation of values of the two metals is controlled, not by laws we spread upon our statute books, but by the law of supply and demand, governed by the cost of production.

Jackson and Jefferson.

The patriotism and statesmanship of Andrew Jackson and Thomas Jefferson were untainted in 1792 by the dangerous influence of a coterie of silver barons. They simply ascertained as nearly as they could the relative or market value of the two metals, and determined the legal from the commercial ratio, placed them side by side and started our mints going with the unlimited coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 15 to 1. As a matter of fact they had overvalued silver; that is to say, the gold dollar was worth 100 cents, but the silver dollar was only worth 98 cents. Now the rank and file of our forefathers cared very little about the discrepancy of the 2 cents on the dollar, but the money changers were abroad in the land in 1792,

the same as they are to-day and whenever a gold coin came into their possession it was quietly retired from circulation. In other words, the cheaper money drove out of circulation the higher priced money, and as a result, we had silver as the only hard money currency circulating in this country from 1792 to 1834. Let me quote Thomas Jefferson's own words. In speaking of the ratio of the two metals, he says:

"The proportion between the values of Gold and Silver is a mercantile problem altogether."

What statement could be clearer and more concise than that? It being a mercantile problem, it of course was understood to be subject to fluctuation and change. Accordingly, in 1834, our forefathers concluded as their first attempt at a double standard had utterly failed in keeping the two metals circulating side by side as money, that they would change the ratio from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1, which they did. It seems this ratio undervalued silver, that is to say, the gold dollar was still worth 100 cents, but the silver dollar was worth from 102 to 103 cents. Gold at once became the hard money circulating medium in this country; silver, the higher priced money, was entirely retired by the money changers, bullion dealers and silver-smiths. This is another illustration where the cheaper money drove out of circulation the higher priced money.

Greenbacks Were Cheap Money.

In 1861 our country was engaged in civil war, and the greenbacks were issued as money, and were at once looked upon as a cheaper money than either gold or silver and immediately drove both gold and silver out of circulation and kept them out of circulation for eighteen years, or until we resumed specie payment in 1879. The history of these eighteen years is another instance where the cheaper money was victorious and drove out of circulation the higher priced money. Mr. Harvey no less than four times in one speech gave the following definition of bimetallism: "Bimetallism is the right to use either of the two metals for money." This condensed answer bears about the same relation to the correct definition of bimetallism as the Boy Orator of the Platte compares with those intellectual giants whom he seeks to imitate, but without success, the immortal Washington and Lincoln.

Bimetallism, as is understood in the discussion of our financial question, is the use of both gold and silver as money; both legal tender money, and the legal ratio between the two metals determined from the commercial ratio. Throughout Mr. Harvey's published works and lectures we find him affirming the false principle that money is a creature of law, and that by operation of law the commercial ratio between gold and silver can be made to conform with the legal ratio of 16 to 1. Let us follow the author of "Coin's" Financial School for a few moments, and see where this false principle will carry us.

To-day the commercial ratio between Silver and Gold is about 33 to 1. Mr. Harvey claims that if his theories are spread upon our statute books that in a very short time the commercial ratio will be 16 to 1. If Mr. Harvey possesses the superhuman power of reducing the value of Gold one-half, or doubling the price of Silver, whichever you will, and bring them to a commercial parity at 16 to 1, then indeed would he be false to the citizens of this Republic if he did not add a little more power to his "Keeley-Motor" theory, and make the commercial ratio between Gold and Silver 15 to 1, the same as it was in 1792, or better still, if it is a blessing to humanity to lower the ratio between Gold and Silver, then apply a little more of this occult power and make the ratio 13 to 1, the same as it was in 1620, when our ancestors came over in the Mayflower;

or apply the same force with renewed energy and bring the ratio down to 10 to 1, the same as it was in 1492. Indeed, if this principle is a boon to humanity, and his theories are not false, why not push the work along and make the ratio between Gold and Silver 1 to 1 ?

In following my friend Harvey, we are led into a labyrinth abounding with impossibilities and as impracticable as the theory of perpetual motion. When the earth is proved to be flat instead of a globe, when water runs up-hill, when the law of gravitation ceases to be operative, when the tail wags the dog and not the dog the tail, then, and not till then, may we seriously consider these perpetual motion, "Keeley Motor" theories of Mr. Harvey and other double standard advocates.

If we were unable to keep both metals circulating side by side when there was a slight discrepancy of only two or three cents in their intrinsic value, does any intelligent or sane man believe for a moment, whether he is a student of Coin's Financial School or not, that if we throw open our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of 48-cent dollars, that they would not at once drive out of circulation the \$815,000,000 of gold, now constituting nearly one-third of our circulating medium?

If gold, so important a factor in our medium of exchange both at home and abroad, should retire before silver—the cheaper money (and the light of experience surely proves that it would) can any one doubt that we would at once go on to a silver basis? Can any one doubt that the \$626,000,000 of silver now used as money in this country would not instantly be cut in two so far as its purchasing power is concerned—that is, shrink from 100 cents, its face or nominal value, to 48 cents, its bullion value?

In the light of past experience it would surely be a sad commentary on our intelligence as an enlightened nation, if we had learned nothing in 100 years. If the illustrious Hamilton and Jefferson were alive, they would, by pursuing the same policy which actuated them in determining the money of the constitution, fix the ratio to-day at about 33 to 1, simply because the relative or market value of the two metals has varied to that extent.

Honesty and Sober Judgment Needed.

The questions involved in the present campaign merit and deserve most careful thought and study. It is the sober, honest judgment of the thinking, reading, investigating American citizen that the Republican party is relying upon for its support. Let me give a few facts worthy of remembrance.

First, every free and unlimited coinage country in the world is on a Silver basis.

Second, there is not a Gold standard country on earth but what uses both Gold and Silver as money.

Third, there is not a Silver standard country in the world that uses any gold whatever as money; and

Lastly, there is not a Silver standard country to be found in the great ocean of commerce that rolls all 'round the world that has one-fourth as much money in actual value per capita as has the United States and other leading Gold standard countries.

China, Mexico and most of the South American states are on a silver basis. The United States, England, France, Germany, Belgium, Sweden and others are on a gold basis.

One of the most interesting facts which the student of finance will encounter is the vast difference of the amount of money per capita between the gold standard and the silver standard countries.

Per Capita of Money.

In the countries on a silver basis we find the Central American states with a per capita \$8.97, China \$1.96, Mexico \$9.12. Now note the difference between these countries and a few that are on a gold basis:

The United States has a per capita of \$25.25, England \$17.05, France, \$36.15, Germany \$19.84, Belgium \$23.86.

In this connection let me impress upon your minds the facts that you cannot go into any country on the face of the earth where its mints are open to free and unlimited coinage of silver and find a single gold coin circulating among the people; moreover, that the silver standard country does not exist where the United States gold dollar, the United States silver dollar, or the United States-paper dollar will not purchase twice as much merchandise as any dollar which you can find circulating among its people. I challenge the author of Coin's Financial School or the Demosthenes of Nebraska, William Jennings Bryan, or any one else, to successfully contradict this statement.

I Am a Bimetallist.

To-day, I am a bimetallist, an ardent and devoted one, in the sense that I desire to see both gold and silver circulating side by side as money, and in the sense that we can have a greater per capita of money in this country by using both gold and silver as currency, than we possibly could by driving gold out of circulation, but, I disbelieve utterly in the possibility of a double standard.

The phrase, "double standard" is a contradiction of terms. Standard means "correct measure," and you cannot have two different correct measures of value any more than you can have two different correct yard sticks, or two different correct results from a mathematical problem, or two different correct cyclometers on a bicycle. If one is right the other is wrong, and that is all there is to it.

England tried the imaginary double standard for 470 years, and never succeeded in keeping the two metals circulating side by side, and finally gave it up as an utter failure. France with all the ingenuity of her inventive people, changed the ratio of gold and silver 118 times in twelve years in trying to balance on the double standard tight rope. We commenced trying it in 1792, and went on to a silver basis and remained there for 42 years or until we changed the ratio from 15 to 1 to 16 to 1, in 1834. This change of ratio placed us on a gold basis, where we remained for a number of years.

In 1861 we went on a paper basis and remained there for a number of years, and finally went back on to a gold basis in the common accepted understanding of the question, where we have since remained. The progress and prosperity of the United States during the last third of a century have been without a precedent in the history of the civilized world, and yet, I believe with my whole heart, that in the evolution of this financial question, hastened on by agitation, a plan of understanding will be reached higher and beyond that which has ever heretofore obtained in any of the civilized nations of the earth, and it will come through deliberations and councils in the Republican party—the party of progress—and when it comes it will lighten the burdens and bless humanity.

The Crime of '73.

Mr. Harvey and all silver advocates talk to us about the crime of 1873. Let me say here and now there was no crime committed in 1873, directly or indirectly.

If there was a crime committed, Senators Jones and Stewart of Nevada, who were High Priests in the Silver movement, were the chief conspirators, for they were among the largest silver mine owners in the United States, and they voted for the bill.

Prior to 1873 we coined in this country, all told, about 8,000,000 of silver dollars; since 1873 we coined up to January 1st, 1896, \$547,914.340 of silver, about \$426,000,000 of which are standard dollars. During August, 1896, we coined 2,650,000 of silver dollars, and the profit to the government—the people—was between \$800,000 and \$900,000. From January 1st, 1896, until June 30th, 1900, we coined \$75,256,586 in standard silver dollars.

Webster says: "Demonetization is to deprive of value, or to withdraw from use as currency."

Does it look very much as though we had withdrawn silver from use as currency? In what way have we deprived silver of value? It is a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and without limit as to amount, and has been for the last twenty-two years. These are facts which you will not find within the covers of "Coin" Harvey's books. It looks as though we had added value to it, since the silver dollar circulates side by side with the gold dollar, notwithstanding its bullion value is 52 cents less than its nominal or face value.

Consistent Friend of Silver.

The Republican Party has ever been the consistent friend of Silver, but is unalterably opposed to Silver Monometallism.

For one, I am not willing to see all the gold in this country driven out of circulation and the purchasing power of silver reduced to its bullion value. In other words, I am not ready to see the per capita of money in this country reduced fully one-half and our nation doing business on a Mexicanized silver basis. Wages are the last schedule to advance, and as fully 95 per cent. of the male adults in the United States are wage, salary or fee earners, there would be almost universal want, misery and suffering bequeathed to these people, because of such a reckless, unpatriotic and unbusiness-like experiment. What party then is the real friend of silver? The party that is trying to maintain the parity of the two metals, or the party that is protesting friendship in unstinted terms and yet committed to the folly of reducing silver to its bullion value? The proposition in a nutshell is this:

The Republican Party believes that the coinage of Silver should be restricted by law and coined on government account. Mr. Bryan and his followers believe in the free and unlimited coinage of silver on private account. When the government coins silver, under existing laws, it gets the difference between the cost of the bullion and the stamp that is placed upon it. This is known as the gain or seigniorage and is paid into the treasury of the United States the same as is provided by law regulating subsidiary coins. In this way every mechanic, every farmer, every laborer, in fact every citizen of the United States gets his proportionate share of this gain.

Do Not Demand Bimetallism.

What "Coin" Harvey and the advocates of free silver demand is not bimetallism, but the unlimited coinage of the silver dollar, not at the just ratio of 33 to 1, but at the unjust ratio of 16 to 1, not on government account, but on private account. To-day the government—the people—are receiving the benefit of the 52 cents on each silver dollar coined, that being the difference between the cost of the bullion and the face value of the dollar. The government—the people—will lose these 52 cents if silver is coined on private account.

The question is, who will get these 52 cents on each dollar, who will be benefited by this change? (We know the government will lose 52 cents on each dollar.) The question is, who will receive it, or will this profit, now accruing to the government—the people—be lost as completely as the value of a building would be to the owner if it burned to ashes and there was no insurance? I am pretty well acquainted with the mining business, have spent many years of my life in the mining districts of the west, and am the owner of mining properties in Oregon, Wyoming and in Colorado, and also largely interested in one of the most noted silver mining properties in Old Mexico, and I know whereof I speak, when I say that English capitalists and American silver kings own a majority of the stock of nearly every incorporated silver mining company in this country of any prominence.

It is beginning to look to me like "there was a pretty good-sized African in the wood pile somewhere."

Free Trade Should Be Undone.

Twelve years ago, and again eight years ago, through the influence of the Cobden Club, England attempted to subdue America. She succeeded in prostrating our industries, impoverishing our people, and increasing our public debt, but let us hope that the intelligence of American citizens will never repeat the free trade blunder of 1892. It now looks to me as if there was a gigantic trust of silver kings and English capitalists attempting to again subdue free America. Evidently there never was such a concert of action in the United States as has taken place during the last few years in regard to this silver question. The rapidity with which it has traveled all over this country, to say the least, has been phenomenal. There is an old saying, that "a falsehood will travel a thousand miles while truth is getting its boots on."

Go forth and tell the misguided advocates of free silver and believers in the false theories of "Coin's" Financial School to rejoice in their strength while it is called to-day, for, by the living God, "truth has its boots on" and is marching triumphantly out among the people, tearing away the webs and veils of delusion and hypocrisy and appealing to the people, not to their passions, but to their intelligence, their reason and their honor. The people are not ready to advance by going backwards; they are not ready to be Chinaized, South Americanized, Mexicanized or subsidized by a coterie of silver barons and English capitalists, who are attempting by stealth to nail the wage earners and farmers of this country to an unholy cross of depreciated silver.

Goes After Bryan.

William Jennings Bryan told us in his Knoxville, Tennessee, speech that there is no danger of a silver flood. "Coin" Harvey made the same statement, notwithstanding the world's production of silver since the year 1892 has amounted to over \$200,000,000 a year, a greater annual production than ever before in the history of the world, and still he claims there is no danger of a silver flood.

All that Mr. Bryan asks for is, that the reins of government and the keys of the United States treasury be turned over to himself and his followers, and they will try the experiment.

I hardly think the people of the United States are ready to invest in any more political experiments. The experiment of eight years ago has proved quite enough. No flood of silver! The effrontery and insult to the intelligence of mankind by this degenerate Democracy and the silver advocates surpasses understanding.

The so-called crime of 1873 is a myth and destitute of substance. The so-called conspiracy of that year is also a myth and without substance. You might just as well go out and from the housetop proclaim that the horse has been dehorseized, because of a huge conspiracy entered into by electricity and the bicycle. Why not ask that the noble animal be rehorseized, so that its selling price will be \$150 or \$200, the same as it was in "ye olden times."

Improved Harvesting Methods.

The old-fashioned methods of reaping the yellow fields of wheat have also been ousted by the conspiracy of the late improved harvester and binder. The old-fashioned cradle has been decradleized. Why not form an alliance all over this country to recradleize the cradle, and make common warfare against the up-to-date binder? Even the old McCormick reaper has been dereaperized, and the succeeding invention, the header, has been deheaderized, and who shall not say in this onward march of progress, in this wonderful advancement of our civilization, in this age of discovery and invention, that sooner or later the up-to-date binder of to-day will not be debinderized by the inventive genius of some American citizen?

Now, let us see what the so-called crime of 1873 has done for prices of various commodities. One of the stock declarations of Mr. Bryan and Mr. Harvey and their cohorts four years ago was that prices should be restored and wages should be increased. This has been done by the Republican party. One of two things is very apparent, either the framers of the Chicago and Kansas City platforms did not consult the statistics of the United States or else they imagined the voters would not. "Coin" Harvey and the silver advocates generally sought to establish their position by quoting statistics of average prices of certain great commodities like wheat and cotton, claiming that prices commenced falling in 1873 and their decline has continued. These arguments are those of the delusionists and must crumble before the evidence and the facts. The advance since 1897 has completely disproved this form of argument. Let me say that prices did not commence falling in 1873, but in 1864-5.

Why Are They Not Honest?

If these men are not demagogues, pure and simple, why do they not inform the "dear people" why prices fell more during the eight years preceding 1873 than they have ever fallen since?

"Coin" Harvey has never explained why, and if he did, his theory would vanish like the mist before the rising sun of truth.

For example, cotton fell from \$1.01½ in 1864, to 17 cents a pound in 1871. Or wheat for instance. The average farm price of wheat in the United States for the year 1874 was 94 cents a bushel, paper currency, or only 84 cents a bushel in gold. The average farm price of wheat in the United States for 1891 was 83 cents a bushel, the same in 1890, while in 1888 the average farm price of wheat in this country was 92 cents a bushel, or 6 cents a bushel higher than it was in 1874. Thus it will be seen that an unfair and false impression was tried to be created among the people by both Mr. Bryan and his followers.

Perhaps Mr. Bryan and the free silver advocates would like to know where I get my statistics. I answer them by saying they are taken direct from the United States Statistical Abstract, which deservedly ranks high as an authority.

In looking over this work I could not help wondering if "Coin" Harvey, who was shouting, and our other opponents who are shouting so loud and lustily for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and a restoration of prices, would not like to apply their cure-all to refined sugar, which was selling in 1872 at 12 3-5 cents per pound, and only 4 3-5 cents per pound in 1892, or for instance, illuminating oil was quoted in 1872 at 23½ cents a gallon, and only 5 9-10 cents per gallon in 1892. Manufacturers of bar iron in 1872 were receiving \$97.63 per ton for their product, and only \$29.96 a ton in 1894. A keg of nails cost \$5.46 in 1872, and \$1.08 in 1894. A box of window glass that cost \$3.40 in 1873, sold only at \$1.70 in 1891. A carpet that cost \$1.14 a yard in 1873, can be purchased to-day for 36 cents a yard. The steamboat transportation companies hauling wheat from Chicago to New York City, by lake and canal, were receiving a compensation in 1899 of a little more than 6½ cents a bushel, but in 1873 they were receiving 24½ cents per bushel, for every bushel they carried.

Shall Prices Be Restored.

The question is, do the people of the United States want these prices restored?

We are willing as Americans that American industries and home competition shall adjust prices, but we are not willing that prices of labor shall be adjusted in this country by American workmen entering into competition with the pauperized laborers of Europe.

From the same reliable statistics and undoubted authority we find that wages have materially advanced in this country during the last third of a century, and particularly during the McKinley administration. The increase from the old double standard wages of 1860 to those of 1890 have been no less than 58 per cent. in money, and 72 per cent. in purchasing power. This does not look very much like a falling off. Let us continue a protection that protects, and we will not only insure abundance of labor for all our people, but will guarantee that farm products generally will command good prices as at present.

I earnestly believe that "Coin" Harvey and all those who are advocating the free and unlimited coinage of Silver at the unjust and untrue ratio of 16 to 1, as a nostrum for our ills, are advocating a theory as misleading as it is wicked and unholy. No theory more false was ever advanced or calculated to more thoroughly deceive the earnest, industrious, God-fearing people of this Nation.

We have undone the free trade blunder of 1892 and we should hear no more about the mythical crime of 1873.

Protective Tariff Brought Prosperity.

A tariff that protects; reciprocity that opens up a market for our surplus articles from the American farm and the American factory; a sound currency, and the business confidence which followed were the Republican party's remedies for the unfortunate condition of bankruptcy into which the country was submerged by Democratic political stupidity.

The question is simply one of honesty or dishonesty.

Shall thrift and economy be rewarded by robbery? Shall the widow's mite and the savings deposited in the banks of this country be cut in two by changing our money to silver monometallism? Shall the billions of dollars in school bonds from all over the country, held by English and American capitalists, and payable in gold, be doubled, and a double tax fall upon the shoulders of the taxpayers of this nation? Shall the toilers of this land, the wage-earners on farm and in factory, be robbed every Saturday night of one-half of their weekly wages?

Laborers Shall Be Honestly Rewarded.

No. This blot of repudiation shall not smirch the untarnished escutcheon of American patriotism; neither shall the toiling masses receive as their reward for honest labor a "mess of depreciated silver pottage."

We are now asked to desert the old ship of state that has carried this nation through many storms, through many conflicts, and invariably anchored us in the snug harbor of safety and maintained our country on the map of the world, and added many stars to the old flag.

We are asked by these false prophets of finance to destroy this grand old ship, freighted with the hopes and ambitions of seventy millions of free American citizens; this old ship tested by time, tried by adversity, taut and trim as a May Queen and invincible as a Bessemer steel iron cladder, a ship that was launched by Washington and the patriots of 100 years ago, and piloted by such noble men as Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Hayes and McKinley.

We are asked to desert this ship of known safety, and embark in an untried craft and sail away on the turgid waters of an unknown sea. A craft steered by a free silver captain, freighted with free tradeism, and ballasted with bombs of anarchy and repudiation; a craft whose every slimy plank is reeking with condemnation whose mutinous crew are ready to scuttle her in mid-ocean; whose worthless and shoddy sails are fanned by the angry breath of high heaven; and whose nearest port is bankruptcy and perdition.

The true Solution of the former Financial Depression was along other lines, and was met by the administration of President McKinley.

Perhaps you have noticed already in this campaign that no one is quite so silent on the tariff as a Bryanized Democrat or a Populist? The impoverished condition of the country, resulting from the free trade crime of 1893, is at an end, but when we lay the skeletons at their doors they frankly confess judgment, and tell us that other questions of more vital importance are now before the people—such as silver and imperialism. But I say to you that “imperialism” is nothing more and nothing less than a dream of Bryan the pretender. There is no more similarity between commercial expansion and imperialism than there is between the dignified “hands off” policy pursued by President McKinley, when the leaders of our party were adopting the Philadelphia platform, and the sorry spectacle presented by William Jennings Bryan lashing the Kansas City convention with all the arbitrary instincts of a despot. He was the “imperialist” of that convention.

The endless chain of American Prosperity which had been broken was mended and the drawn fires from our furnaces were rekindled and the free trade smoke consumers were removed from the tall chimneys in our manufacturing districts by the passage of the Dingley Law.

A Principle Upheld by Statesmen.

It is not in any exulting spirit that we refer to a protective tariff, but rather because it is a great and underlying principle of national prosperity; a principle bequeathed to this nation by Washington, upheld by Henry Clay, fostered by Abraham Lincoln, championed by William McKinley, and supported by the reciprocity of James G. Blaine. Prior to the free trade crime of 1892 we heard nothing about a diminished gold reserve.

In those halcyon days confidence flew abroad in the land on the wings of Prosperity. This confidence we have restored.

Capital is freely invested and labor is employed at the highest wages. The gold reserve occasions no uneasiness and requires no thought. Instead of acting as an alarmist it has steadily grown, acting as a balance wheel to an ever-increasing confidence. The surplus was employed years ago in paying off the national debt; and during President Harrison's administration our national indebtedness was reduced almost as much as it was increased by the last Cleveland ad-

ministration. What happened during the last three and a half years of grace of Cleveland's last term in the White House?

The alluring and musical hum of industry was no longer heard in the land of freedom. The pendulum of time swung back and revealed to the American people the ghastly skeleton of want and forced idleness concealed in the free trade closet of a Democratic Administration.

Our great commercial institutions fell into a most deplorable and unhappy state; misery and want; with pinched and sorrowful countenances, walked hand in hand up and down by deserted workshops. The honest face of toil-blushed ashunger drove him to eat the bread of charity. The stilled wheels of industry throughout our land, and deserted and idle farms were indeed eloquent in their silence in behalf of a protective tariff. Capital that was formerly employed in manufacturing enterprises was withdrawn, while the balance of trade with other nations was frightfully against us.

England was Served.

If England had had a political party manufactured to order by the most skilled artisans of the earth, she could not have had one made that would more faithfully serve her commercial purposes than did the last Democratic Administration.

Let us briefly inquire into the cause. Take, for instance, the sheep and wool industry, which under Republican protection is a prominent one. Under the stimulus of protection, we had in this country, in 1884, 50,500,000 sheep. Then Grover Cleveland was elected president, and this was followed by the Democratic free wool indictment of 1885, known as the Mills bill. The wool growers of America became alarmed; they fattened and sold their sheep to the butchers by the millions. This slaughter continued for four years, or until General Harrison was elected to the presidency in 1888. The authentic statement shows that the number of sheep had been reduced in this country from 50,500,000 in 1884 to 41,300,000 in 1888. President Harrison's election stopped the slaughter, and under the stimulus of the McKinley law the industry gained rapidly and at the close of Mr. Harrison's administration the total number of sheep in the United States was 47,800,000. In 1892 Mr. Cleveland was again elected president. This was followed by the repeal of the McKinley law and the enactment of legislation hostile to the wool industry. During the three and a half years following the number of sheep in this country was reduced from 47,800,000 to 38,500,000, or fewer sheep than there was in this country in 1873, or at any time since the so-called crime of that year. We now have 63,121,881 sheep in the United States and wool growers are enjoying an unexampled period of prosperity. In my state of Wyoming the wool growers were receiving 6 and 7 cents per pound under the Cleveland administration. To-day they are receiving 16 and 17 cents for the wool cut from the backs of the same sheep. So much for the Democratic free wool joke on the American people.

He Talks of Wool.

Now let us talk for a few moments about the price of wool. For ten years preceding the repeal of the McKinley law, the average price of Ohio X.X. Washed wool in the Boston market was a little over 31 1-5 cents per pound. April 1, 1896,

wool was quoted in the same market at 18 cents a pound. To-day it varies at about 30 cents. Such a startling contrast in prices needs no comments. As millions of our sheep were slaughtered we were compelled to import wool and woolen textiles into this country, sending our money abroad, which should have been paid to the American farmer and sheep raiser. Instead of this we paid our money over to foreigners in exchange for wool and woolen textiles, which came into this country like a flood when the McKinley law was repealed and the duty removed. The result was that the woolen mills of America were practically all shut down and thousands upon thousands of American workmen and women were thrown out of employment, and in turn, were unable to purchase the products from the American farm. No wonder the American farmer found a ready market for his potatoes in 1892, when all our people were employed, at from 50 cents to 60 cents a bushel; and when our people were unemployed, the farm price of potatoes was from 25 cents to 30 cents a bushel. To-day it is nearly 40 cents.

Let us see what sort of a stewardship went on in this country under free trade. For the twenty-five months ending November 1, 1892, our balance of trade with other nations was in our favor to the extent of \$28,245,641. That is what the McKinley law and protection did for this country. That is what we call good business methods. Selling to other nations more than we purchased from them to the extent of \$28,245,641, or an average of \$1,129,822 per month, or \$37,660 per day. But this was only a starter. With the Dingley law we sell \$544,471,701 more than we buy each year; or an average of about \$1,500,000 a day.

What the Record was.

Now, let us look at Mr. Cleveland's record for the fifteen months ending December 1, 1895—this, you will remember, was under the Wilson bill. We find the balance of trade, instead of being in our favor, was against us to the enormous amount of \$70,494,044, or an average of \$4,699,603 per month, or \$153,653 per day. That is a pretty good-sized daily loss. That is what we call remarkably poor business methods, and so does every one who is disposed to be fair in the consideration of this question.

But why speak further of the evils of free trade, or multiply examples of the blessings of protection. The record of the three and half years of free trade was an object lesson, both impressive and eloquent. It is gratifying to note that some of the ultra free traders in 1892 were the most pronounced protectionists in 1896 and are in 1900. Many of the old-time Democrats who are proud of the traditions of their party, proud of the principles which they have cherished for so many years, are refusing to follow the platforms adopted by the degenerate Democracy of 1896 and 1900. Let us mete out justice to whom justice is due.

When the flag of our country, waving above Fort Sumter, was fired upon by the enemies of good government, thousands upon thousands of the Democrats of the North forgot their politics, shouldered their muskets and became patriots. This year of grace, 1900, when the guns of anarchy and socialism are directed against the Supreme Court of the United States and the nation's honor and credit, these same Democrats by the tens of thousands are turning from that platform of the repudiation of prosperity and the flag and are the staunchest of patriots.

Spirit of Revolution.

It cannot be denied that a spirit of wantonness and revolution prevailed at the Chicago convention, repudiation was openly advocated on the floor of the con-

vention hall and made a part of the platform adopted. The same feeling prevailed at Kansas City and the Chicago platform was reaffirmed. The red hand of anarchy ruled at Chicago, while at Kansas City Bryan was an imperialist and the supreme dictator. I wish to draw a line of demarkation, clear and distinct, between the old Simon-pure Democracy of Hamilton and Jefferson, and this new degenerate Democracy of Bryan, Tillman and Altgeld. It is true the framers of the Chicago and Kansas City platforms claim the name, but the tenants and faith are strangely at variance with the traditions and principles of the old Jeffersonian doctrine. It is not alone the volume of money which the people want, but they demand its activity in trade and commerce. This has been accomplished by protecting American industries and universal confidence has followed the passage of the Dingley law.

Great Is Confidence.

Confidence is the Shibboleth of prosperity.

Confidence that good dollars mean well paid labor.

Confidence that well paid labor means good times.

Confidence that wages paid to American workingmen will possess the same purchasing power as the best money in the civilized world.

Confidence that a pension policy, just and generous to our living heroes, has been inaugurated.

Confidence that no old soldier is to be deprived of his quarterly check without trial by judge or jury.

Confidence that the Republican party will maintain a redeemer for every silver dollar coined.

Confidence that a continuance of the Republican party in power will keep running every mill and factory in this country, without the aid or consent of any other nation or nations on the face of the earth.

Confidence that a vote for McKinley and Roosevelt is a vote for the home and the fireside.

Confidence that the dragon head monster of State Rights is not to be resurrected in this country.

Confidence that sound money and protection are the pillars of Jackin and Boaz in the temple of American honor and prosperity.

Confidence that the Supreme Court of the United States is to remain our bulwark of justice and all the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

Confidence that the honor of our flag is to be maintained in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines against fire in front and from treason at home.

Proud of Being a Republican.

I am a Republican and proud of my party's history. The history of the United States has been made rich and resplendent with victories and achievements of our party. We are proud of our nation's history from its earliest dawn down to the present, and for the valuable lessons it has taught. We would not expunge or obliterate a single line. We accept it as a whole, from Plymouth Rock to Bunker Hill, from Bunker Hill to Fort Sumter, from Fort Sumter to Appomattox, and from Appomattox to Manila Bay and Santiago down to the campaign of 1900. We dedicate crowns of laurel for the giants who have evolved the mighty principles and tenets of the Republican party—Washington and Grant, Blaine and Logan, Sherman and Garfield, Harrison and McKinley, and most of all, that gentle soul, that man of equal poise, whose peer has never lived since the days of the Blessed Galilean—Abraham Lincoln! Our history is one of greatness and sublimity. Its pages are rich with the names of orators more eloquent than a Burke, with the names of statesmen more acute than the "Iron Chancellor" and the names of warriors greater and mightier than Napoleon.

In the dark and turbulent days of the rebellion, the Republican Party, with the assistance of Democratic patriots, saved this nation, while now in the dawn of a new Century, by the living God, patriots will save and protect our Nation's honor from Bryanism and Aguin-aldoism.

Ours is the greatest nation on earth, and the possibilities of the future are almost limitless, if we make no mistake in the great principles of protection, reciprocity, a sound currency and commercial expansion, which have for their object the continuance and betterment of the conditions of the wage-earners of this land.

Marching to Greatest Victory.

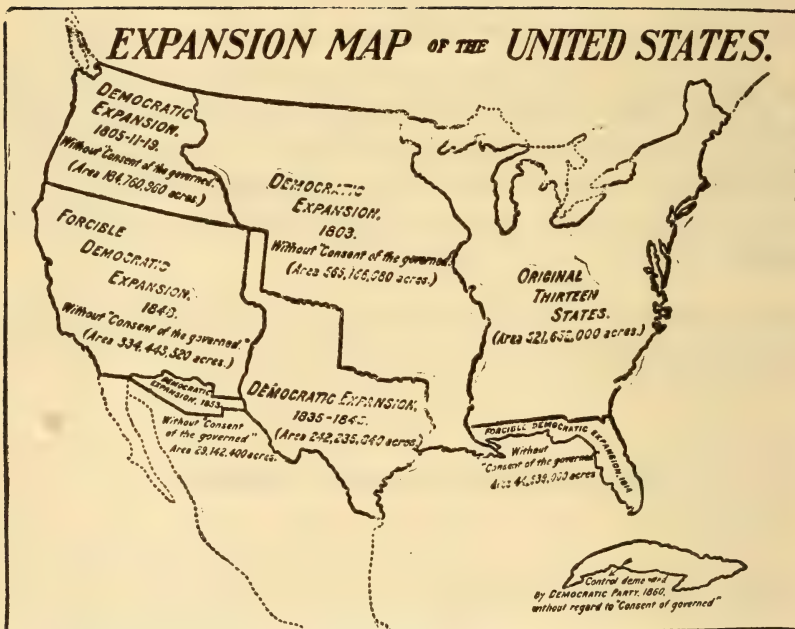
Following the leadership of our gallant standard bearer, that brave civilian soldier on the field of battle, that statesman without a peer, that friend of the toiling millions, that companion of every old soldier, that invincible leader of men, President McKinley, we are advancing proudly on to the greatest political victory of modern times. In the life of William McKinley, we find nothing but purity and ability, bravery and compassion, and I promise you that on the fourth day of next March he will be continued as president of this republic; a republic whose flag, "Old Glory," the stars and stripes, floats over seas and land, peerless and without price, the emblem of power and protection to all.

We have restored our protective system. Already it has accomplished wonders for the laborers of America, and its mission in behalf of prosperity and posterity has only commenced.

It has enabled us to perfect a system of finance that is a marvel to all nations, and has raised our credit to a place as the first country of the earth, and we are now loaning money to the people of the old world.

It has elevated the manhood of every American citizen, dignified labor, and instilled a more universal education throughout our land than can be found in any other civilized country on the face of the globe.

It has made the flag of our nation emblematic of love, liberty, protection, reciprocity, honor, and all that is great and grand in human thought.



The Filipinos.

THEIR FITNESS FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT JUDGED IN THE LIGHT OF MUCH TESTIMONY.
INDEPENDENCE WOULD BE CRIMINAL.

**Aguinaldo Meant Anarchy—He Proposed in Official Documents Wholesale Slaughter—The
Plot to Loot Manila—Bryan's Shallow Philosophy—Opinions of Those Who Have
Studied the Conditions—Striking Unanimity of Conviction That
American Authority Must Remain.**

BY HON. WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE OF INDIANA.

(An Address Delivered at English Opera House, Indianapolis, Aug. 24, 1900.)

Are the people of the Philippines capable of conducting an independent government of their own? If they are, there is strong reason for allowing them to govern themselves. If not, it would be manifestly wrong for us to promise to turn over to them a government which we know that they are incapable of administering.

For bear in mind the kind of government they ask us to acknowledge is a republic—a government of the people. Are they able to organize and maintain it? If the inhabitants of these islands are merely to be remanded to despotism, to some government in which they shall have no voice, then the argument in favor of independence fails because the complaint is that we are stifling their aspirations for liberty and self-government. Hence the question is, can the Filipinos govern themselves?

In determining this question to whom shall we apply for information? To the Anti-Imperialist who sitting in his study in Boston or Chicago or New York evolves a fiat Filipino out of his inner consciousness, or to the men who know them best, who have lived among them, studied their customs, understand their dispositions and capacities, and are familiar with their history?

SOURCES OF PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE.

For my part I prefer to apply to the highest sources of practical knowledge, to these who themselves know what self-government means and who also know the Filipinos and know whether they are capable of organizing and conducting it.

Among such people I venture to say that the opinion is all but unanimous that they are not capable of self-government or of maintaining their so-called republic. They are a semi-civilized people of a rather high type, reasonably intelligent, brave, temperate, skillful in many kinds of industry, and not often savage, al-

though they become so upon occasions and are sometimes very treacherous. Foreman, who knows them well says "that after years of faithful service a trusted native employe will sometimes rob his master or commit some horrid crime against him, betraying him into the hands of brigands, for instance." They have learned many of the arts of civilized life, but the one thing of which they have had the least experience and the smallest means of acquiring information, is self-government. A few of their leaders have received a European education. There are a few who have considerable skill in Spanish law, but liberty is absolutely unknown to them.

When America declared its independence from England we had had the benefit of centuries of experience. We were brought up in the nurture of free institutions, we had the common law, jury trial, free speech, free press, representative government, parliamentary bodies, popular education. But with not one of these things has the great mass of the Filipinos the slightest familiarity or even conception. A very few of them have had some small experience in the local affairs of their villages and towns. That is all. If we take charge of the islands it will probably be some time before we can accustom the people to even such a simple thing as jury trial. They are as incapable of forming a just conception of civil liberty as we are of understanding the institutions which prevail upon the planet Mars. How can they know it when they have never seen anything like it?

THE BEST TESTIMONY.

In stating these things I am not giving you merely my own opinion; I am stating the conclusions reached by those who know the Filipinos best. This question was one which had to be considered by the American Commissioners at the Treaty of Paris in order to determine whether the islands should be returned to Spain or should follow the rule we had declared in the case of Cuba, or should be ceded to the United States without condition.

The Commission took upon this subject the best testimony available and consulted the best authorities which had then been published. They were practically all to one effect. General Merritt submitted a large number of papers prepared by those who had made studies of the Philippine islands and their inhabitants.

The first of these papers was prepared by General Greene, who was a student of Filipino customs and institutions. His memorandum was made on the 27th of August, 1898. He says:

The Filipinos cannot govern the country without the support of some strong nation. They acknowledge this themselves and so their desire is for independence under American protection, but they have only vague ideas as to what our relative positions should be, what part we should take in collecting and expending the revenue and administering the government. * * * There are in Manila nearly two hundred thousand native Filipinos, among whom are large numbers with more or less Spanish and Chinese blood, who are men of character, education, ability and wealth. They hate the Spanish, are unfriendly toward other nations, and look only to America for assistance. They are not altogether in sympathy with Aguinaldo, fearing the entry of his army into Manila, almost as much as the Spaniards fear it. (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 374-375).

And again (p. 417):

"In point of fact self-government and representation are unknown in these islands."

And again (p. 424).

"There is no reason to believe that Aguinaldo's government has any elements of stability. * * * In the next place, Aguinaldo's government or any entirely independent government does not command the hearty support of a large body of the Filipinos, both in Manila and outside, who have property, education, and intelligence. * * * The sentiment of this class, the educated natives with property at stake, looks upon the prospect of Aguinaldo's government and forces entering Manila with almost as much dread as the foreign merchants or the Spaniards themselves. * * * Upon one point all are agreed, except possibly Aguinaldo and his immediate adherents, that is that no native government can maintain itself without the active force and protection of a strong foreign government itself. This being admitted, it is difficult to see how any foreign government can give this protection without taking such an active part in the management of affairs as is practically equivalent to governing in its own name and for its own account."

WHAT CHIEF SURGEON BOURNS SAID.

Frank S. Bourns, the chief surgeon of the American volunteers, had been in the Philippines three or more years, knew the different languages of the islanders, talked with them fluently, and General Merritt said his views were entitled to a great deal of credit. He said:

"Since my arrival, I have availed myself of every opportunity to talk with natives and half-castes, both in the insurgent territory and in Manila. I find that many of them would be perfectly willing to accept an American government, and many of them are very anxious that we should take full possession of the islands. Many others hold to the desire of the insurgent chiefs for a Philippine government under the protection of the United States. These people express themselves as being confident of their own ability to govern the islands. Many of these would not be satisfied until the experiment had been tried. I do not believe that such a government would be a success, but that the United States would ultimately have to take hold of the government. This for several reasons: First, because the only example of government ever seen by these people is that given by Spain, and they would naturally follow quite closely the methods heretofore pursued; second, lack of unity, not only among the important men here in the island of Luzon, but likewise on account of lack of union and full understanding with the various other races of the archipelago, such, for instance, as the Visayans, of the central islands; third, because of the three other elements in the islands—the uncivilized hill tribes, the Mohammedans of the South, and the Chinese residents found in all parts of the islands." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 377).

AGUINALDO AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

J. F. Bell, major of engineers, was an officer on General Merritt's staff, knew the officers of the insurgents from Aguinaldo down, and had frequent conversation with them. He says:

"Concerning the capacity of the Filipinos to govern themselves, I regret to say that I see no reason to change the opinion previously expressed, that they are unfit. I wish my opinion might be otherwise, for I prefer to believe them capable of self-government. * * * Their sense of equity and justice seems not fully developed, and their readiness to coerce those who come under their power has been strongly illustrated in this city since our occupation. A regularly organized system of blackmail has been instituted under the guise of making subscriptions to the insurgent cause. None of this money ever reaches the treasury of the so-called Filipino government, but is doubtless divided among the petty chiefs who assume to authorize subordinates to collect it. * * *

The native population of Manila are generally opposed to the insurrectionists. * * *

"There is no secretary of state, the place being kept open for one Cayetano S. Arellano, a prominent native citizen, who is said to be the best lawyer and best man among the native prominent men. He is now in Pagaanjan, and has been repeatedly sent for, but does not return, stating as an excuse that he cannot get through Santa Cruz, which is held by the Spanish. He is an avowed annexationist, and does not believe the Filipino people sufficiently advanced in the arts and laws of civilization to govern themselves." (Sen. Doc. 62, pp. 380, 381).

CHARLES T. JEWETT'S OPINION.

Charles T. Jewett, the legal adviser of the commanding general, a man well known in Indiana, states as his conclusion, from association with the native people and contact with the officers and leaders of the insurgent forces, that the people are not now fit for legal self-government or citizenship, as those terms are used in the United States, and that the insurrectionary government could not sustain itself even in the island of Luzon. (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 386).

Frederick H. Sawyer, a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, who resided in Luzon for fourteen years, visiting all the interior and Southern provinces, and made trips to many of the other islands, a man whose profession brought him into contact with all classes of the community, gave an admirable description of the Tagals, concluding as follows:

"Altogether, I consider the Tagals to be a brave, kindly, intelligent, and interesting people, worthy of a better government than they have had. At the same time they are not advanced enough to take the administration of the archipelago, nor even of Luzon, entirely into their own hands." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 555).

THE BELGIAN CONSUL AT MANILA.

It will be said that the foregoing are ex parte statements, derived from Americans who would naturally have a prejudice in favor of American government. Let us therefore take the statement of Mr. André, the Belgian consul at Manila, a wealthy man who has lived there about fourteen years. General Merritt states that reliance can be placed upon his report. He says:

"If the United States does not take these islands under their protection, the country will be utterly ruined and all the foreign merchants will leave these islands." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 386).

After giving in detail the practices of the Filipinos, he says:

"These things demonstrate that they belong to an inferior race unfitted to rule the country and that it is time that the United States should have pity on these people and show them better; that it is the duty of the United States to take the entire Philippines and protect the entire country; that even the Spanish merchants beg them for this protection." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 389).

THE CONCLUSION OF AN EXPERT.

But the most valuable and disinterested opinion given to the Commissioners was from an English resident, Mr. John Foreman, whose book on the Philippines and articles for the last few years, have been the chief source of popular information upon the subject. He had probably made a more careful study of the subject than any other person so far as was known at that time. In an article in the Contemporary Review for July, 1898, he says:

"General Aguinaldo's plan is to establish at Manila a congress to which deputies from all the principal islands will be invited. I do not hesitate to prophesy that, unless under European or American control, the schemes will end in complete failure. At first, no doubt, the islanders will welcome and co-operate in any arrangement which will rid them of monastic oppression. The Philippine Islands, however, would not remain one year peaceful under an independent native government. It is an utter impossibility. There is such racial antipathy that the Visayans would not, in this generation, submit to what they would always consider a Tagalog republic, and the Tagalogs, having procured the overthrow of the Spaniards, would naturally resent a preponderance of Visayan influence. Families there are very closely united, but as a people they have little idea of union. Who would be the electors? The masses are decidedly too ignorant to be capable of voting intelligently. The votes would be entirely controlled by cliques of landowners. * * * I entertain the firm conviction that an unprotected united republic would last only until the novelty of the situation had worn off. Then, I think, every principal island would, in turn, declare its independence. Finally, there would be complete chaos, and before that took root America, or some European nation, would probably have interfered; therefore it is better to start with protection. * * *

"A protectorate under a strong nation is just as necessary to insure good administration in the islands as to protect them against foreign attack."
(Senate Rep. Doc. 62, P. I., p. 556).

LUCY M. J. GARNETT.

Another English resident of the islands, Lucy M. J. Garnett, says in the Fortnightly Review, July, 1898, of the effort to establish a Philippine republic:

"It is, I believe, an ascertained fact that the increase of energy introduced into the Philippine native by European blood lasts only to the second generation; and, left to himself, the tendency of the mestizo is to revert to the maternal type. The native is too indolent and the hold of civilization upon him too slight ever to make anything higher than municipal self-government possible in these islands." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 602).

Then we have a letter written by G. S. Clarke, an Englishman who took part in the successful organization and control of the Straits Settlements, composed of Malays and consolidated under English rule. He wrote to Captain Mahan as follows:

"If you take a waiting station and leave the islands to stew in their own juice there will be anarchy first and a considerable annexation afterwards."
(Sen. Doc. 62, p. 631).

TESTIMONY THAT WAS UNCONTRADICTED.

This testimony was practically uncontradicted except by the dispatch of Admiral Dewey stating that the Filipino people were far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba. It will be noticed that this was not a statement upon Dewey's part that they were capable of self-government. Dewey never expressed that opinion. On the contrary he said both in the report of the Philippine Commission and elsewhere, that they are not a nation, but a variegated assemblage of different tribes and people, and that their lack of education and political experience combined with their racial and linguistic diversities disqualified them from undertaking the task of governing the archipelago at the present time.

It may be that Admiral Dewey was correct in his opinion comparing them with

the Cubans, for it is yet to be shown that the Cubans have sufficient capacity for self-government. My own impression is that the future will show that we have made a premature promise in respect to Cuba. At the present moment Cuba is quiet and the Philippines are disturbed. But five or ten years from today the reverse will be true, the Filipinos will be under an orderly government while Cuba is perhaps amid the throes of anarchy and dissension. The time will come hereafter when they will call upon us to settle their differences.

DEWEY SUPPORTED ANNEXATION.

Dewey, like the other witnesses whose statements appeared before the Commission, supported annexation and believed that we ought to take the responsibility of governing the Philippines.

THE ONLY JUST COURSE OPEN.

The evidence was therefore practically uncontradicted, the Philippines were not fit for independent government of their own. If in the face of all this evidence the President had decided to give the Filipinos independence and to "let them stew in their own juice, with anarchy first and annexation afterwards," I will ask you whether the adoption of that alternative would not have been a crime. The President did right in insisting upon an absolute cession of the islands and in keeping in our own hands the power of determining their future destiny. If he had adopted any other course he would have been false to the best interest of the islanders and to civilization itself.

But more important than any testimony given to the Commissioners at Paris was the statement of our own citizen, Prof. Dean C. Worcester of Michigan University. Prof. Worcester was a member of a scientific expedition which visited the Philippines, arriving in Manila in September, 1887, and afterwards visiting all the principal islands of the archipelago, going into the interior, and inspecting many places rarely seen by Europeans. They spent eleven months among the islands. In July, 1890, they visited the islands again, remaining there over two years and a half. Owing to the semi-official character of the expedition they had exceptional opportunities for investigation. They were thrown among all classes from the highest officials to the wildest savages. Professor Worcester had better means of judging the capacity of the inhabitants of the Philippines than any living American. His book was written before the Philippine question assumed any definite shape. In law, as we are aware, particular value attaches to testimony which is given before the controversy has arisen and which is therefore essentially impartial. In this book, on page 482, he gives his conclusion:

"With all their amiable qualities, it is not to be denied that at present the civilized natives are utterly unfit for self-government. Their universal lack of education is in itself a difficulty that cannot be speedily overcome, and there is much truth in the statement of a priest who said of them that 'in many things they are big children who must be treated like little ones.'"

I insist that this sentence contains the highest evidence now accessible to the American people in regard to the capacity of the Philippines for self-government. The conclusion is confirmed by the maturer opinion of Professor Worcester, after he had been appointed one of the Philippine commissioners and had made a thorough investigation of the political condition of the islands and the capacity of the

people for self-government. It ought to convince any impartial man that we have no right to leave the Philippines unaided to their own destiny or promise them an independence which we know they are incapable of enjoying.

WHAT F. F. HILDER WROTE.

In an article in the Forum for August, 1900, by F. F. Hilder, who is familiar with the Philippines, having twice visited the islands, from which he has recently returned, we find the following:

"The Filipinos as a whole are certainly not at present capable of establishing and maintaining an independent government."

RESIDENTS AGAINST INDEPENDENCE.

Senator Beveridge gave us the results of conversations which he had held with people in all walks of life, foreign merchants, priests, mestizos, pure Filipinos, and every variety of men, character and opinion from San Fernando, in Luzon, on down through the entire archipelago to the interior of Sulu. These conversations were informal, on journeys and the like, and always under conditions favorable to frankness.

Let me cite a few of them.

One of the principal merchants in the Philippines said:

"The people are incapable of self-government. The few exceptions are no examples of the masses. For years to come a very strong government will be necessary."

Another said:

"I think it folly to talk of giving the natives any part in the government; they are incapable. * * * Any but a strong government at first will result in disorder."

An eminent doctor in the Philippines said:

"Self-government is out of the question."

An eminent scientist:

"It will take a long time to prepare the people for self-government."

A gentleman connected with the railroad service:

"If they were given self-government business would almost disappear until some European power took the matter in hand."

One of the large planters of Luzon, a pure Filipino with intimate relations with the insurgents, said:

"They do not know anything about government except what Spain gave them, which was most corrupt."

A pure Filipino, a physician, a man of wealth in the interior of Luzon, says:

"They probably do not know what they want. They are incapable of self-government. My people are not a bad people; they don't understand, they are children yet."

The principal British merchant of Iloilo said:

"They are capable of self-government in municipal matters, further than that I think it not safe to go at present. The common people probably do not understand the meaning of self-government as we do."

Another British merchant in Iloilo said:

"Don't indulge in any nonsense about self-government. It is out of the question at present at least."

A highly educated Spanish mestizo, employed in Iloilo:

"I do not believe that the mass of the people are at all fitted for self-government now and will not be for a long time."

A rich planter of Panay, pure Filipino, said:

"The people are at present incapable of self-government though they might be entrusted with purely municipal affairs."

A prominent Spanish mestizo of Negros said:

"The people are not capable of self-government in the archipelago. It is well, though, to trust them with municipal administration, provided, however, that everything is under your final supervision."

A pure Filipino, a large planter of Negros, said:

"I should say that not over three or four per cent of them are capable of self-government or in any sense understand the term."

A large planter of Negros, claiming to be pure Filipino, but with some Chinese blood, said:

"I have from 1,000 to 1,500 men working for me. Of this number all are capable of self-government. Would they vote as I wish? Most assuredly they would. What would I do if any man spoke against or criticised the government? Why, any one rising against the government would be tried and shot, if condemned."

A prominent Filipino of Cebu said:

"Very few are capable of self-government now."

An American planter of Panay:

"The people are not capable of self-government. You had better beware of giving them too much than too little."

Pablo Majia, a pure Filipino, rich, able and honest, who was afterwards stabbed to death in Cebu:

"I am sorry to say that very few of our population are capable of self-government."

A doctor of Cebu, who has lived among the Filipinos twenty-five years, an able man, said:

"These people are incapable of self-government; that ought to be apparent to any thoughtful person. They are strangely childish. They do not themselves understand clearly what they are fighting for."

A gentleman living in Cebu, who had spent his entire life in various tropical countries, said:

"Self-government for the archipelago would be a hideous mistake. They are utterly incapable of participating in government. * * * Government of the archipelago by natives would mean continuous civil war."

Senator Beveridge, after the murder of Majia, very properly declined to give the names of his informants, lest they should suffer a like fate.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS' EVIDENCE.

The strongest evidence urged by the Anti-Imperialists against this overwhelming current of testimony is the report of Leonard R. Sargent, who in October and November, 1898, visited the northern part of Luzon in company with Paymaster Willcox. His report says that at that time good order was observed in the places he visited, that there were evidences of intelligence and refinement. He describes the receptions and balls given in their honor and the desire of the people for independence, states that he noticed no signs of ill treatment among the Spanish prisoners, describes the turning over of the town of Aparri from military

to civil authority, speaks of the extreme ignorance of the poor classes, the limited information of the upper classes and the desire of all for more education.

Mr. Sargent undoubtedly conceived favorable notions of the Filipinos, but in two provinces, Ilocas Sur, and Union, he found the officers very domineering. "When an accident happened to our carriage, the officer commanding our guard called to our assistance every native within sight. When they did not answer his call promptly we have seen him strike them with his riding whip. One man had a serious wound on his face where an officer had struck him with his pistol butt. He came to us for redress after having appealed in vain to the military officer in command of the town. In these provinces there were signs of actual discontent with the existing state of things."

Mr. Sargent found that the natives had been prejudiced against Americans by the Spaniards, that they had received remarkable information upon two points: "First: That we have mercilessly slain and finally exterminated the race of Indians that were native to our soil and that we went to war in 1861 to suppress an insurrection of negro slaves whom we also ended by exterminating! Intelligent and well informed men have believed these charges. They were rehearsed to us in many towns in different provinces beginning at Malolos."

At that time Aguinaldo himself refused passports to Willcox and Sargent on the ground that there was an attempt to stir up an insurrection in the Northern provinces and that if that should happen he might not be able to provide for their safety!

FILIPINO INCAPACITY FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

There are other matters that show the incapacity of the Filipinos for self-government. While for a long time the Filipinos generally abstained from acts of barbarity and the prisoners in their hands were generally treated with kindness, when at last the American forces landed and prepared to capture Manila, a different spirit prevailed. The Filipino soldiers had received no pay and hopes were held out to them that they should have their reward in the general looting of the Philippine capital.

The fact that Aguinaldo intended to deliver this great capital to plunder appears from many sources.

General Greene says in his memorandum:

"They receive no pay and are held together by the hope of booty when they enter Manila." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 375.)

Chief Surgeon Bourns:

"At the present it is my opinion that these chieftains find themselves in a difficult position on account of the promises made to their followers in regard to looting Manila, said promises being so far unfulfilled." (Sen. Doc. 62, p. 377.)

J. F. Bell, major of the engineers, says:

"There is a regularly organized system of blackmail under the guise of making subscriptions to the insurgent cause. None of this money ever reaches the treasury of the so-called Filipino government and is doubtless divided among the petty chiefs who assume to authorize subordinates to collect it. The Filipinos themselves living in the outskirts of the city are daily terrorized and interfered with by small bands of marauding insurgents who molest them for no other purpose than the accumulation of booty."

More than this, however, we have official evidence in a memorandum drawn up

1898. The fourth clause of which was as follows:

"The sacrifices that we have made in contribution to the siege and capture of Manila being notorious it is just that we should have a part in the booty of war." (Rep. Major General commanding army. Part 2, p. 344.)

On the 8th of September, General Otis wrote to Aguinaldo in reference to this demand. He said:

"Your forces, you say in substance should have a share in the booty resulting from the conquest of the city on account of the hardships endured and assistance rendered."

And he explains that our government has never recognized the existence of spoils of war and he concludes:

"My troops cannot acquire booty or any individual benefit by reason of the capture of an enemy's territory." (Rep. Gen. Otis, p. 8.)

A PLOT TO BURN AND MASSACRE.

Not only was it Aguinaldo's design to allow Manila to be looted by his soldiers, but at a later period he organized a plot for an uprising in Manila to burn the town and massacre all the inhabitants, the plans for which are now in our possession. In respect to this General Otis reports as follows:

"On February 15 the provost-marshal-general secured an order issued by the Malolos government through the responsible officer who had raised and organized the hostile inhabitants within the city and then departed for the insurgent capital, which directed a rising that evening and which for barbarous intent is unequaled in these modern times of civilized warfare. A translation reads in part as follows:

"First. You will so dispose that at 8 o'clock at night the individuals of the territorial militia at your order will be found united in all the streets of San Pedro armed with their "bolos" and revolvers and guns and ammunition, if convenient.

"Second. Philippine families only will be respected. They should not be molested, but all other individuals, of whatever race they may be will be exterminated without any compassion after the extermination of the army of occupation. * * *

"Of course arrangements were made to immediately check this demonstration. * * * This fortunate precaution served to keep very active the watchfulness of all officers charged with the safety of the city, and vigilance was rewarded on the night of Feb. 22, when a directed rising was attempted and was successful in its inception and primary stages. Considerable numbers of armed insurgents, passing by water and through swamps around McArthur's left entered Tondo, the northern district of the city, about a mile to the rear of his line, and there concealed themselves, awaiting their opportunity. Shortly after dark in the evening a number of buildings, some of considerable importance, situated in the thickly settled portion of Binondo, were simultaneously fired, having been previously kerosened, and while the city fire department (a department the membership of which was confined to natives who had always proved loyal) was making great efforts to extinguish the fires, or at least hold them under control, the fire hose was repeatedly cut and musketry shooting commenced very near them at the north, on the Tondo and Binondo line." (Report Gen. Otis, p. 169.)

AGUINALDO WAS RESPONSIBLE.

Lest it may be said that Aguinaldo was not responsible for this cruel order, let us examine what has been his subsequent conduct.

In June of the present year the Secret Service Department under Lieutenant Trowbridge came upon an insurgent recruiting office where in the cupboard a quantity of papers were discovered of recent date, the latest being dated June 7. They consisted of orders and letters from Aguinaldo. One contained the details of a plot to excite an uprising in Manila. Another contained the following words regarding the Filipinos:

"Let us continue as a thorn in the side of our oppressors and stick where we dare, sparing neither men, women, children nor old people." (Indianapolis Journal, July 22, 1900.)

This was not an act done in passion. It was not the act of some irresponsible subordinate. It is the written declaration of the President of a so-called republic, deliberately proposing a wholesale slaughter of the innocent. Is the so-called republic established by this man capable of maintaining free institutions?

Professor Worcester says in an article in Harper's Weekly:

"When I left Manila the province of Batangas was overrun with robbers and cut-throats. No attempt was being made to bring criminals to justice. The schools were abandoned. The people had been forced to furnish large 'war contributions,' and many of them were ruined. Some who were unwilling to contribute had been buried alive; others had had their hands hacked off. In several of the larger cities the individual houses were intrenched, so that their owners might defend themselves against their neighbors. The military governor of the province, a Tagalog, and an insurgent, but an honest man withal, had characterized the condition that existed as 'complete anarchy,' and had repeatedly sent word to Manila that he was ready to surrender and help us in the restoration of order, if we would only send a small force there. In Cavite Province insurgent troops had robbed the inhabitants of Paranaque, Laspinas, and Bacoor before retreating and had left them literally starving, so that it was necessary for us to provide them with food. At Bacoor insurgent soldiers had fired into houses filled with defenceless women and had then broken in and robbed them, searching their persons for concealed jewelry. The unarmed natives throughout the province called their troops by the name ordinarily applied to the mythical being popularly believed to breed cholera. General Noriel was refusing to obey the orders of his superior General Trias, and had set up a regular seraglio. Many of his soldiers were following his example, both in disobedience and licentiousness. The natives of Bulacan were begging for firearms to defend themselves against robbers. The Bicol, of southern Luzon, had attacked the Tagalogs at several points and were asking for help from us.

"In some of the other islands conditions were even worse. Early in the revolt Tomas Aguinaldo, a cousin of Emilio Aguinaldo, and an insurgent official, had gone to the west coast of Mindoro, and had there organized a genuine piratical expedition. He had then coolly plundered the inhabitants of the Calamianes Islands, Masbate, Sibuyan, and Romblon, and had returned to Mindoro with his booty.

"The Tagalog General Lucban had extorted a 'war contribution' of \$200,000 from the peaceable Visayans of Samar and Leyte, and had put it into his pocket. The insurgents and the Moros had been fighting each other at Zamboanga in Mindanao. The Visayans of North Panay, who a few months before had been ready to die for independence, had sent word that they would welcome the Americans, the Russians, the Turks, the Chinese, or any one who would rid them of the Tagalogs.

"I could add illustrations indefinitely, but to briefly sum up the case the insurgent government, even within Tagalog territory, had failed to administer justly, protect life and property, provide for public education, and just taxation, and satisfactorily perform any of the legitimate functions of government."

It must be borne in mind that these acts were committed not against their American "oppressors," but against their own people. They were not caused by disorders introduced by our armies, but were the result of the so-called Filipino independence. Have we a right to turn over the islands to such a future?

BRYAN'S PHILOSOPHY.

In answer to this overwhelming mass of authority what does Mr. Bryan say?

"There are degrees of proficiency in the art of self-government, but it is a reflection upon the Creator to say that He denied to any people the capacity of self-government."

What shallow philosophy is this? Has he not denied it to individuals? Did not God create the imbecile and the madman? Did He not also send children to brighten our lives, and did He give to these the capacity of self-government? The same Providence that brought us helpless into the world has also created the child nations of mankind. And the child nation is like the infant. It must be led and guided and controlled until it comes to man's estate. Then if it be of sound mind and understanding it may rule itself. If not, it must still be led and governed by those who are.

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN.

It is perfectly evident as a practical fact that there are some peoples who are not able to govern themselves. The North American Indians when left alone lived in a state of constant war with each other, and long before the white man came to their shores they were in process of extermination. The Iroquois had destroyed the Hurons and the population, sparse as it was, was gradually becoming extinct. The great races of the dark continent were most of them equally incapable of self-government. Some of the Central American republics are to-day the prey of constantly recurring disorders. Every few weeks we hear of some new revolution. Neither life nor property is safe. Progress is impossible and in many places the people are relapsing into a condition little better than barbarism.

Now, I say, it would be wrong in us to put the Philippines back into a condition where they would permanently become the prey to such disorders. We had better have the fight now and have it over and have a stable and progressive government there, which will last, than make the promise of independence to-day and sow the seed of anarchy and discord for generations to come.

The Democratic platform itself concedes in a way that the Filipinos are incapable of proper self-government, for it says "The Filipinos cannot be citizens without injuring our civilization." If that be so it must be because they are incapable of being good citizens. If that be the fact, are they able to establish a republic?

If any explanation were needed of the Democratic platform regarding the capability of the Filipinos for self-government, it is furnished by Mr. Bryan, the candidate, in an interview at Minneapolis. He says:

"Wherever there is a people intelligent enough to form a part of this republic, it is my belief that they should be taken in. Wherever there is a people who are capable of having a voice and a representation in this government, there the limits of the republic may be extended. The Filipinos are not such people."

UNANIMITY IN CONCLUSION.

It is a marvel how the men who have gone to the Philippines for the purpose of examining political conditions have been converted to the belief that the U. S. ought to keep the islands. The President of the Philippine Commission, Mr. Schurman, when McKinley appointed him, was unfavorable to annexation. This was no objection on the part of the President, for he was appointed to study the conditions of the islands upon the ground. His conclusion is that the people are now incapable of self-government and that annexation is inevitable and desirable. Prof. Worcester also entertained great doubts about the propriety of keeping the Philippines, but he, too, concurs in the conclusion. Bishop Potter, a very strong anti-imperialist, went to the islands to study the subject and comes back convinced that there is no other course for us to pursue than to keep them. The men who were relied upon most strongly by the anti-imperialists at the beginning of the controversy, such as Dewey, tell us that they are not capable of establishing a republic and that we should not withdraw. Mr. Halstead, Senator Beveridge, Colonel Denby, these men have always been annexationists and their views have been confirmed by their examination of the question upon the ground.

The only men who oppose this general current of opinion are a few subordinates, whose view of the situation is necessarily limited; they are either men "who do not want their names known," or men of whom no one ever heard before. And most emphatic of all are the men who have studied the question from the longest range and have remained away altogether.

The last report of the Philippine Commission, of which Mr. Schurman was president, gives the most conclusive evidence regarding the capacity of the natives for self-government. The Commission, in its interview with Colonel Arguelles, the envoy sent by Aguinaldo, told him that independence was, in their opinion, at present impossible.

"Arguelles said they were beginning to realize this fact; that moreover, no nation had been willing to recognize them as independent or as belligerent; and thereupon he stated that he was authorized to say, on behalf of Aguinaldo, that they were not fighting for the sovereignty of the islands, but for the honor of the army. Being asked, 'You accept, then, the sovereignty of the United States?' he replied, 'Yes, we do.' Being asked if he was duly authorized to make that statement also, he replied that he was."

Shortly after this interview, however, General Luna arrested Arguelles, who was charged with having become imbued with American ideas and favoring peace, and he was expelled from the army and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

The Commission, in its report, gives a list of three separate races inhabiting the Philippines, Negritos, Indonesians and Malaysians. Of these there are 84 different tribes, the Visayans being the most numerous, containing 2,600,000; the Tagalogs next with 1,600,000; the Bicoles next with 500,000; the Ilocanos next with 441,000, and so on.

In Luzon alone there are six civilized tribes, as well as numerous wild tribes, and throughout the islands there is no feeling of national unity.

From these facts the Commission draws the irresistible conclusion that the Filipinos do not constitute "a nation."

EDUCATION FIRST.

Next the report shows the deplorable lack of even the simplest elements of education. The Spanish regulations provided that there should be one teacher for every 2,500 inhabitants, but in point of fact there was less than one teacher for each four thousand inhabitants, and of the larger towns like Albay, Argao, Batangas, Calbayog and others, containing a population of over 40,000 each, had only one male and one female teacher. Yet education in the Philippines has been compared with that in Massachusetts, where there is one teacher in the public schools for each 189 inhabitants! Instruction was limited to Christian doctrine and morality, reading, writing, arithmetic, Spanish geography and Spanish history, agriculture, deportment, music. This was the entire curriculum of the very highest primary schools. There were no maps, no charts. The only history ever taught was that of Spain. Instruction in practical agriculture was a farce. A room in the house of the schoolmaster often served in lieu of a schoolhouse, while the lack of text-books, blackboards and even of writing materials made it necessary that most of the instruction should be oral. The compensation for the teachers averaged about \$12 a month for the men and \$7 for the women, and persons with sufficient education could not afford to practise the profession. The total amount expended on public education outside of Manila was less than \$40,000. It is not hard to understand how far this would go with a population of more than eight millions. The fitness of any people to maintain a popular government depends upon the prevalence of knowledge and enlightenment among the masses. Is it not evident to any thinking man that the proper order of development is *education first* and then self-government?

The Commission furnish an interesting series of recommendations as to educational measures to be adopted. Shall these measures attain fruition or shall they be blighted in the bud by the granting of premature independence?

THE QUESTION OF INDEPENDENCE.

The Commission in its final report thus referred to the question of independence:

"While the peoples of the Philippine Islands ardently desire a full measure of rights and liberties, they do not, in the opinion of the Commission, generally desire independence. Hundreds of witnesses testified on this subject to the Commission and its individual members, and, though they represented all possible varieties of opinion—many of them being in sympathy with the insurgents—they were uniform in their testimony that, in view of the ignorance and political inexperience of the masses of the people, the multiplicity of languages, the divergencies of culture and mode of life, and the obstacles to intercommunication, an independent sovereign Philippine state was at the present time neither possible nor desirable, even if its poverty and internal weakness and lack of coherence would not invite, and the dissatisfaction of aliens entail, the intervention of foreign powers with the inevitable result of the division of the archipelago among them and the disappearance forever of the dream and hope of a united and self-governing Philippine commonwealth. The Philippine Islands, even the most patriotic declare, cannot at the present time stand alone. They need the tutelage and protection of the United States. But they need it in order that in due time they may, in their opinion, become self-governing and independent. For it would be a misrepresentation of facts not to report that ultimate independence—independence

after an undeffined period of American training—is the aspiration and goal of the intelligent Filipinos who to-day so strenuously oppose the suggestion of independence at the present time.

If the foregoing statements regarding the attitude of the Filipinos toward independence seem to be in contradiction with the fact that some Filipinos are now engaged in resisting the sovereignty of the United States, it should be recalled that the Tagalog insurrection is an inheritance from Spain, and that if the idea of independence is now one of its animating forces it had originally no place in the movement and that it is to-day a much weaker force than the selfish ambitions of leaders who deceive the misguided people or than that distrust and hatred of the white race which has been engendered in them by three centuries of experience with the only branch of it they have ever known. The Tagalog leaders also appreciate the value in foreign markets of the idea of independence as a justification of rebellion; but it is not that idea which secured them soldiers, or munitions of war, or tributes from other provinces, but the strong hand of force coupled with persistent misrepresentations of the purposes and objects of the American Government, for the dissemination of which both circumstances and the native suspicion of the white man were peculiarly favorable. Nor can it with any propriety be said that an insurrection confined to Tagalogs—who, if all are included, number 1,600,000 souls—has for its object the independence of the peoples of the Philippine Islands, who number about 8,000,000. (Rep. Phil. Com., pp. 82, 83.)

THE DEMOCRATIC POSITION IMPOSSIBLE.

As to the proposal to promise independence and a protectorate at the present time (which is the proposition now adopted by the Democratic party) the Commission say:

“The idea of a protectorate entertained by the insurgent leaders under which they should enjoy all the powers of an independent sovereign government, and the Americans should assume all obligations to foreign nations for their good use of those powers, would create an impossible situation for the United States. Internal dominion and external responsibility must go hand in hand. Under the chimerical scheme of protection cherished by Aguinaldo, if a foreigner lost his life or property through a miscarriage of justice in a Philippine court or in consequence of a governor's failure to suppress a riot, then the United States would be responsible for indemnity to the foreigner's government, though without possessing the power of punishing the offenders, of preventing such maladministration, or of protecting itself against similar occurrences in the future. Nor could the liability to foreign nations be reduced without permitting them directly to seek redress, and such a course would, it is to be feared, speedily lead to the appropriation of the Philippine Islands by the great powers, who would not need to seek far for pretenses for intervention.

It is, of course, a quite different proposal to relinquish sovereignty over the Philippine Islands as soon as the Filipinos are capable of governing themselves. So far as such a policy rests upon conceptions of American duty, convenience, or expediency, it does not fall to this Commission to consider it. But, from the point of view of the Philippines, it is proper and, indeed, imperative to observe that, in the opinion of the Commission, the consideration of that proposal must be qualified by two conditions: First, *it is impossible, even approximately, to fix a time for the withdrawal of American sovereignty over the archipelago*, as no one can foresee when the diverse peoples of the Philippine Islands may be molded together into a nationality capable of exercising all the functions of independent self-government. They are certainly incapable of such a work to-day; whether in one or more generations they can be trained to it only the future can disclose. And, secondly, if American sovereignty over the archipelago should ever be relinquished, if all American authority over the people should ever cease and

determine, then the United States should renounce all obligations to foreign nations for the good conduct of the Filipinos. Undoubtedly the raising of the American flag in the Philippine Islands has entailed great responsibilities upon us; but to guarantee external protection while renouncing internal dominion is no way of escaping from them; on the contrary, while you pull down the flag you only pile up difficulties." (Rep. Phil. Commission, p. 103.)

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT OUTLINED.

In their report, the Philippine Commission outline a system of government for the islands modeled upon the territorial government established by Thomas Jefferson for Louisiana, but giving to the Filipino people a far larger share of representation and self-government. A strong central administration is provided for and civil service reform methods are to be introduced.

Who can doubt that the condition of the islands will be far better after an experience under such a government than if they are promised independence at a time when they are wholly incapable of maintaining it?

The men who signed the report of this Commission were appointed by President McKinley on account of their eminent qualifications for the task. Mr. Schurman, President of Cornell University, one of our foremost educators, Minister Denby, a skilful diplomat, eminently qualified by experience to solve the difficult questions arising in the East, Professor Worcester, the one American who understood from previous knowledge the practical capabilities and needs of the inhabitants of the islands. These were the civilian commissioners to whom were joined Dewey, the Admiral of our navy, and Otis, the Commander of our troops. Could any commissioners be chosen better qualified to pass intelligently upon the problems before them? Could any be chosen more disinterested, more unbiased, whose conclusions would be more reliable? All are agreed in their conclusions that annexation is inevitable, all are agreed as to the best manner of governing the islands, and their conclusions ought to be accepted by the American people. There was no politics in their appointment. It was controlled by a beneficent desire to do what was best for the natives of the islands as well as for our own republic.

Another Commission has now been sent for the purpose of establishing a civil government. Judge Taft of Cincinnati is the President of this Commission. I do not believe a man in America could be chosen who ought to command any greater confidence for a task—a profound jurist, a man of lofty aims and purposes and of excellent judgment. He is the worthy President of a Commission as well qualified for its task as that which preceded it. They are now at work establishing a system of government. Shall we interfere with this course of beneficent constructive legislation and throw back into anarchy the islands which we have agreed to protect by promising independence to a people who are as yet incapable of enjoying it? Let us leave that promise until the time comes, if it should come at all, when the Filipinos shall be educated to man's estate, and qualified to assume the responsibilities of government, when they can determine intelligently whether they prefer to remain under our dominion or to embark upon an independent career.



BRYAN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PHILIPPINES.

BY THE HON. CHARLES DENBY, OF INDIANA,

Ex-United States Minister to China, and Member of the First Commission to the Philippines—a Life-long Democrat.

In his speech of April 17th, 1900, in the Senate, Mr. Hoar said that he could not forget that Mr. Bryan, "unless he is much misrepresented, used all his power and influence with those of his friends who are ready to listen to his counsels to secure the ratification of the treaty," meaning the Paris treaty.

There were seventeen Democratic Senators who voted for the ratification. A two-thirds majority was necessary. The treaty was ratified by one vote.

Mr. Bryan has squarely assumed the responsibility of the ratification.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Bryan meets this question in the only way that he could have met it. His language is: "I was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty * * ." Thus Mr. Bryan endorses the doctrine that a politician has the right to do evil in order that good may come. The end justifies the means. In morals this position is unsound.

We had taken Manila on August 13th, 1898. In December, 1898, Spain had made a treaty ceding the islands to us. We had occupied them until February 5th, 1899. On that day Aguinaldo made war on us. Our soldiers had to fight for their lives. The treaty was ratified on February 7th, 1899. Mr. Bryan advised his friends in the Senate to vote to ratify the treaty after the battle of February 5th had been fought. He knew that war had begun. He might readily have foreseen what complications might possibly occur out of the existing conditions. Then was the time to have talked about the "consent of the governed," and not now, when every speech he makes adds ten names to the roll of our dead, and one hundred to the Filipino dead.

If Mr. Bryan's plea were filed in the courts, the judges would hold it bad, on the doctrine of estoppel. If a man fails to tell the truth when he ought to have told it, and the position of another person would be in-

juriously affected by permitting him to tell thereafter what he alleges to be true, his mouth is sealed by the law. For instance, if you stand by at an auction sale, and see another person buy your horse, and pay for it without disclosing your title, you are estopped to claim the horse, though your title to it might have been good if you had asserted it at the proper time.

Mr. Bryan having the undoubted power to prevent the ratification of the treaty, actually, by his own confession, advised its ratification. Neither in law, nor in morals, can he be permitted now to secure political advantage from denouncing a course of conduct which he himself advised.

Surely, if a great political leader goes before the country and counsels that a certain law be passed, or a solemn treaty be ratified, an indignant public will not listen to him patiently when he afterwards denounces the adoption of the line of policy which he himself urged. All may be fair in love and war, but no public man has openly avowed that all is fair in politics. However violent the presumption may be, it is still presumed, *prima facie*, that political battles are waged on principle, and not on fraud and trickery.

I do not accuse Mr. Bryan of favoring the adoption of the treaty of Paris for the sake of securing a political advantage, but if he really believed the treaty was bad because it conveyed to us the title to the Philippines, surely the plainer and more honorable course would have been to have opposed its ratification. What he says as to his reasons for his conduct is: "I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation."

This sounds very well indeed, and puts Mr. Bryan in the attitude of desiring independence for the Filipinos very ardently. What were the Filipinos to him, or he to them? Why should he so ardently desire that they should be spared the disgrace of becoming citizens of our great Republic? Why become so suddenly imbued with antagonism to the Democratic principle of expansion as exemplified by all Democratic statesmen from Jefferson to Voorhees? If he could stand the annexation of Hawaii, why balk at the acquisition of the Philippines?

Mr. Bryan is not slow in giving us in his own words the reason for his conduct. He does not wait long to show the cloven foot. His own explanation is as follows:

"I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected."

Here, then, we have the real reason for this strange parody of Jekyll and Hyde! He wanted to create the bogey of "imperialism," in order that he might fight and overcome the monster! If the treaty had not been ratified there would have been no "imperialism," and Mr. Bryan would have failed to secure an antagonist worthy of his splendid oratory. How simple it all seems, now that he has explained it! If Mr. Bryan had opposed the ratification of the treaty the Filipinos would have gone their way, either into the arms of Spain, or of Germany, or into discordant and warring petty states. At all events we would have been done with them. This would not have suited at all, because Mr. Bryan wanted to wage "a successful contest against imperialism."

As Hawaii had already come peacefully under our rule no imperialism could be predicated on her accession. It was necessary that the two-headed giant should be created before "Jack the Giant-Killer" could overcome him; and so imperialism was born, and its actual father was William Jennings Bryan! He is now endeavoring to destroy his own child.

Mr. Bryan favors "the right kind of expansion," but he does not favor the acquisition of the Philippines. Why, in the name of common honesty, did he not say so when the Senate was discussing the ratification of the treaty? Then was the time for him to speak, or to forever after hold his peace. Let it be remembered that this extraordinary dread of "imperialistic rule" comes from a gentleman who has accepted the nomination of the fusion Populists' or People's party. It is presumed that he is bound in honor to carry out the principles of each one of the three parties of which he is the nominee. The Populist platform demands that "The country should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people." Is not that imperialism?

If imperialism means that our own liberties are in danger, the allegation that William McKinley stands for it should be laughed to scorn in every audience where it is advanced. It is an insult to the intelligence of the American people that a party orator should occupy himself in endeavoring to show that the citizens of this Republic are in danger of being enslaved. This is ammunition that has already been fired.

During General Grant's incumbency of the Presidency we heard all this fiery eloquence. It was prophesied time and again that he would never leave the White House except feet foremost; yet he quietly walked out, as all his predecessors had done.

As long as the Union exists no danger of despotism will ever come to this people.

When, if ever, we are divided up into petty provinces, a strong ruler may seize the helm of state in some of them, but as long as forty-five united sovereign states exist, our liberties are secure. Webster said long ago, "Liberty and union, one and inseparable." McKinley fought to save that Union, and he will fight, if need be, to save our liberties.

All the contest now, apparently, is to show not that the Filipinos will be injured by annexation to our country, but that we ourselves will thereby lose our liberties. Even if we intended to hold the Philippines in subjection would it follow that we would be slaves? In olden times did the Southerner who held slaves cease to be a freeman? Today, while he announces that he will kill the negroes, and bulldoze them, and drive them from the polls, and while he is endeavoring by ingenious application of constitutional law to disfranchise them, is his own liberty for these reasons in danger? We all know that it is not.

In the course of President McKinley towards the Philippines not an act can be found which indicates that he has ever intended to treat them otherwise than to secure for them the greatest measure of liberty until Congress should decide what their status was to be—as the treaty provides it shall do. He did not vacate the islands on the order of Aguinaldo. As the executive he he was bound to hold them, "although the land was sowed with dragons' teeth which were destined to spring up armed men." He had no more right to give up the the territory, which had been bought at the instance and request of Mr. Bryan, than Bryan has at this moment.

The land is red now with the blood of Lawton, Egbert, Stotzenberg, Logan and many of their comrades. It has become sacred soil for us—but sentiment apart, potent as it is with patriotic people—let some one indicate what the President has done that he ought not to have done, or what he he has failed to do that he ought to have done.

In January, 1899, he appointed a commission to go to the Philippines with instructions "to secure, with the

least possible delay, the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants." The commission was instructed to make every effort "to alleviate the burden of taxation, to establish industrial and commercial prosperity, and to provide for the safety of persons, and of property, by such means as may be found conducive to these ends."

The commissioners were instructed "to ascertain what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants and what improvements in public order may be practicable," and for this purpose they were directed to study attentively the existing social and political status of the various populations. In the instructions to the commission the President expressed the desire "that in all their relations with the inhabitants of the islands the commissioners exercise due respect for all the ideals, customs and institutions of the tribes which compose the population, emphasizing upon all occasions the just and beneficent intentions of the government of the United States."

Upon arriving at Manila the commission issued a proclamation, which was signed by the three civil members and by Admiral Dewey and General Otis, in which every guarantee of civil and religious freedom was offered. The proclamation stated that "the most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people, which is reconcilable to the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States." It is stated that the civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent, religious freedom was assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law. It denounced any exploitation of the islands, and guaranteed to the people an honest and effective civil service in which to the fullest extent practicable natives should be employed. It promised reforms of education and the effective administration of justice, and it announced that "the purpose of the American government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people."

In issuing this proclamation the commission was acting under orders and instructions of the President. There was not a hint of "imperialism," but, on the contrary, local self-government in all respects as complete as we enjoy was offered. All these good offers fell idly on the ear of Aguinaldo. He insisted on independence. The commission could not promise that, because the

President, for whom it acted, had no power to give away the territory of the United States.

Another commission was sent to establish a civil government for the Philippines. It is now at Manila, and the government it has framed will be put in operation the 1st of September, 1900. It cannot be treated of here, because this article had to be prepared before the text of the new government could reach the writer. Is it not fair and right to ask that it be tested in practice before it is condemned?

I suppose it is idle, in the present excited state of public feeling, to argue with the Democrats that their avowed policy is enhancing ten-fold the difficulties which confront us in pacifying the islands. One cannot, however, avoid regretting that so many of our people are encouraging and inflaming the Tagalos to resistance.

Resistance means death to many of our soldiers, and to many Tagalos as well.

It is believed by the insurgents that Bryan's election will insure their independence, and they are encouraged to hold out. The success of the Democratic party means success for them. If the Tagalos quit fighting and take the oath of allegiance, on that moment the "paramount issue" is dead, and so is Democracy. In this contest the Democrats stake their all on the continuance of fighting. It strikes one as odd that a great party should base its hopes of success on the killing and wounding of our troops. Will not a flame of patriotism rise up over the land, which will testify that, at all hazards, we will stand by the flag, that come what may, we will not turn our backs on the Philippines, a disgraced and dishonored nation?

What we may do with the Philippines ultimately is not the question now. If a man believes that they should be independent, this is not the time to urge that solution. As well might the dissolution of the ties between India and England have been advanced as a remedy, when the massacre of Cawnpore took place. As well might our troops have been withdrawn from China while our Minister was imprisoned. The Democratic platform on this subject reads as follows:

"We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America."

In the list of things to be done first comes "a stable

form of Government." We are trying to give them that now. If we retain them, the third clause, "protection" will necessarily follow. Why, if we do not retain them, we should burden ourselves with protecting them, is not clearly perceptible. The modern doctrine seems to be that we may not take any foreign territory for our own, but that whenever a republic is born we must stand as its protector. We must run amuck for the mere love of running it. We must pay taxes to support warships and armies, in order that some obscure nation may play at government. It is understood why we have an interest in the South American Republics—the Monroe Doctrine explains that—but why we should become the Don Quixote of the world cannot be satisfactorily explained. Let us at least be honest, and when we say that the Philippines shall be independent, let us say so, meaning what the word implies. Let them go their way and we ours—enemies in war, and in peace, friends. Let us have no entangling alliances, nor stand sponsor for people who are aliens, and whose abiding place is remote from our continent.

The Democratic platform does not say how long it will be before the "stable government" it favors will be established. It may be a hundred years, or even longer. The difference between holding the Philippines until a "stable government" is established and holding them forever, is, as far as political right goes, the difference between tweedle dum and tweedle dee. We have no more right to hold them for a term of years than we have to hold them forever. The people would become confused in considering this question. It shows how uncertain the Democrats were of their ground when they adopted this uncertain, halting policy.

Disguise it as you may, the real question before the people is whether the armies of the United States should be withdrawn at once, now and forever, and the islands turned over to the Tagalos. Mr. Bryan would, as commander-in-chief, have the power to recall the armies, and if he did, he would let loose the horrors of a terrible revolution. As nobody advocates that course openly, it is hardly necessary to attack it—still Mr. Bryan in some other speech may even reach that altitude of recklessness.

We should not grant the Philippines immediate independence, because we have assumed by the treaty obligations to the world which we must comply with. We have also assumed obligations to the friendly Filipinos, and we should not abandon them to a dreadful

fate. We have promised these people a stable government, and we ought to give it to them. We have property interests in the islands which should be protected. It is desirable for us to have a foot-hold in the east, so as to foster and increase our commerce. We believe that association with us will elevate the Filipino, and improve his condition.

Should this prognostic prove true—and the Philippines take rank hereafter with Australia—would any man doubt the wisdom of our policy in holding them? If another Canada shall be born in the tropics, may not its union with us be mutually beneficial? Who can tell what the future may have in reserve for us? We should not promise independence to the Philippines, because such a promise would nullify every effort that we might make for the establishment of a government. The Filipino would demand independence tomorrow, or the next day, and possibly another bloody revolution would ensue.

I do not find in the Republican platform any declaration of the policy to be pursued touching the granting of independence to the Philippines. That party is not pledged either to grant or to refuse independence, and according to the terms of its platform, it may take any action on the subject that wisdom and prudence would dictate. In the platform the party agrees "to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government, and for the performance of international obligations." It promises also that "the largest measure of self-government consistent with our welfare, and our duties, shall be secured to them by law." It cannot be doubted that, if those promises are carried out in their spirit and intent, the results would be of the highest benefit to the Filipinos.

I am not defending the Republican party in this article, but I am defending William McKinley. He has been subjected to more abuse than any president ever was, and he has deserved it as little as any one ever did. In the most difficult period of our history he has proved himself equal to all the demands upon him. He has acted with an eye single to the good of the country. The war with Spain was not of the President's seeking, but he met the issue with exalted courage. In diplomacy he displayed qualities of the highest order, and in military affairs he was remarkably successful. He eminently deserves re-election.

CHARLES DENBY.



"To the party of Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of 10,000,000 of the human family from the yoke of imperialism."

—William McKinley.

OUR APPROACH TO ASIA.

**THE PHILIPPINES, THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND STRATEGICAL
CENTER OF 6,000 MILES OF COAST, OF 850,000,000
PEOPLE, OF \$2,000,000,000 OF TRADE—RELA-
TION TO THE CHINESE CRISIS.**

BY JOHN BARRETT, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO SIAM.

(From Harper's Weekly, July 28, 1900.)

The crisis in China demonstrates beyond question the importance of the Philippines. It proves their strategic and political value. The readiness and despatch with which the United States is able in a supreme hour of peril to send ships, marines, and troops to protect and rescue American lives and property have touched the pride of the nation.

Instead of depending upon the charity of European powers and being treated with patronizing kindness, we have been able to stand on our own resources as a first-class power. We are commanding the evident respect of other nations. We are treated as their peer. We are seeing our soldiers and ships occupying the most dangerous and responsible places in the line of advance and defence.

All this is being done without a suggestion of so-called Imperialism. It is the meeting of unavoidable and imperative responsibility. It is the strict execution of duty. Had we held back, a cry of horror and protest would have gone up from our people. The very "Imperialism" which partisan prejudice claims has inspired our holding the Philippines now enables us to pursue an anti-imperialistic policy in China. We are at Taku, Tientsin, and Peking in force, not only to protect life and property, but to exercise all our moral influence to preserve the integrity of the Chinese Empire and prevent imperialistic alienation of the territory. Still there are some men, some newspapers and some demagogues who would rant against the Pres-

ident's avowed intention to guard, first, the lives of our diplomatic and consular officers, missionaries, and merchants; and second, our treaty rights and vast opportunities of trade and commerce throughout an unpartitioned area. Such men hold the sixpence of prejudice so near their eyes that they cannot see the responsibility, duty, honor, interest, patriotism and pride beyond. It is unfortunate that the passion of a political campaign should also exert its warping influence, but time will prove that President McKinley is right in China as it is proving with overwhelming logic that he is right in the Philippines.

NECESSITY FOR OUR PRESENT ACTION.

Those of us who, from long residence in the Far East and through acquaintance with the development of events in the Philippines, are convinced by personal observation and experience that America's position in these islands is the unavoidable result of meeting responsibilities that unexpectedly grew out of the war with Spain, likewise from familiarity with conditions in China, not only recognize the absolute necessity of the present action of the government, but appreciate the strategical value of our Philippine base.

Let us in confirmation study the map of trans-pacific seas and countries. It is both fascinating and instructive. All maps of important lands are interesting to the student of world progress, but none is more surprising than that of the incomparable broken coast that reaches from Australia to Siberia, from Melbourne to Vladivostok. Its supreme revelation to the man who has not before investigated these Asian-Pacific shores is this: *The Philippines are the geographical and strategical centre of the Asiatic and Australasian Pacific coast-line that has an unrivaled extent of 6000 miles, has debouching upon it a population of over 850,000,000, including India, and supports already a foreign commerce exceeding \$2,000,000,000 per annum.*

From this undeniable premise we draw another conclusion which has even a more direct bearing upon the value of the islands to the United States; *the Philippines, being the geographical and strategical centre by reason of physical location, will become under American influence the commercial centre of the trans-pacific coast, seas, and millions of people.*

THE MARKETS NEAR MANILA.

Let us draw a neighborly circle around Manila with a reasonable radius of 1000 miles, the distance from New York to Chicago. Points on the extreme limit of this circle would be reached in four days with even low-power merchant-steamers. Distance in the Oriental seas is usually estimated by days and not by miles. Well within this circle we find Hongkong, Great Britain's impregnable outpost of empire and teeming trade entrepôt, only 650 miles, or less than three days' steaming, from Manila. Hongkong is the great point

of Asiatic commercial exchange, and the one place where all steamship lines stop. It is estimated to handle \$250,000,000 worth of exports and imports per annum. The proximity of Manila to such a capital of commerce emphasizes the importance and value of its own location.

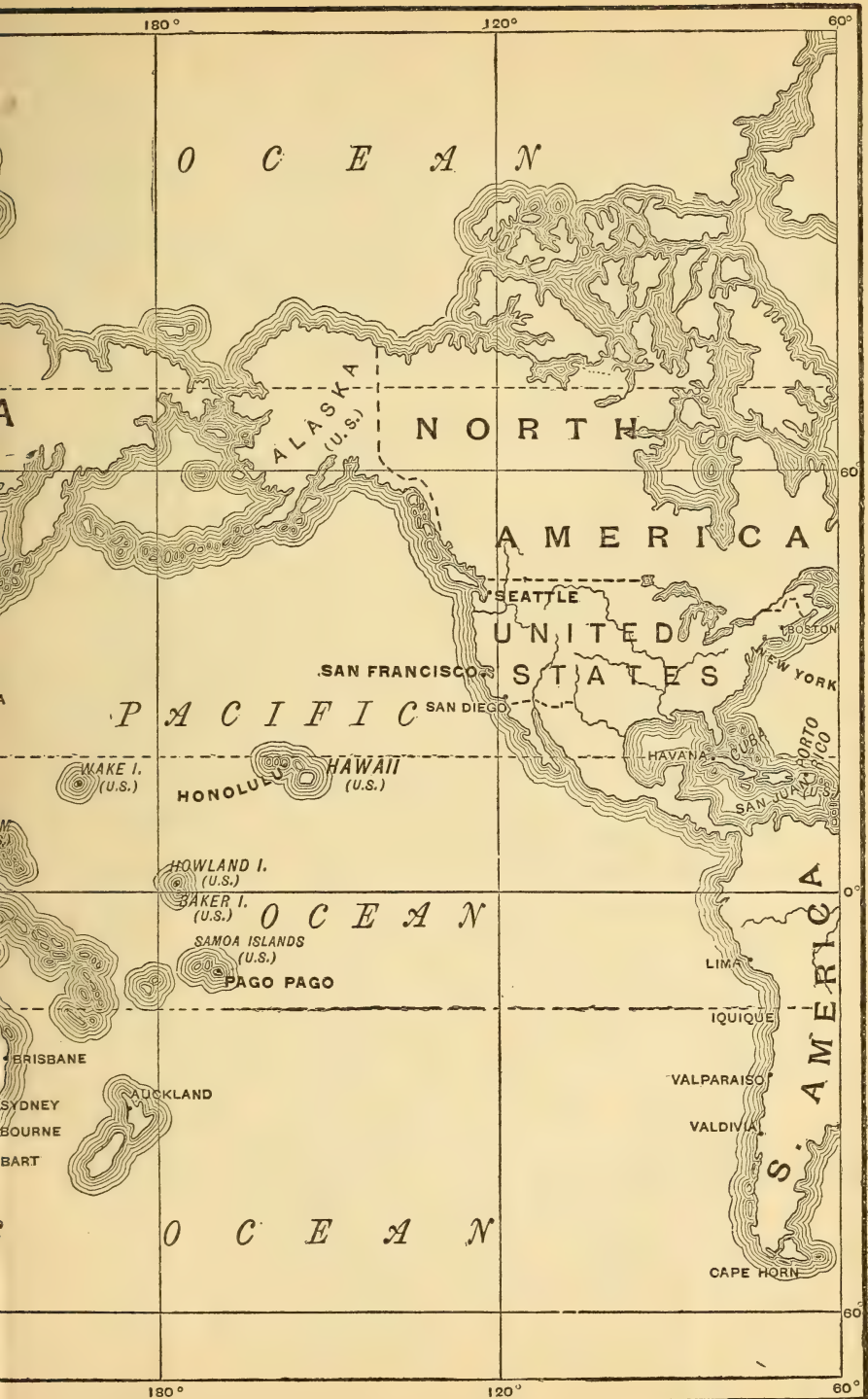
Noting the sweep of the 1000-mile radius we find that it almost reaches to Shanghai, the New York of China, and gateway to the spacious Yang-tze Valley, and includes productive Japanese Formosa on the north; includes the populous southern coast of China with the large cities of Fuchau, Amoy, Canton, and Hongkong on the northwest; the resourceful coast of French Indo-China and its beautiful capital Saigon on the west; British North Borneo and Sarawak and part of the rich Celebes on the south. If the radius were extended half again, to 1500 or 1600 miles, and two days more of steaming added, the messengers of commerce from Manila could reach such important points as Nagasaki in Japan; Hankau, the Chicago of China, up the Yang-tze River; Chefoo and Taku, now of so much interest; Bangkok, the growing, prosperous capital of Siam; Singapore, Britain's thrifty gateway to the Far East, and a port boasting of an annual trade exchange of \$150,000,000; Batavia, Holland's populous emporium in the East Indies; and Guam, our own new connecting-point in the vast Pacific seas.

FIVE HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE WITHIN 2000 MILES.

The full scope of the 2000-mile radius, or the distance from New York to Denver, includes a population of nearly 500,000,000, or six times that of the United States, and comprehends half of Japan; all of Korea; the great part of China; all of Siam and Burma; all of French Indo-China; the British Malay states and Straits Settlements; the rich Dutch possessions of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, Molukkas; New Guinea and Borneo; the Carolines and Ladrões; and just touches the northern end of the continent of Australia. The annual trade comprehended in this 2000-mile circle approaches \$1,000,000,000 per annum, of which America's share now is hardly one-tenth, or \$100,000,000, but can be in time one-third or one-half.

If we extent the radius to 3000 miles we have an interesting and yet stupendous field to survey. This distance is a reasonable one, as it is approximately equal to that from New York to San Francisco or from New York to London. Here we see Manila the centre of lands and seas that support, even with their undeveloped natural resources, an annual foreign commerce that exceeds two thousand million of dollars and holds nearly half the world's entire population, or at least 850,000,000 human beings, who must be fed, clothed, and supplied with the increasing wants that grow in proportion as they come in contact with the European and American world.





Surveyed in countries we find that this 3000-mile circle includes all of Japan, all of China, part of Siberia, all of Korea, Siam, French Indo-China, Burma, the Dutch possessions and other East Indies, the greater part of India and the major portion of Australia.

A glance at the map shows that Australia must be considered an integral part of the trans-pacific field of development and influence. A giant would walk, as it were, from Australia to the Philippines or to the mainland of Asia without wetting his feet. From northern Australia to southern Mindanao of the Philippines is not greater than the distance from New York to St. Louis, or less than 1500 miles, with countless islands sandwiched in between.

ADVANTAGE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

As we run our eyes up and down from north to south we see at once this conspicuous advantage of America in the Philippines, and ask ourselves: With the British in Australia, India, Singapore, Hongkong, and Wei-hai-wei; with the Dutch in Java and Sumatra and Borneo; with the French in Cambodia, Anam, and Tonquin; with the Portuguese in Macao; with the Japanese in Formosa and their own snug islands; with the Germans at Kiaochau and in the Carolines and New Guinea; with the Russians in Manchuria, Port Arthur, and Siberia; and with the Italians trying to get a hold at San-mun—with all these nations in a position to control Asia's millions of people and millions of commerce to their advantage, and our disadvantage if we abandon the Far East, are we for a moment going to think of surrendering our new position and sovereignty in the Philippines? Never; because we obtained them not in the lust of conquest, but in the performance of duty.

A few statistical facts about the environment of the Philippines will help us to appreciate their importance. We are all now closely watching China, only 600 miles from our American territory. What of her future? She has 4,000,000 square miles, 400,000,000 people, and only 400 miles of railroads! She needs in the near future 40,000 miles. What opportunities for American manufacturers, for American capital, and for American engineers, and for American labor at home providing what is wanted in China! China's foreign trade in 1899 under unfavorable conditions was \$333,000,000, an increase of 40 per cent. over 1898. This was less than \$1 per head of the population; but when the empire is opened to the world, the government reorganized, and general material progress inaugurated, the trade should develop to at least \$5 per head. That of Japan has grown in the short period of thirty years from \$1 to over \$6 per head. That of America is about \$25. In all my estimates of foreign trade, I include of course both exports and imports. Exchange is the life of commerce. A nation or people cannot go on buying unless it also develops a large selling capacity.

CHINA'S TWO BILLION DOLLAR TRADE.

If we multiply China's population of 400,000,000 by \$5 we have a reasonable possibility of \$2,000,000,000 per annum for that country alone. We can never afford to retreat from such possibilities. Our trade exchange with China now amounts, including Hong Kong, to nearly \$43,000,000, which is about 12 per cent. of the total and 100 per cent. increase over ten years ago.

Other interesting opportunities in a reasonable trade neighborhood of the Philippines might be specified in Japan, Straits Settlements, Dutch East Indies, Siberia, Siam, and Korea, whose combined foreign commerce even in its infancy amounts to nearly \$600,000,000; of Burma, India, and Ceylon, whose total is already passing \$500,000,000; of Australasia, whose annual returns equal nearly \$600,000,000. In all this America's share is only one-tenth now; with the Philippines as a base we will in due time develop it to one-half.

Of the Philippines themselves, those of us who have traveled through them and other Asiatic lands say without exception that in proportion to area and population they surpass the latter in marvelous fertility of soil, in variety of marketable staple products, in wonderful intermingling of well-watered valleys and high forested mountains, and in natural resources awaiting legitimate exploitation and development. The islands will show in another decade and a half an annual trade, under the influence of American control, enterprise, and capital, valued at \$150,000,000. Even with Spain in charge they passed the \$33,000,000 mark. American capital will also find a ready and safe investment of \$200,000,000 in railroads, industries, mines, and general development during the next five years.

JAVA'S LARGE FOREIGN TRADE.

When we consider that the Dutch have converted Java, which is not as resourceful as Luzon nor as large, into a garden supporting 20,000,000 people, and an annual foreign trade of \$200,000,000, we cannot admit that Americans are unable to equal this record in the Philippines. If the British have taken Burma, which is even larger but less resourceful than the Philippines, and established in fifteen years perfect peace, contentment, and prosperity among 10,000,000 people, not unlike the Filipinos, and an annual trade of \$150,000,000, we can more than surpass their record in the Philippines, or I mistake the courage and capabilities of Americans.

The people will buy of us in great quantities along many lines when order is established and they can sell their own products. The good qualities of the Filipinos far outweigh the bad in time of peace. When their minds are freed of the false instruction about America and Americans, and when they clearly understand our purposes and people, they will surprise us with their earnest, peaceful support of

American government. If the Presidential election in November decides that the United States will not shirk her responsibilities in the Philippines, the present guerilla warfare will lose its inspiration and hence its following.

Under phlegmatic, mysterious, and depressing Spanish control, the outer world never realized the commanding position and wide opportunities of the Philippines. On the occasion of my first visit to Manila some five years ago while United States minister to Siam, I was astonished at the extreme general ignorance of the resources, people, and possibilities of the islands that prevailed in Hong Kong. Now, under American occupation, the world is standing in wonder at the lesson in geography and politics it has learned from studying the Philippines and their environment.

ANTI-IMPERIALISTS WOULD BE SHOCKED.

Our good friends the Anti-Imperialists would be shocked at the readiness with which the powers of Europe would pounce on the Philippines if we should abandon them to their own fate. Our moral duty demands that we should maintain sovereignty and develop as high a degree of autonomy as possible. Were we to recognize their independence and "protect" them against the world, as the straddling Kansas City platform outlines, we would find ourselves having innumerable bickerings and possibly wars with European powers. There would be constant friction and misunderstandings, including trouble with foreigners, which would place the powers in a position to interfere, demand indemnities, and possibly occupy territory. No man familiar with the diplomacy, politics, and history of Asia can imagine a worse international muddle than would arise if America should either abandon the Philippines or promise them absolute independence.

The long and short of the whole Philippine situation, viewed in its moral light, which is of far more consequence than the material side, is this: *The United States is in sovereign control of the Philippine Islands as a direct and honorable result of meeting and mastering the unavoidable responsibility that grew unexpectedly out of the war with Spain. The sooner every American realizes this, the better. History will confirm it beyond a doubt.*

Now that the Philippines are ours and will remain ours, it is natural and logical that we should bend our energies to develop them commercially and materially as well as politically and morally. Never forgetting that we are a Christian as much as a commercial nation, we recognize that where moral and material interests labor to mutual advantage without the surrendering of the former to the latter, the greatest good can be accomplished. On this platform it is fitting to study the map and remember what it teaches in regard to Manila's commanding location as the centre of the mighty Asian-Australian coast-line.

The public faith has been upheld;
public order has been maintained.
We have prosperity at home and
prestige abroad.—*William McKinley.*

TRUSTS HAVE LONG FLOURISHED IN FREE TRADE ENGLAND.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES DICK, OF OHIO, IN THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1900.

[Part of the Congressional Record.]

Mr. DICK said:

Within the last year or two we have heard and read much on the subject of the formation of large combinations of capital which are commonly called trusts. Our friends on the other side of the House, and the Democratic papers which represent them, are in the habit of claiming that trusts are simply the outcome of a protective tariff. I claim, Mr. Speaker, that this is not the case. As far back in the history of the world as the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans corporations and combinations of capital were plentiful. Under the early Roman law corporations could be formed at the will of the promoter without any special state authorization. There is record of a combination in the iron trade which was established more than 2,000 years ago. Our friends on the other side of the House must concede that this was before the days of protective tariffs had developed in any part of the then known world.

Aristotle tells us that "there was a man in Syracuse, in the days of Dionysius, the tyrant, who bought all the iron in the island of Sicily, and was able to sell it at such prices as he pleased, and thereby made much profit. When Dionysius, the tyrant, heard of this he was pleased with the ingenuity of the man, and told him that he might keep his money, but had better leave Syracuse."

More than a century ago Blackstone said: "When it is for the advantage of the public to have a particular right kept on foot or continued, to construct artificial presence, who may maintain a perpetual succession and enjoy a kind of legal immortality," the law authorizing corporation seems certain and proper. He predicated the need of this form of organization "for the advantage of the public."

England's industrial conditions were the precursor of those in the United States. Originally every individual worked and did business independently for himself. Gradually, however, as the demands of industry increased and broadened productive enterprise was compelled to concentrate. Capital appeared and gave employment to workers, and so the employing and employed classes were developed. Larger enterprises of manufacture, mining, and commerce called for the association of capital in order to carry on business to the best advantage. Partnerships became common and to some extent corporations succeeded the partnership form of doing business. This was the condition of affairs in England down to the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In the United States industrial development began slowly. It was retarded by the conditions relating to the settlement and subjugation of a new country, and by adverse English legislation that, until the beginning of their national existence, aimed to repress all colonial manufacture. When, however, national independence gave a stimulus to national enterprise, all forms of industry went forward with giant strides. In less than one-half a century

we were rivaling the mother country in the diversity and importance of our manufacturing activities.

The United States has been notably a nation of wealth producers and distributors. Our history is a record of masterly effort to wring from the strongholds of nature the material gains that have enriched us. Inventive genius has lightened the labor of hands, and at the same time increased production and consumption to almost fabulous figures. Business sagacity and enterprise have developed commercial organization into a powerful machine, co-operating with labor and invention for the general good.

The factory system, that was to revolutionize the labor activity of mankind, began to exercise its influence in England as early as 1730, when Watts' roller spinning was introduced.

Fifty years ago the mother of the household took a week to knit a pair of stockings, and labor cost put into them was not more than a few cents. Fifty years ago hand looms were used to weave cloth in every farmhouse throughout the country. Wool was carded at home; rag carpets, homemade, covered the floors; farmers mowed their fields with scythes; the blacksmith forged the horseshoes for the village; the seamstress made the clothes that the girls and boys wore, and everybody depended upon the shoemaker for footwear.

All that is changed now. Machinery and factories have superseded individual labor. Our knit goods, our shirts, indeed everything that we wear, are made within the factory, because they can be made better and cheaper there than they ever could be by individual workers. The mowing machine, the reaper, the raker, and binder enable one or two men to do the work of twenty.

Out of these inevitable conditions arose the corporation. With the factory came the foundry and the great manufacturing establishments, ever growing bigger and bigger in response to the ever-increasing demand of the consuming public. It was no longer possible for the individual worker to meet the situation. The formation of industrial armies followed as a matter of course—larger capital was required than any one man could control. Partnerships were for a time effective to a certain extent.

The corporation in its early days was not in favor in England, and the feeling against it found frequent expression in the common law. In the United States similar hostility to corporations was exhibited even down to the middle of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the corporation had to come whether the people fancied it or not, and whether the laws of the country gave free trade or protection to industry. The small corporation has had its day. It will always remain, but for large enterprises it has been superseded by those great aggregations of capital that, for want of a better term, are called trusts. These combinations are, after all, only corporations on a large scale. They are changed in size but not in form. It is the highest development of the centralization idea, manifested in capital and industry. It is the evolution of modern commerce and trade.

What I want to show now is that these large combinations of capital, or trusts, are not the outgrowth of a protective tariff; that they are not peculiar to the United States. On the contrary, they had their existence in England long before the Dingley tariff was framed or became a law, and long before the enactment of the McKinley tariff of 1890. In order to do this, Mr. Speaker, I want to place on record before the House some facts regarding the organization and combination of some of the largest trusts in the United Kingdom. The facts given are authentic and official, and they clearly show that the trusts of to-day are as much a creature of free trade and tariff for revenue only as they are of a protective tariff.

A surface examination of the commercial methods of the United Kingdom does not reveal such a great change when contrasted with those of ten years ago, but if we examine into the subject more minutely we see how deep a root the same principle of amalgamation has struck into the businesses of the United Kingdom as well as those of the United States. In view of the importance, both commercial and financial, of the inauguration of this new era in company promotion, I think it well to bring vividly be-

fore the House the extent to which the new movement has already gone, and the following table shows at a glance a list of some of the large combines recently formed in the United Kingdom:

Date.	Name.	Number of Businesses.	Capital.
Oct. 6, 1888	Salt Union, Limited.....	.....	£2,000,000
Nov. 1, 1890	United Alkali Co., Limited.....	43	6,000,000
July 1, 1896	J. & P. Coats, Limited.....	4	5,500,000
Nov. 25, 1897	English Sewing Cotton Co., Limited.....	15	2,750,000
May 6, 1898	Fine Cotton Spinners and Doublers, Limited.....	31	6,000,000
Dec. 14, 1898	Bradford Dyers.....	22	4,500,000
July 4, 1898	Yorkshire Indigo, Scarler and Color Dyers.....	11	600,000
July 6, 1898	Bradford Coal Merchants and Consumers.....	8	250,000
Oct. 9, 1898	Yorkshire Wool Combers.....	38	2,500,000
Nov. 1, 1898	United Indigo and Chemical.....	8	250,000
Nov. 15, 1898	Textile Machinery Association.....	.....	170,000
Dec. 8, 1898	Calico Printers.....	60	9,000,200
Feb. 22, 1900	Wall Paper Manufacturers.....	28	4,200,000
Mar. 1, 1900	United Velvet Cutters.....	4	300,000
Apr. 4, 1900	British Cotton and Wool Dyers.....	46	2,750,000
	Total.....	328	46,970,000

Here is a list, and it embraces only some of the largest trusts in free-trade England, in which there are 328 different business concerns amalgamated, with a capital of £46,970,000, or \$230,000,000. And there is not the shadow of an excuse to be found for their formation in the shape of a protective tariff. They are solely, thoroughly, and absolutely the product of the English system of Cobdenite free trade, or a tariff for revenue only.

OTHER TRUSTS FORMING.

Recently there was an unsuccessful attempt made to float what was called the Yorkshire Soapmakers' Association. The capital of the company was £300,000, but the prospectus was full of unattractive features, and the response by the British public was such as not to warrant the directors in going to allotment.

There are arrangements proceeding for the amalgamation of the under-mentioned businesses under the name of the Yorkshire Dye Ware and Chemical Company, Limited, which was registered at the end of May. Messrs. Clemons, Marshall, and Carbat, Leeds; Wood & Bedford, Leeds; D. Taylor & Sons, Golcar; B. Crowther, Gomersal; M. Bedforth & Sons, Huddersfield; J. Sugden, Huddersfield; Hawroyd & Holroyd, Dewsbury; Pickles, Smithson & Pickles, branch of the Yorkshire Indigo, Scarlet and Colour Dyers, Limited, Ravensthorpe; Thomas Crossley & Co., Limited, Leeds, and H. K. Beaumont & Co., Huddersfield. The present issue of capital will consist of \$120,000 4½ per cent. debenture stock, £100,000 of preference shares, and £80,000 of ordinary shares. The preference shares will have a 6 per cent. cumulative preferential dividend, and will have a further participation in profits after the ordinary shares have received a similar dividend.

It is the intention of the several firms comprised in the amalgamation to retain as far as possible their respective interests, and the whole of the ordinary shares will be held by the vendors, as well as one-third of the debenture stock and one-third of the preference shares. It is stated that the stock, book debts, and cash are more than sufficient to cover the debentures, without recourse to the land, buildings, plant, machinery, and other assets, which also are stated at a value more than the amount of the debenture stock.

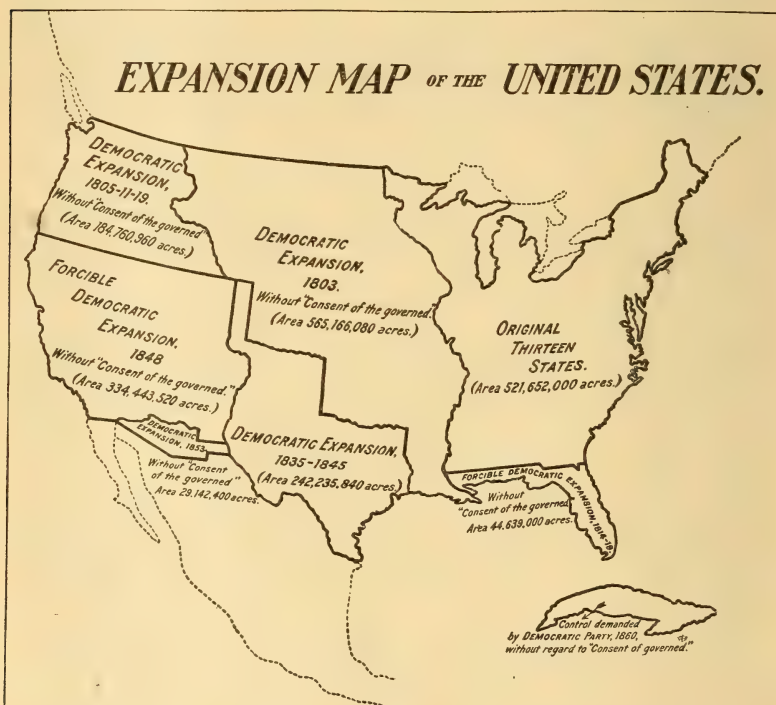
Further trusts are freely talked of, and several are certain to see the prospectus stage. Trusts already projected are the bleachers of the Lanca-

shire cotton trade, Bradford worsted spinners, woolen and worsted card manufacturers, and the shoddy manufacturers of Dewsbury.

In a word, free-trade England has completely gone over to and become intoxicated with the trust mania. That such combinations of capital in that country are not the creation of a protective tariff is self-evident. English laws compel the giving of information to stockholders in a corporation. Upon the payment of a fee of one shilling (25 cents) they can learn at any time the accurate financial condition of the companies in which they are interested. There is no such law in the United States, but, in my opinion, there should be.

Another point that is worth consideration is this. We are now compelled, in striving for a share of the world's commerce, to make our goods of such a quality and at such a price that we can compete with the manufactures made by these English trusts. And this competition will increase, not decrease. In order, then, to keep our factories busy and to employ our labor, which is the greatest consumer of the products of our mines, forests, and factories, should we not regulate rather than destroy such combinations of capital as are necessary to enable us to compete in the world's markets?

Assuming that we must do this, I believe in and will advocate the proper regulation of all of our large combinations of capital by law. We must preserve in them whatever is good and advantageous to the people at large; but at the same time we must eliminate all that is bad and evil, or which is in any way calculated to interfere with the rights of our citizens.



“IMPERIALISM.”

The Democratic Party Tries to Invent an Issue where No Issue Exists.

The platform of the Democratic party, framed at its Presidential Convention held at Kansas City, in July of this year, declares that the paramount issue of the campaign is “imperialism.” This was a concession of the ruling spirits to a defeated faction. After Bryan and his fellow-champions of free silver had forced their specific reiteration of the demand for the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, thus carrying the point of their fight, they were willing to salve the defeat of the more conservative portion by appearing to put forward another question.

“Imperialism” a Fiction.

The so-called issue of “imperialism” is a fiction. There is and can be no such thing as “imperialism” under a republican form of government. The Democratic convention did not dare to array itself against expansion. It well knew two things: First, that the expansion which has come as the fruit of the Spanish war was the inevitable necessity of its conditions, and, second, that the great body of the American people recognize this truth and accept the present results as unavoidable and settled. The convention, therefore, took good care not to declare itself against this popular sentiment, and in place of it undertook to make a fictitious issue. But there is no such thing as “imperialism” as distinguished from expansion. This is proved by our past history and by the present situation.

What is “imperialism,” so-called? What do the creators of this fiction mean by it? Imperialism is sovereign rule without law. It is the government of the people by personal will. Law comes to the people through their representatives. Where law rules imperialism does not and cannot exist. The President of the United States has no power and exercises none except by virtue of law. When he exercises the war power, he does it under law. When he exercises the power to suppress insurrection against the authority of the United States, he does it by command of law.

There is no Imperialism.

Apply these fundamental truths to the present situation. It cannot be pretended that there is any “imperialism” as to Porto Rico. Porto Rico, having passed beyond the necessity and the period of military government, is governed by a law of Congress passed for that purpose. This law prescribes its form of government, establishes its governor and other administrative officers, creates a legislative body to represent the people, and provides for the complete machinery of civil govern-

ment. The President himself exercises no authority in Porto Rico except as directed by this law. There is, then, no imperialism there.

How about the Philippines? It is equally true that the President exercises no authority in the Philippines except by virtue of law. The power under which he is suppressing insurrection is conferred by law. The power under which he establishes military government, or creates temporary civil authority pending the action of Congress, is conferred by law. He would violate law if he did not use his power to suppress insurrection. That is, if he failed to do just what he is doing now, he would set up his own will against the command of law, and to set up individual will without law or against law is imperialism. The very course proposed by those who profess abhorrence of imperialism would itself be imperialism, while the action which they condemn as imperialism is itself obedience to law.

Philippine Conditions will be Changed.

The existing conditions in the Philippines will be changed when the insurrection shall be fully suppressed and when Congress shall determine. Congress did not pass a law for the government of the Philippines, as it did for Porto Rico, because the Philippines were not ripe for it. The insurrection must first be suppressed and the authority of the United States fully recognized. Congress did not act on the subject because the President was exercising the war power, and it wanted him to continue exercising it until its purpose was accomplished. The very fact that Congress did not act was equivalent to a declaration that the existing law under which the President is proceeding is required for this emergency and that the time had not yet come for further law. The essential fact is that every step which the President has taken is in conformity with law, recognized and approved by Congress in session at the time, and where law rules there can be no such thing as imperialism.

Former Experiences in Expansion.

This lesson is confirmed and made complete by a review of our history. We have had repeated expansions. We have from time to time acquired new territory and new peoples. In every case our Government has dealt with the new territory and its inhabitants precisely as our Government is dealing with the present new territory and its inhabitants. We are now following a long line of precedents. A long course of history has prepared the way and determined the general chart for what we are now doing. When Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the first democratic President, made the Louisiana purchase, he exercised American authority exactly as President McKinley has exercised it over Porto Rico and the Philippines, except as the insurrection in the latter archipelago has required special treatment. Mr. Jefferson and the Congress of his day provided a local government for Louisiana which represented American authority. They created a governor and council. They established all the administrative machinery. They defined and appointed all the officers. They did all this wholly by virtue of the national power and without stopping to ask the consent of the people over whom this government was extended.

The same course was repeated when the Florida cession was made, and it has been repeated in every subsequent acquisition of territory. Not only have we extended the flag over new peoples, but in many cases we have, for reasons we deemed sufficient, kept them in a dependent position for more than half a century. New Mexico came to us from the Mexican war, and it is still in a territorial condition. Alaska was purchased from Russia in 1867, and it was only last winter when the law was passed which gave it a substantial civil government. From the beginning of our government we have had Indian tribes within our domain. We have recognized that they were not capable of the same measure of self-government as our own people, and we have kept them in a separate and dependent position. We have not allowed one Indian tribe to rule over another, and have not permitted them to establish a confederacy among themselves. We have held that they were under our dominion, and that it was our province to establish such a relationship as was best for our interests and for their own.

Expansion Under all Parties—It was never before called "Imperialism."

This acquisition of territory and the establishment of our authority over it at our own discretion has gone on under administrations of all parties, Democratic, Whig and Republican, and though the application and enforcement of our authority were made upon precisely the same principles as now, nobody ever before urged the charge of "imperialism." If we have imperialism now, we have had imperialism in all our other expansions from Jefferson's Louisiana purchase in 1803. If it be imperialism to hold the people of acquired territory in a different relation toward the government from that held by our own people, until they are prepared to assume the same relation, then every single expansion of our domain has been marked by imperialism.

If it be imperialism to exercise our sovereignty without stopping to ask the consent of the people over whom it is extended, then again our history has been stamped with imperialism from the beginning. We have never asked the consent of the new peoples over whom our territory has spread. We have proceeded in every case to govern them as we deemed best for their interest and our own. As soon as they have become fit for self-government we have given them self-government. Until they have become thus fit for self-rule, we have provided such government as the conditions demanded. All this was the rule of law—sometimes of special law for special cases, sometimes of a general policy more widely applicable. Our rule has been enforced in harmony with the spirit of American institutions, and founded upon the elementary principles of liberty, justice and right. It may, therefore, be repeated that there is no such thing as imperialism under the American flag as distinguished from expansion. Expansion is a fact; imperialism is a fiction. Expansion means a distinct, comprehensible reality; imperialism is only a misapplied name of an imaginary bubble. The substance of expansion cannot be confounded with the vapor of imperialism.

Expansion was not Sought or Desired.

The administration has not favored even expansion for expansion's sake. Except in the case of Hawaii, which had itself long ago applied for annexation, it did not seek the territory which has come under our flag. This expansion has come as the unavoidable result of the Spanish war. It was the universal demand of the American people that Spanish power should be expelled from the western hemisphere. The fate of the war brought the same destruction of Spanish power in the Philippines. Since it was overthrown by American arms, the American nation became responsible to the world for what should take its place. We had extinguished Spanish authority; we could not permit anarchy; we could not throw the Philippines into the turmoil of foreign contention; the only thing left was to accept the responsibility ourselves. In accepting this responsibility we are fulfilling the highest national obligation of humanity and civilization, and to call the performance of that duty imperialism is simply an attempt to mislead the people with an opprobrious term. Ours is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Imperialism is autocratic rule without law and against the public will. To charge imperialism under American institutions is an affront to the intelligence and character of the American people.

The Administration has Broken the Yoke of Imperialism.

President McKinley has himself pricked the bubble in a suggestive and striking sentence. In his speech of acceptance at Canton he said, "The Republican Party was dedicated to freedom forty-four years ago. It has been the party of liberty and emancipation from that hour; not of profession but of performance. It broke the shackles of four million slaves and made them free, and to the party of Lincoln has come another supreme opportunity which it has bravely met in the liberation of ten millions of the human race from the yoke of imperialism." There is the whole truth in a nutshell. The administration has broken the yoke of imperialism, not established it. It has freed the Philippines from imperialism, not subjected them to it. It has relieved them from oppression without law and given them liberty under law. The party that came into being to make liberty the rule of law will never countenance imperialism without law.

Conditions in Hawaii.

The physical characteristics of the Hawaiian Islands are so well known that they need no detailed description. The population is in excess of 100,000, and the chief productions are sugar, coffee and tropical fruits. The consuming power of the islands has been in the past about \$25,000,000 annually, of which the large proportion has been purchased from the United States by reason of the existence of a reciprocity treaty since 1875. The chief value of the islands from the national standpoint lies in their importance as a way station on the commercial line between our Pacific coast and the great Asiatic field where dwells half the population of the earth and whose annual purchases amount to \$100,000,000 a month and whose disposition to buy from the United States is clearly increasing year by year.

As a cable, coaling and repair station and as a harbor of refuge, the Hawaiian Islands have long been of extreme value. From them the lines of commercial vessels radiate in every direction like the spokes of a wheel; and when to this magnificent possession in the midst of the North Pacific is added the Island of Tutuila in the Samoan group, with its splendid harbor—the best by far in all the South Pacific—which was added to our possessions in the Pacific under President McKinley's Administration, it will be seen that the United States now possesses far greater facilities for commerce on the Pacific than does any other country. Our coast line on the Pacific, including that of our Pacific States and Alaska and the Aleutian chain at the North, and the Philippine Islands exceeds by far that of any other nation. Our coast harbors and our island harbors of the Pacific are far superior to those of any other nation, and with Hawaii, Wake Island, Guam and the Philippines all added in the short three years of President McKinley's Administration, our facilities for a trans-Pacific cable and enlargement of commerce with Asia are vastly superior to those controlled by any other government.

"The dollar paid to the farmer, the wage-earner and the pensioner must continue forever equal in purchasing and debt paying power to the dollar paid to any government creditor."—William McKinley.

The German Vote and the "Imperialism" Bugaboo.

In 1896 the Germans voted for President McKinley. They are strong believers in the advantages of a gold standard of currency. This the Republican party has given them. They know that should the Democrat candidate for President be elected, which of course would mean Democratic control of Congress, then the gold standard law would be repealed and free coinage of silver will be foisted upon the country. The Germans do not want this. They know that they fare better here, can make and save more money than they did in the Fatherland, and they are not a people who are led away by flights of the imagination.

An effort is being made to bring the Germans into the Democratic line by scaring them with the bugaboo of imperialism, which it is claimed would compel a large increase in our military forces. Many of them have come here to escape the strict military laws that are in force in Germany, and naturally they would not favor anything tending in the same direction in this country. It is well that the subject has developed thus early in the campaign, because the Germans will have time to read and study what the actual conditions are as to our military forces, comparing them with their Fatherland.

THE ARMY OF GERMANY.

Germany has over 52,000,000 people. Its standing army is 600,000 men, an average of $11\frac{1}{2}$ soldiers to every 1,000 people. The United States is 76,000,000, and a standing army of 65,000 men, which is equivalent to less than 1 soldier to every 1,000 of our population. While Germany has nearly 11 soldiers more per 1,000 of her people than we have, there can not be the slightest chance of the effect of imperialism being experienced in this country.

STANDING ARMIES OF THE WORLD.

The following table shows the leading countries of the world, with their population, their standing army, and the number of soldiers each country has per 1,000 of its people:

Country.	Population.	Army.	Soldiers per 1,000 Population.
France.....	38,500,000	560,000	14.05
Germany.....	52,300,000	600,000	11.05
Austria-Hungary.....	41,800,000	280,000	6.07
Russian Empire.....	129,300,000	700,000	6.01
Turkey.....	33,600,000	240,000	7.01
Great Britain.....	38,000,000	210,000	5.06
Italy.....	29,700,000	*210,000	7.01
United States.....	76,000,000	†65,000	.86
*Peace footing.		†War footing.	
	Population.	Army in present war.	
Great Britain.....	37,888,439	503,484	13.2
United States.....	75,000,000	100,000	1.33

Note.—The population of the United States in 1890 was 62,622,250. For the purpose of the tables, it is estimated at 75,000,000. The permissible regular army until July 1, 1901, is 65,000; actually now 63,010. The permissible volunteer army is 35,000; actually now 31,856; to be reduced under existing law to 27,451 regulars, and the entire volunteer force to be discharged.

PROPORTION OF SOLDIERS TO AREA.

	Area in Sq. miles.	Army in peace.	Soldiers to each sq. mile.	Sq miles to each soldier.
France.....	204,177	540,405	2.6	.37
Germany.....	211,108	587,933	2.7	.35
Austria-Hungary.....	201,591	352,429	1.2	.57
Russia.....	8,660,395	896,000	.103	9.6
Turkey.....	1,652,543	213,910	0.12	7.7
Italy.....	110,465	324,686	2.9	.34
Great Britain....	120,973	258,348	2.1	.46
United States....	3,602,884	65,000	.018	55.4
	Area in sq. miles	Army in present war.		
Great Britain....	120,973	503,484	4.1	.24
United States....	3,602,884	100,000	.028	36.

WAR BUDGET IN PEACE.

	Population.	War Budget.	Yr. of. Budget.	Amt. per capita.
France.....	38,517,905	\$123,517,681	1898	3.20
Germany....	52,270,901	141,175,350	1898	2.70
Aus.-Hungary	41,827,500	86,083,024	1897	2.05
Russia.....	128,902,173	148,640,191	1898	1.15
Turkey.....	33,569,787	19,921,755	1897	.59
Italy.....	29,899,785	45,659,609	1898	1.52
Gt. Britain..	37,888,439	88,152,750	1897	2.32
U. S.....	75,000,000	51,093,927	1896	.68

THE ARMIES OF EUROPE.

Taking the armies of Europe at a period in 1899 when all European nations were at peace, and it will be seen that France, with 540,000 men, had fourteen soldiers to each 1,000 of people, and 2 6-10 soldiers to each square mile; Germany, 590,000 soldiers, being 14 3-10 to each thousand

and 3 7-10 to each square mile; Russia, 866,000, being 6 3-10 to every thousand and, on account of her enormous area (including Siberia), 9 6-10 square miles to each soldier; Great Britain, 258,000, being 6 8-10 to the thousand and 2 1-10 to each square mile.

Now compare the United States under existing conditions, all of the countries named being on a peace basis and the Republic at war. Our population in 1890 was 62,000,000. It is now 75,000,000, a conservative estimate. The regular army is, under existing law, 65,000, which is 86-100 of a soldier to each 1,000 of people. Adding the volunteer force now in the field, and we have 1 33-100 soldier to each 1,000 as compared with 9 7-10, which is the average of all European nations, and 13 2-10, which is the proportion in Great Britain at the present. And yet this absurdly small fraction of an armed man is declared by the cowardly cavillers and deceiving demagogues to be a threat at the liberty of the people.

MORE POLICE PROTECTION NEEDED AS A CITY GROWS.

As a city grows in size and extends its area, the first thing for which the citizens living there ask is more police protection. Our country is like a large city, and the bigger it grows the better it should be protected. But the United States has been growing and growing year after year, and its population has doubled since the Civil War, while our standing army has been kept nominally at 25,000 men, year after year. Even our present increase above 25,000 men is but temporary, as the law authorizing it expires on July 1, 1901, less than a year from now.

GERMAN INVESTMENTS.

A curious illustration of the unprecedented financial prosperity of the Middle West is found in the recent development of cities like Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Louis of a strong investment demand for foreign securities. This applies especially to the securities of the German Empire, the investment business in which has become so great of late that several prominent banking houses in those cities have created special "German Departments," to take care of it. Probably no class of citizens have shared more generally in the prosperity of the last four years, than have the Germans. As enterprising, frugal people, the Germans have well improved the opportunities that came with the return of general confidence and broadened markets. When, after the hard times period previous to four years ago, many of them had resources altogether too small for any extensions of investments, their capital accumulations have since become so large that the wide problem has developed of how to find safe and profitable outside channels in which investment could be made. The securities of their fatherland quite naturally appealed to their investment judgment. They could understand their intrinsic merits, and they knew that their value was based on the splendid credit of the German government, which in turn was based on the gold standard of values. Hence the

bonds not only of the imperial government, but of municipalities like Dresden and Leipzig have come into fair request in this country.

When, several years ago, the announcement was made by a leading Chicago broker, that Chicago money was actually being loaned in Berlin, there were many who doubted the announcement as a fairy tale. It seemed incredible that the West, which had been a necessary and a customary borrower of the East, which in turn had borrowed from Europe, should actually lend money to far-off Germany. Yet this was just what had come to pass. The release of vast sums of money from hoarding, owing to the blow dealt the silver agitation in 1896, made money "cheap" at home. At the same time the export trade made vast increases, and the balance of trade showed steady accumulation in favor of the United States. Merchants and banking institutions of the West consequently found their credits at European money centers making big gains. Owing, therefore, to this relatively greater cheapness of money at home than abroad, it was but natural that these western credits should be allowed to accumulate in those foreign money centers where they could gain the best returns. Thus, therefore, the operation of loaning to Berlin even became so common as to cease to attract attention. It even extended to London—the great money-lender of the world.

The purchase of German securities directly by investors in the West is but a further development of this same remarkable phenomenon. This movement of investment in foreign securities in the West has not, however, been restricted to the securities of Germany. It will be remembered that, not long ago, Chicago banking houses took practically the whole issue of a new issue of bonds by the city of Montreal, Canada. The new bonds of the recent British war loan were subscribed for heavily by American financial institutions. A great many of them have been finding their way West. The Russian government has been paying for American rails, locomotives, and bridge work for the new Siberian railroad, by the money received in the United States, from the sale of Russian gold bonds. These bonds have been finding a fair market in western communities. The bonds of the recent Mexican refunding loan have been quite widely distributed in the West.

The story of how during the last four years the great debt-owing section of the West has become a credit-owning section, furnishes indeed a remarkable chapter in the financial history of the United States, as well as a standing monument to the prosperity of the country brought about by a Republican administration.



"The Philippines are ours and American authority must be supreme throughout the Archipelago"—WILLIAM McKINLEY

AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

Historical Record from the Date of the Capitulation of Manila to Admiral Dewey and the United States Navy.

War with the Filipinos Has Been Fostered by the Democratic Allies of Aguinaldo—How the Enemies of Our Country Have Toasted William Jennings Bryan.

The "Fire in the Rear" Prevents a Peaceful Administration of the Affairs of the Islands—Lawton's Letter and Dewey's Denial.

Manila capitulated to the United States forces, commanded by Admiral Dewey, on May 1, 1898.

In order to become informed upon the condition of affairs in the Philippines, President McKinley, on Jan. 20, 1899, appointed a commission composed of President J. G. Schurman, of Cornell University; Professor Dean, Worcester; Charles Denby, late Minister to China; Admiral Dewey and General Otis. The commission handed its report to President McKinley Nov. 2, 1899, and the same was transmitted to Congress by the President, Feb. 2, 1900. It reads in part as follows:

"The undersigned commissioners appointed by you to investigate affairs in the Philippine Islands and to report the result of their investigations, together with such recommendations as might in their judgment be called for by the conditions which should be found to exist in these islands, have the honor to submit the following preliminary statement in compliance with your request."

The commission next tells briefly how it conducted the task intrusted to it, hearing statements from all classes of people in Manila as to the

capabilities of the Filipinos for self-government, the habits and customs of the people, and also the establishment of municipal governments in many towns.

HISTORY OF ISLANDS.

Turning to the history of the islands, the commission attaches little importance to the divers rebellions which had preceded that of 1896. As to this movement the commissioners declare that it was in no sense an attempt to win independence, but solely to obtain relief from intolerable abuses.

To sustain this statement they quote from an insurgent proclamation, showing that what was demanded was the expulsion of the friars and the restitution to the people of their lands, with a division of the episcopal sees between Spanish and native priests. It was also demanded that the Filipinos have parliamentary representation, freedom of the press, religious toleration, economic autonomy, and laws similar to those of Spain. The abolition of the power of banishment was demanded, with a legal equality for all persons in law and equality in pay between Spanish and native civil servants.

TREATY WITH SPANISH.

The commission declares that these demands had good ground; that on paper the Spanish system of government was tolerable, but in practice every Spanish governor did what he saw fit, and the evil deeds of men in the government were hidden from Spain by strict press censorship. Allusion is made to the powerful Katipunan Society, patterned on the Masonic order, and mainly made up of Tagalos, as a powerful revolutionary force.

The war begun in 1896 was terminated by the treaty of Blac-na-Bate. The Filipinos were numerous, but possessed only about 800 small arms. The Spanish felt that it would require 100,000 men to capture their stronghold, and concluded to resort to the use of money. Certain concessions were also decided upon, including representation of the Filipinos in the Cortes, the deportation of the friars, which was the principal question; the grant of the right of association and of a free press.

PROMISES NOT KEPT.

Governor General Rivera was willing to pay \$2,000,000 in Mexican money when Aguinaldo and his cabinet and leading officers arrived in Hong Kong. It appears, however, that Paterno offered the latter only \$400,000, \$200,000 to be paid when Aguinaldo arrived at Hong Kong and the balance when the Filipinos had delivered up their arms. The arrangement was not acceptable to the people.

The promises were never carried out. Spanish abuses began afresh, in Manila alone more than 200 men being executed. Hence sporadic risings occurred, though they possessed nothing like the strength of the original movement. The insurgents lacked arms, ammunition and leaders.

The treaty had ended the war, which, with the exception of an unimportant outbreak in Cebu, had been confined to Luzon, Spain's sovereignty in the other islands never having been questioned, and the thought of independence never having been entertained.

DEWEY AND AGUINALDO.

The report then tells how Gen. Augustino came to Manila as governor general at this juncture and war broke out between Spain and the United States. Augustino sought to secure the support of the Filipinos to defend Spain against America, promising them autonomy, but the Filipinos did not trust him.

Then came the 1st of May and the destruction of the Spanish fleet by

Dewey, with the resulting loss of prestige to Spain. Then in June Aguinaldo came. On this point the commission says:

"The following memorandum on this subject has been furnished the commission by Admiral Dewey:

"On April 24, 1898, the following cipher dispatch was received at Hong Kong from E. Spencer Pratt, United States consul general at Singapore:

"'Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hong Kong, arrange with commodore for general co-operation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph.'"

"On the same day Commodore Dewey telegraphed Mr. Pratt, 'Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible,' the necessity for haste being due to the fact that the squadron had been notified by the Hong Kong Government to leave those waters by the following day. The squadron left Hong Kong on the morning of the 25th, and Mirs Bay on the 27th. Aguinaldo did not leave Singapore until the 26th, and so did not arrive in Hong Kong in time to have a conference with the admiral.

"It had been reported to the commodore as early as March 1, by the United States consul at Manila and others that the Filipinos had broken out into insurrection against the Spanish authority in the vicinity of Manila, and on March 30 Mr. Williams had telegraphed: 'Five thousand rebels armed in camp near city. Loyal to us in case of war.'

NO ALLIANCE MADE.

"Upon the arrival of the squadron at Manila it was found that there was no insurrection to speak of, and it was accordingly decided to allow Aguinaldo to come to Cavite on board the McCulloch. He arrived with thirteen of his staff on May 19, and immediately came on board the Olympia to call on the commander-in-chief, after which he was allowed to land at Cavite and organize an army.

"This was done with the purpose of strengthening the United States forces and weakening those of the enemy. No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him, then or at any other time."

The commission's report then rapidly sketches events now historical. It tells in substance how the Filipinos attacked the Spanish and how Gen. Anderson arrived, and Aguinaldo, at his request, removed from Cavite to Bacoar. Says the commission:

"Now for the first time rose the idea of national independence. Aguinaldo issued a proclamation in which he took the responsibility of promising it to his people on behalf of the American Government, although he admitted freely in private conversation with members of his cabinet that neither Admiral Dewey nor any other American had made him any such promise."

GROWTH OF FRICTION.

The report states that Aguinaldo wished to attack the Americans when they landed at Paranaque, but was deterred by lack of arms and ammunition. From that point on there was a growing friction between the Filipinos and the American troops.

"There were no conferences," says the report, "between the officers of the Filipinos and our officers with a view to operating against the Spaniards, nor was there co-operation of any kind. * * * There never was any preconcerted operation or any combined movement by the United States and Filipinos against the Spaniards."

Reference is made to Aguinaldo's demand that he be allowed to loot Manila and take the arms of the Spaniards. The latter demand is said to confirm the statement that he intended to get possession of the arms to attack the Americans.

WAITING FOR PRETEXT.

Further evidence of the hostile intentions of the Filipinos was found in the organization of "popular clubs," which later on furnished a local militia to attack the Americans. The decrees of the Filipino congress are also cited, as well as the making of bolos (knives) in every shop in Manila.

It is shown that a considerable element in the Filipino congress wished to address to President McKinley a request not to abandon the Filipinos. (At this stage the Paris conference was discussing the future of the Philippines.) The President was also to be asked his desire as to the form of government he wished to establish. But all this time Aguinaldo was preparing for war and delaying these messages, and it was understood that the attack would come upon the first act by the American forces, which would afford a pretext.

FILIPINOS BEGIN WAR.

A brief chapter then tells of the lack of success attending the effort made at this time by Gen. Merritt, through a commission, to arrive at a mutual understanding with Aguinaldo as to the intentions, purposes and desires of the Filipino people. This brings the story up to the outbreak on the evening of the 4th of February, with the attack upon the American troops, following the action of the Nebraskan sentinel. The commission, in concluding this chapter, says:

"After the landing of our troops Aguinaldo made up his mind that it would be necessary to fight the Americans, and after the making of the treaty of peace at Paris this determination was strengthened. He did not openly declare that he intended to fight the Americans, but he excited everybody, and especially the military men, by claiming independence, and it is doubtful whether he had the power to check or control the army at the time hostilities broke out.

NO ALTERNATIVE LEFT.

"Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us, except ignominious retreat. It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations, to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force.

"Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

REIGN OF TERROR.

The commissioners then take up the condition of the country at the time of their arrival, comparing it with conditions existing when they left a short time ago. A vivid picture is given of the anarchy existing among the inhabitants in and about Manila during the early spring.

"The situation in the city," says the commission, "was bad. Incendiary fires occurred daily. The streets were almost deserted. Half of the native population had fled and most of the remainder were shut in their houses. Business was at a standstill. Insurgent troops everywhere faced our lines, and the sound of rifle fire was frequently audible in our house. A reign of terror prevailed. Filipinos who had favored Americans feared assassination, and few had the courage to come out openly for us. Fortunately there were among this number some of the best men of the city."

RESTORING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.

The report then speaks of the issuance of the commission's proclamation and the good effects it had on public sentiment. The natives, accustomed to Spanish promises, urged upon the commission that acts instead of promises should be given them. As a result native law courts were established and this greatly aided in the restoration of public confidence. The flow of population soon began to set toward the city. Natives who had fled from their homes returned.

As showing the limited scope of the rebellion the commission states:

"We learned that the strong anti-American feeling was confined to the Tagalo provinces, namely: Manila, Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Morong, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Principe, Infanta and Zambales. It was strongest in the first six named, and hardly existed in the last four.

REVOLT NOT POPULAR.

"The population of these provinces is estimated to be about 1,500,000, but it should not be supposed that even in the six provinces immediately adjacent to Manila the people were united in their opposition to us. Even here there was a strong conservative element, consisting of people of wealth and intelligence, opposed to the war."

Under the head, "The Rebellion Not a National Movement," the report treats of the rebellion outside of the provinces of Luzon, where, it is stated, the uprising was viewed at first with indifference and later with fear. Throughout the archipelago at large there was trouble only at those points to which armed Tagalos had been sent in considerable numbers.

ASK AMERICAN HELP.

The machinery of insurgent "government" served only for plundering the people under the pretext of levying "war contributions, while many of the insurgent officials were rapidly accumulating wealth." It is stated that the insurgent administration throughout the interior was worse than in the days of Spanish misrule. In many provinces there was absolute anarchy, and from all sides came petitions for protection and help.

In speaking of Gen. MacArthur's movement northward the report tells of the insurgent method of intimidating the natives by telling them fearful tales concerning the American soldiers. This method of procedure, eminently successful at first, in the end recoiled on its authors.

TROOPS BRING PEACE.

As to the state of affairs when the commission left the report says:

"Before the commission left the Philippines nearly all the inhabitants had returned to those ruined villages. Many of the houses had been rebuilt. Fields that had lain fallow for three years were green with growing crops. Municipal governments were established, and the people, protected by our troops, were enjoying peace, security and a degree of participation in their own government previously unknown in the history of the Philippines. Attempts of the insurgents to raise recruits and money in the province of Bulacan were proving abortive, except when backed by bayonets and bullets, and even in such cases the natives were applying to us for help to resist them."

The chapter devoted to "Establishment of Municipal Governments" gives in detail the efforts in that direction. There were many difficulties encountered. The condition of the people was found to be most pitiable. They had been plundered by the insurgent troops, who had robbed them of jewels, money, clothing and even food, so that they were literally starving. Peaceful citizens had been fired on. Women had been maltreated.

PLAN OF GOVERNMENT.

There was general satisfaction that the Americans had come at last, and conditions seemed favorable for an American propaganda. The towns of Bacoor and Imus were selected for the purpose of experiment, and after talks with the local "head men" a local form of government was established. Encouraged by the result, the work was continued at Paranaque and Las Pinas, with similar good results.

At the request of Gen. Lawton, who had been assigned to this work by Gen. Otis, the commission prepared a simple scheme of municipal government, similar enough to the old system to be readily comprehensible to the natives, but giving them liberties which they had never before enjoyed. This scheme was adopted and gave general satisfaction.

In every instance enthusiasm ran high before the commissioners took their departure, and cheers were raised for Gen. Lawton and for the country which he represented.

SECURE GOOD RESULTS.

With a single exception the officials elected proved worthy of the trust imposed in them, and conditions very rapidly improved in the newly organized towns. Governments were organized with more satisfactory results in Pandacan, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Meri, San Pedro and Machei, while a slightly different system was put into effect in Malabon, Polo, Obando, Meycauya, Yang and Malolos.

The commission states that a large amount of supervision over the affairs of our new municipalities proved necessary, as the officials were timid and slow to comprehend their new duties. At many of the elections the voters went about "asking who they were expected to vote for," and it was only with great difficulty that they were persuaded to exercise the right of free suffrage.

SCHOOLS FOR MANILA.

The commissioners sum up the situation at the time of their departure as follows:

"When we left Manila a large volume of business was being done, and the streets were so crowded as to be hardly safe. The native population was quiet and orderly and all fear of an uprising had long since passed. An efficient corps of native policemen was on duty. A system of public schools in which English was taught had been advocated by the commission and established by Gen. Otis. Some 6,000 scholars were in attendance.

"In the Tagalo provinces of Luzon, where the anti-American feeling had been strongest, public sentiment had greatly changed, as evidenced by the fact that the military governor of Batangas had offered to surrender his troops and his province if we would only send a small force there. The Bico's, in southern Luzon, had risen against their Tagalo masters. The Macabebes were clamoring for an opportunity to fight in our ranks, and native soldiers and scouts were already serving under Gen. Lawton.

REBELLION DYING OUT.

"Stories of the corruption of insurgent officers were becoming daily more common, and the disintegration of the enemy's forces was steadily progressing. The hope of assistance from outside sources seemed to be all that held them together."

Having given so much attention to the Island of Luzon, the commission then takes up in detail the conditions in the other islands. On this point it is stated that the rebellion is essentially Tagalo, and when it ends in Luzon it must end throughout the archipelago. The situation elsewhere than in Luzon is summed up as follows:

"The only island, apart from Luzon, where serious trouble threatens, is Panay, to which a considerable force of Tagalo soldiers was sent before

the outbreak of hostilities. Many of the Visayans of this island are opposed to the Tagalos, however, and it is not believed that the latter can make a formidable resistance.

OPPOSE THE TAGALOS.

"In Samar, Leyte and Masbate the Tagalo invaders are numerically few and are disliked by the natives of these islands, whom they have oppressed. We were assured that 200 men would suffice to restore order in Mindoro. Bobol was asking for troops. The Calamianes islanders had sent word that they would welcome us. There can be no resistance in Palawan. Satisfactory relations had already been established with the warlike Moros, whose sultan had previously been conciliated by a member of the commission, and in Mindano this tribe had even taken up our cause and attacked the insurgents, of whom there are very few in the island.

"In Cebu we have only to reckon with the lawless element, which has never been very formidable there."

Special attention is given to the island of Negros, as this seemed a field well adapted to the extension of an American system. Here the natives have adopted a local form of government, including a congress, and had raised the American flag. They believed themselves capable of managing their own affairs and asked for a battalion of troops to hold in check a mountainous band of fanatics. The battalion was furnished, but the people proved unable to carry out their program owing to ill feeling among their own officials. The Americans remained popular.

NEED AMERICAN RULE.

At the request of Gen. Otis a new and simplified scheme of government for the island, giving the people a large voice in their affairs, but placing an American in full control, was put into operation. It brought about satisfaction, and public order is better in the island to-day than at any time during the last twenty years.

Summarizing the failure of the native form of government and the success of the American control, the commission says:

"The flat failure of this attempt to establish an independent native government in Negros, conducted as it was under the most favorable circumstances, makes it apparent that here, as well as in the less favored provinces, a large amount of American control is at present absolutely essential to a successful administration of public affairs."

EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

The efforts at conciliation with Aguinaldo and his various commissions are set forth in detail. These commissioners were assured of the beneficent purposes of the United States and the President's readiness to grant the Filipino people as large a measure of home rule and as ample liberty as consistent with the end of government, "subject only to the recognition of the sovereignty of the United States—a point which, being established, the commission invariably refused even to discuss."

The commission adds that nothing came of negotiations, as Aguinaldo's emissaries were without powers, and merely came, and came again, for information. Courteous reception was accorded to the insurgent commissions, and earnest appeals made to stop further bloodshed, all witnessing "the spirit of patient conciliation" exhibited by the American commission in endeavoring to reach an amicable adjustment with the insurgents, as well as the obduracy of Aguinaldo.

ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The report sums up the result of these fruitless exchanges, as follows:

"No better proof could be furnished that the primary object of his struggle is not, as is pretended, the liberty of the Filipino peoples, but the continuance of his own arbitrary and despotic power. In any event, the

American people may feel confident that no effort was omitted by the commission to secure a peaceful end of the struggle, but the opportunities they offered and urged were all neglected, if not, indeed, spurned."

The chapter devoted to "Capacity For Self-Government" is the result, the report states, of diligent inquiry for several months, in the course of which a great number of witnesses were examined, of all shades of political thought and varieties of occupation, tribe and locality.

TRIBES, NOT A NATION.

The most striking and perhaps the most significant fact in the entire situation is the multiplicity of tribes inhabiting the archipelago, the diversity of their languages (which are mutually unintelligible) and the multifarious phases of civilization—ranging all the way from the highest to the lowest. As to this the report says:

"The Filipinos are not a nation, but a variegated assemblage of different tribes and peoples, and their loyalty is still of the tribal type."

Concerning their intellectual capacities the commission says:

"As to the general intellectual capacities of the Filipinos the commission is disposed to rate them high. But excepting in a limited number of persons these capacities have not been developed by education and experience. The masses of the people are uneducated.

NEED OF EDUCATION.

"That intelligent public opinion on which popular government rests does not exist in the Philippines. And it cannot exist until education has elevated the masses, broadened their intellectual horizon and disciplined their faculty of judgment. And even then the power of self-government cannot be assumed without considerable previous training and experience under the guidance and tutelage of an enlightened and liberal foreign power. For the bald fact is that the Filipinos have never had any experience in governing themselves."

The report shows that this inability for self-government is due to the old Spanish regime, which gave the Filipinos little or no part in governing themselves. After reviewing this Spanish system the commission sums up on this point:

"This is all the training in self-government which the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have enjoyed. Their lack of education and political experience, combined with their racial and linguistic diversities, disqualify them, in spite of their mental gifts and domestic virtues, to undertake the task of governing the archipelago at the present time. The most that can be expected of them is to co-operate with the Americans in the administration of general affairs, from Manila as a center, and to undertake, subject to American control or guidance (as may be found necessary), the administration of provincial and municipal affairs.

MUST RETAIN RULE.

"Fortunately, there are educated Filipinos, though they do not constitute a large proportion of the entire population, and their support and services will be of incalculable value in inaugurating and maintaining the new government. As education advances and experience ripens, the natives may be intrusted with a larger and more independent share of government, self-government, as the American ideal, being constantly kept in view as the goal. In this way American sovereignty over the archipelago will prove a great political boon to the people.

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them.

"Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free,

self-governing and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. And the indispensable need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. Nevertheless they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos cannot stand alone.

"Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We cannot from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

PRAISE FOR TROOPS.

One of the closing chapters of the report is devoted to a tribute to "our soldiers and sailors in the war." The commission says that the presence of Admiral Dewey as a member of this body makes it unfitting to dwell on his personal achievements, but he joins in the eulogy of his comrades. The commissioners witnessed some of the many brave deeds of our soldiers, and they declare that all that skill, courage and a patient endurance can do has been done in the Philippines.

They dismiss the reports of the desecrating of churches, the murdering of prisoners and the committing of unmentionable crimes, and say they are glad to express the belief that a war was never more humanely conducted, adding:

"If churches were occupied it was only as a military necessity, and frequently their use as forts by the insurgents had made it necessary to train our artillery upon them.

BRIGHT TRADE FUTURE.

"Prisoners were taken whenever opportunity offered, often only to be set at liberty after being disarmed and fed. Up to the time of our departure, although numerous spies had been captured, not a single Filipino had been executed. Such wrongs as were casually committed against the natives were likely to be brought to our attention, and in every case that we investigated we found a willingness on the part of those in authority to administer prompt justice."

The commissioners give a general view of the value of the islands, their richness in agricultural and forest products, their mineral wealth and their commanding geographical position. They state that the Philippine Islands should soon become one of the great trade centers of the East. Manila is already connected by new steamship lines with Australia, India and Japan, and she will become the mutual terminus of many other lines when a ship canal connects the Atlantic with the Pacific. It cannot be doubted that commerce will greatly increase, and the United States will obtain a large share in this treatment.

BENEFIT TO ISLANDS.

Manila, with the immunity which it has thus far enjoyed from that terrible pest, the bubonic plague, should become a distributing center for China, Siam, the Straits Settlements, Tonquin, Annam and Australia.

The report concludes:

"Our control means to the inhabitants of the Philippines internal peace and order, a guarantee against foreign aggression and against the dismemberment of their country, commercial and industrial prosperity and as large a share of the affairs of government as they shall prove fit to take. When peace and prosperity shall have been established throughout the archipelago, when education shall have become general, then, in the language of a leading Filipino, his people will, under our guidance, 'become more American than the Americans themselves.'"

DEWEY HEARD FROM.

On May 20, 1898, Admiral Dewey cabled to the Navy Department:

"Aguinaldo, the rebel commander-in-chief, was brought down by the McCulloch. Organizing forces near Cavite, and may render assistance which will be valuable."

On May 26 the Secretary of the Navy telegraphed to Admiral Dewey as follows:

"It is desirable, as far as possible, and consistent for your success and safety, not to have political alliances with the insurgents or any faction in the islands that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future."

To this telegram Dewey replied:

"Receipt of telegram of May 26 is acknowledged, and I thank the department for the expression of confidence. Have acted according to the spirit of department's instructions therein from the beginning, and I have entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction. This squadron can reduce the defenses of Manila at any moment, but it is considered useless until the arrival of sufficient United States forces to retain possession."

AGUINALDO CONSPIRES.

As soon as Aguinaldo discovered he was to have no assistance from the United States he commenced to conspire against our forces there, intending to overthrow the authority of this Government in the islands.

DEWEY'S STRONG DENIAL.

In a pamphlet afterwards published by Aguinaldo, entitled "The True Version of the Philippine Revolution," he charged that Admiral Dewey had assured him that the United States would recognize the independence of the Filipinos. When this was published, the admiral wrote the following letter to Senator Lodge:

"Dear Senator Lodge: The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, recently published in the Springfield Republican, so far as it relates to me is a tissue of falsehood. I never promised him, directly or indirectly, independence for the Filipinos. I never treated him as an ally, except so far as to make use of him and his soldiers to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards. He never uttered the word 'independence' in any conversation with me or my officers. The statement that I received him with military honors, or saluted the Filipino flag, is absolutely false.

"Sincerely yours,

GEORGE DEWEY."

AGUINALDO ORGANIZES REVOLUTION.

On May 24 Aguinaldo issued three proclamations, one containing decrees as to the treatment of the Spanish enemy, another announcing the establishment of a dictatorial government with himself as dictator, and the third containing further decrees concerning military operations.

In the following July he organized a revolutionary government with himself as President. During that month the several detachments of the United States army arrived at Manila, and on July 25 Gen. Merritt took command, and Admiral Dewey sent the following dispatch:

"Merritt arrived yesterday in the Newport. The remainder of the expedition is expected within the next few days. Situation is most critical at Manila. The Spanish may surrender at any moment. Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with insurgents under Aguinaldo, who has become aggressive and even threatening toward our army."

HOSTILITIES BEGUN BY AGUINALDO.

On Aug. 13 Manila was captured, and of this and subsequent events the Philippine commission composed of Admiral Dewey, Gen. Otis, Presi-

dent Schurman, Prof. Worcester and Gen. Denby, says: "When the city of Manila was taken on Aug. 13, the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following in with a view of looting the city and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city; he demanded of Gen. Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manila, also that a part of the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners. This confirms the statement already made that he intended to get possession of these arms for the purpose of attacking us. All these demands were refused. After the taking of Manila the feeling between the Americans and the insurgents grew worse day by day. * * * Aguinaldo removed his seat of government to Malolos, where the so-called Filipino congress assembled.

FILIPINOS PREPARED FOR WAR.

On the 21st of September a significant decree passed the Filipino congress imposing a military service on every male over 18 years of age, except those holding government positions. In every carriage factory and blacksmith shop in Manila bolos (knives) were being made. * * * Danger signals now multiplied. Aguinaldo endeavored to get the war making power transferred from congress to himself, and also urged a heavy bond issue to secure one million dollars for the purchase of arms and ammunition. * * * It is now known that elaborate plans had been perfected for a simultaneous attack by the force within and without Manila. * * * Persistent attacks were made to provoke our soldiers to fire. The insurgents were insolent to our guards and made persistent and continuous efforts to push them back and advance the insurgent lines further into the city of Manila.

TO ATTACK AMERICANS.

Early in January, 1899, Aguinaldo had his plans perfected so as to be ready to commence hostilities against the American forces.

The following order, which has never before been published, was received from Captain J. J. Erwin, assistant surgeon Thirtieth infantry, stationed at Lueban, in the Island of Luzon. Captain Erwin says the document was found in the church at Lueban when that place was garrisoned by the Second battalion, Thirtieth infantry, with enlistment rolls with names of officers and men enrolled in conformity to the order.

The original is in Spanish and the translation is as follows:

PROOF AGAINST AGUINALDO.

Gentlemen:

No. 1253.

The Local Chiefs of the Coast.

From Lueban to Guinayangan.

The Office of the Secretary of the Interior has seen fit to order the following:

The Secretary of the Interior of the G. R. of the Filipinos in a telegraphic circular of yesterday says to me the following:

From the Secretary of the Interior to provincial presidents, to be circulated among the local chiefs of every town, Manila.

Push the preparations of all the towns to oppose the American invasion. See that all the inhabitants have their bolos and daggers prepared, that in every street or ward there be organized a national militia; every six should have a corporal, every thirteen a sergeant and every twenty-six a second lieutenant, every fifty-two a first lieutenant and every 104 a captain; the soldiers of the national militia should elect their chiefs of leaders. Make it clear to all that our salvation depends on our activity. The local chief of the Laguna (Lake) will please pass this circular to the chief of Tayabos, and in this manner from one to another until all have received it.

I have the pleasure of transmitting this to you for your information.
May God guard you.
Santa Ana, Jan. 5, 1899.
(Signed)

ESCOTASTIES SARANDANA.

I transmit the same to you for your knowledge and for all, that they fulfill with fidelity that which is ordered therein. Run without loss of time from town to town and return from the last with a report of the fulfillment of all that is hereby ordered.

Lucena, Jan. 7, 1899.

(Signed) QUIRINO ELEAZAR.

CONSPIRACY PERFECTED.

This was dated Jan. 5, 1899, just one month before the insurrection against the United States broke out. It shows that the conspiracy had then been perfected and that the Filipino people were being organized to attack the American troops. Two days later, on Jan. 7, Aguinaldo wrote to personal friends in Manila as follows:

"Malelos, Jan. 7, 1899.

"My Dear Don Benito—I write this to ask you to send to this our government the photograph you have in your house, and I will pay you whatever price you may ask. Also buy me everything which may be necessary to provide the said photograph.

"I beg you to leave Manila with your family and to come here to Malelos, but not because I wish to frighten you. I merely wish to warn you for your satisfaction, although it is not yet the day or the week.

"Your affectionate friend, who kisses your hands,

"EMILIO AGUINALDO."

TRYING TO AVERT HOSTILITIES.

Meantime the American commander-in-chief, under instructions from President McKinley, was doing everything in his power to avert hostilities and cultivate terms of friendship with the Filipinos. On this point the report of the Philippine commission says:

"Aguinaldo endeavored to get the war-making power transferred from congress to himself. He also urged a heavy bond issue to secure one million dollars for the purchase of arms and ammunition. It is now known that elaborate plans had been perfected for a simultaneous attack by the forces within and without Manila. The militia within the city numbered approximately ten thousand; they were armed for the most part with bolos. Gen. Pio del Pilar slept in the city every night. No definite date had been set for the attack, but a signal by means of rockets had been agreed upon, and it was universally understood that it would come upon the occurrence of the first act on the part of the American forces which would afford a pretext; and in the lack of such act in the near future at all events. Persistent attempts were made to provoke our soldiers to fire. The insurgents were insolent to our guards and made persistent and continuous efforts to push them back and advance the insurgent lines further into the city of Manila. It was a long and trying period of insult and abuse heaped upon our soldiers, with constant submission as the only means of avoiding an open rupture. The Filipinos had concluded that our soldiers were cowards and boasted openly that we were afraid of them. Rumors were always prevalent that our army would be attacked at once.

"With great tact and patience the commanding general had held his forces in check, and he now made a final effort to preserve the peace by appointing a commission to meet a similar body appointed by Aguinaldo to 'confer with regard to the situation of affairs and to arrive at a mutual understanding of the intent, purposes, aims and desires of the Filipino people and of the people of the United States.' Six sessions were

held, the last occurring on Jan. 29, six days before the outbreak of hostilities. No substantial results were obtained; the Filipino commissioners being either unable or unwilling to give any definite statements of the 'intent, purposes and aims of their people;' at the close of the last session they were given full assurances that no hostile act would be inaugurated by the United States troops.

"The critical moment had now arrived. Aguinaldo secretly ordered the Filipinos who were friendly to him to seek refuge outside the city. The Nebraska regiment at that time was in camp on the east line at Santa Mesa, and was guarding its front. For days before the memorable 4th of February, 1899, the outposts in front of the regiment had been openly menaced and assaulted by insurgent soldiers; they were attempting to push our outposts back and advance their line. They made light of our sentinels and persistently ignored their orders.

"On the evening of the 4th of February an insurgent officer came to the front with a detail of men and attempted to pass the guard on the San Juan bridge, our guard being stationed at the west end of the bridge. The Nebraska sentinel drove them back without firing, but a few minutes before 9 o'clock that evening a large body of insurgent troops made an advance on the South Dakota outposts, which fell back rather than fire. About the same time the insurgents came in force to the east end of the San Juan bridge, in front of the Nebraska regiment. For several nights prior thereto a lieutenant in the insurgent army had been coming regularly to our outpost No. 2, of the Nebraska regiment, and attempting to force the outpost back and insisting on posting his guard within the Nebraska lines; and at this time and in the darkness he again appeared with a detail of about six men and approached Private Grayson of Company D, First Nebraska volunteers, the sentinel on duty at outpost No. 2. He, after halting them three times without effect, fired, killing the lieutenant, whose men returned the fire and then retreated. Immediately rockets were sent up by the Filipinos, and they commenced firing all along the line.

"The story of the actual fighting has often been told by military men who were engaged in it, and we do not deem it necessary to give a description of it here. It is known of all men that immediately after the first shot the insurgents opened fire all along their line and continued to fire until about midnight; and about 4 o'clock on the morning of February 5 the insurgents again opened fire all around the city and kept it up until the Americans charged them and drove them with great slaughter out of their trenches.

"After the landing of our troops, Aguinaldo made up his mind that it would be necessary to fight the Americans, and after the making of the treaty of peace at Paris this determination was strengthened. He did not openly declare that he intended to fight the Americans, but he excited everybody, and especially the military men, by claiming independence, and it is doubtful whether he had the power to check or control the army at the time hostilities broke out. Deplorable as war is, the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left to us, except ignominious retreat. It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations, and to the friendly Filipinos, and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

On the very night the fighting began Aguinaldo issued the following:

ORDER TO THE PHILIPPINE ARMY.

Nine o'clock p. m., this date, I received from Caloocan station a message communicated to me that the American forces, without prior notification or any just motive, attacked our camp at San Juan del Monte and our forces garrisoning the blockhouses around the outskirts of Manila, causing losses among our soldiers, who, in view of this unexpected aggression and of the decided attack of the aggressors, were obliged to defend themselves until the firing became general all along the line.

No one can deplore more than I this rupture of hostilities. I have a clear conscience that I have endeavored to avoid it at all costs, using all my efforts to preserve friendship with the army of occupation, even at the cost of not a few humiliations and many sacrificed rights.

But it is my unavoidable duty to maintain the integrity of the national honor and that of the army so unjustly attacked by those who, posing as our friends and liberators, attempted to dominate us in place of the Spaniards, as is shown by the grievances enumerated in my manifest of Jan. 8 last; such as the continued outrages and violent exactions committed against the people of Manila, the useless conferences, and all my frustrated efforts in favor of peace and concord.

Summoned by this unexpected provocation, urged by the duties imposed upon me by honor and patriotism and for the defense of the nation intrusted to me, calling on God as a witness of my good faith and the uprightness of my intentions.

I order and command:

1. Peace and friendly relations between the Philippine forces and the American forces of occupation are broken, and the latter will be treated as enemies, with the limits prescribed by the laws of war.

2. American soldiers who may be captured by the Philippine forces will be treated as prisoners of war.

3. This proclamation shall be communicated to the accredited consuls of Manila, and to congress, in order that it may accord the suspension of the constitutional guaranties and the resulting declaration of war.

Given at Malolos, Feb. 4, 1899.

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

General in Chief.

TO ATTACK THE AMERICANS.

The following proclamation was issued by Aguinaldo's Secretary of the Interior on Feb. 5, 1899:

First—You will so dispose that at 8 o'clock at night the individuals of the territorial militia at your order will be found united in all the streets of San Pedro armed with their "bolos" and revolvers and guns and ammunition, if convenient.

Second—Philippine families only will be respected. They should not be molested, but all other individuals, of whatsoever race they may be, will be exterminated without any compassion after the extermination of the army of occupation.

Third—The defenders of the Philippines in your command will attack the guard of Bilibid and liberate the prisoners and "presidarios," and, having accomplished this, they will be armed, saying to them, "Brothers, we must avenge ourselves on the Americans and exterminate them, that we may take our revenge for the infamies and treacheries which they have committed upon us. Have no compassion upon them; attack with vigor. All Filipinos 'en masse' will second you. Long live Filipino independence"

Fifth—The order which will be followed in the attack will be as follows: The sharpshooters of Tondo and Santa Ana, will begin the attack from without, and these shots will be the signal for the militia of Trozo, Binondo, Quiapo and Sampaloc to go out into the street and do their duty. Those of Paco, Ermita and Malate, Santa Cruz and San Miguel will not start out until 12 o'clock unless they see their companions need assistance.

Sixth—The militia will start out at 3 o'clock in the morning. If all do their duty our revenge will be complete. Brothers, Europe contemplates us. We know how to die as men, shedding our blood in defense of the liberty of our country. Death to the tyrants; war without quarter to the false Americans, who have deceived us! Either independence or death.

"THE FIRE IN THE REAR."

"The fire in the rear" has done more to prolong the insurrection in the Philippines and stimulate the rebel chief to resistance than all the armies Aguinaldo has been able to raise. On this point, Gen. Lawton wrote as follows to Mr. John Barrett, formerly American minister at Siam:

GEN. LAWTON'S LETTER.

"I wish to God that this whole Philippine situation could be known by everyone in America as I know it. If the real history, inspiration and conditions of this insurrection, and the influences, local and external, that now encourage the enemy, as well as the actual possibilities of these islands and peoples and their relations to this great East could be understood at home, we would hear no more talk of unjust 'shooting of government' into the Filipinos or of hauling down our flag in the Philippines.

"If the so-called anti-imperialists would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground, and not in distant America, they, whom I believe to be honest men misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions and of the unfortunate effect of their publications here. If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observation confirmed by captured prisoners, that the continuance of the fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America.

"HENRY W. LAWTON."

AGUINALDO AND THE DEMOCRATS.

In October, 1899, Aguinaldo published a signed manifesto in which he said:

"We ask God that he may grant the triumph of the Democratic party in the United States, which is the party which defends the Philippines, and that imperialism may cease from its mad idea of subduing us with its arms."

The revolutionists follow every utterance made by the Democratic enemies of the administration, and by those hostile to the acquisition of the Philippines. Here are some statements that have been printed and published by the Filipinos:

IN HONOR OF MR. BRYAN.

"In the United States meetings and banquets have been held in honor of our honorable President, Don Emilio, who was proclaimed by Mr. Bryan, the future President of the United States, as one of the heroes of the world.

"The Masonic society, interpreting the unanimous desire of the people, together with the Government, organizes a meeting and popular assembly in this capital in favor of the national independence, which will take place on Sunday, the 29th, in honor of Mr. Bryan and the anti-imperialist party which defends our cause in the United States.

"All the Masons and all the Filipino people are called to take part in this solemn act. The meeting will be composed of three parts: First—At 8 in the morning on the 29th, a gathering in an appropriate place will take place, which will begin by singing the national hymn; then appropriate speeches will be read. Second—At midday a banquet will take place in the palace in honor of Mr. Bryan, who will be represented by American prisoners. Third—At 4 in the afternoon a popular manifestation will take place everywhere—the people will decorate and illuminate their houses, bands of music will pass through the streets."

CO-OPERATING WITH BRYAN.

"Filipino Republic, Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

"Wishing to hold a meeting in the morning of Sunday next in the presidential palace of this republic, to correspond to the one held in the United States by Mr. Bryan, who toasted our honorable president as one of the heroes of the world, and with the object of carrying this out with the utmost pomp and with contributing by the presence of your subordinates to its greater splendor, I would be obliged if you would come to see me for a conference upon this matter.

"May God keep you many years.

"FELIPE BUENCAMINO,

"Tarlac, Oct. 26, 1899."

OPPOSED TO McKINLEY.

Next is an extract from La Independencia, a newspaper published in the Philippines:

Mr. Bryan, the competitor of McKinley in the last presidential election and the candidate selected for the future by the Democratic party, has published a manifesto which has caused a profound sensation in the United States.

Mr. Bryan announces himself decidedly opposed to the imperial policy of the Government, and shows the danger in which American institutions will be placed by this entirely new ambition for colonization. * * * He asks that the regime instituted in Cuba be applied to all the territory taken from Spain. * * *

To place the American yoke on the millions of natives who wish to be free, 200,000 men will be needed. * * * Feb. 2, 1899.

A great popular meeting was held in New York on Feb. 23, to protest against the imperialistic policy of the United States. March 8, 1899.

FILIPINOS HONORING BRYAN.

The following is a telegram from the rebel Secretary of War: "Provincial Chief Zambales.

"Received your circular by telegraph yesterday. Was received with great animation and patriotic enthusiasm by the people gathered in a great reunion in government house. We had early this morning a gathering of civil and military officers and private persons to celebrate the independence of the country and in honor of Mr. Bryan, and at 4 p. m. we shall have the second part of the meeting. We all join in congratulating our honorable President, the Government and the army.

"TARLAC, "Secretary of War."

The following is a translation of a circular or proclamation:

"May Providence decree that in the election for the President of the United States the Democratic party, which defends us, shall triumph, and not the imperialistic party, which is headed by Mr. McKinley, and which attacks us.

"The great Democrat, Mr. Bryan, one of the most eminent men of the United States, is assured that he will be the future President, and then our happy hours begin. There have also been celebrated in New York and Chicago great meetings and banquets in honor of our dearly beloved President, Sr. Aguinaldo, who was entitled one of the world's true heroes.

"The masses who have thus voted in our favor have done the same with reference to Cuba, asking her independence, for which she is already to-day struggling.

"Finally, the conduct of the Filipino annexationists condemns itself. They have changed their flag as they changed their shirts, and are animated solely by momentary lust of stolen gold; but by their own vile conduct, aided by their thieving country, they are only raising their own scaffold. "God guard your excellencies many years.

"Guinabatan, Dec. 4, 1899."

"SIG. DOMINGO SAMSON.

It is this "fire in the rear" that has done so much to sustain the Philippine rebellion and prolong the war against the peaceful administration of affairs by the United States.

"* * * Our industrial supremacy, our productive capacity, our business and commercial prosperity, our labor and its rewards, our national credit and currency, our proud financial honor and our splendid free citizenship, the birthright of every American, are all involved in the pending campaign, and thus every home in the land is directly and intimately connected with their proper settlement."
—WILLIAM MCKINLEY

From Silver to Soldier

BRYAN STILL STICKS TO FIGURES
BUT CHANGES ISSUES

1 TO 999

INSTEAD OF

16 TO 1

The Pop-Dem "Paramount Issue"

and

True Story of the Philippines

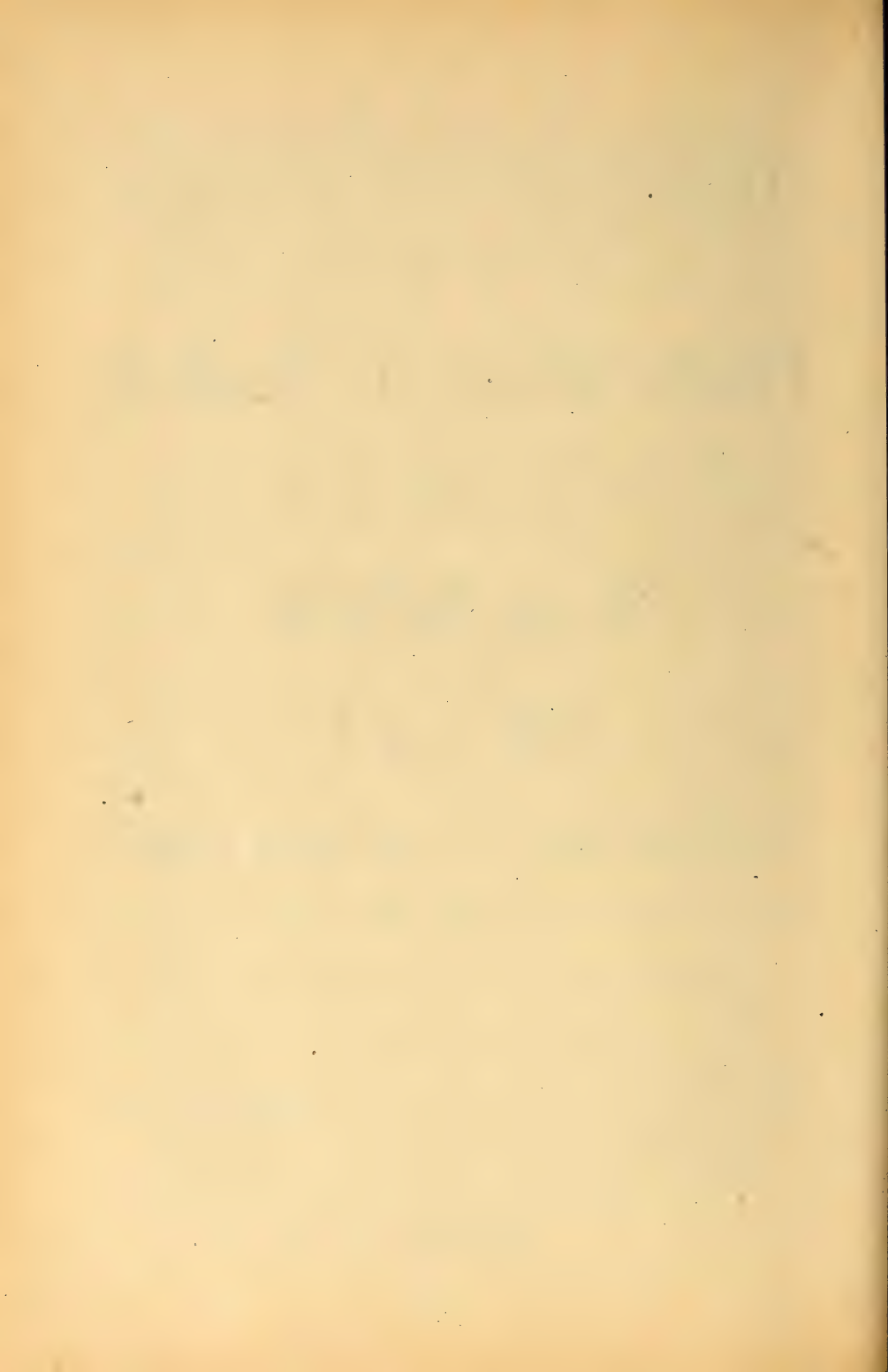
AGAINST DEMOCRATIC FILIPINO FICTION

The Dem = Pop Phantom Imperialism

A Simple Arithmetic Solution of Bryan's Latest Folly

BY MURAT HALSTEAD





The fiction that this country of ours is in peril of Imperialism, is an evolution and emission of a partially developed Anarchism. What the hysterical seekers of possession of the Government, the claimants that they have a right under common law, because they lost in 1896, to win in 1900, mean by Imperialism, is Nationalism. They are opposed to a great American Nationality now, just as the Spaniards, French and British were in the beginning, when the Independence of the Fourth of July colonies was gained, and the Treaty with England after the surrender of Yorktown, was in course

**How Franklin
Held the Land
For the People**

of negotiation. The victorious colonies were represented in the Treaty made by Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay. Bourbon France had

helped the English colonies to become independent, but by no means wanted a great free nation founded in North America, and so France claimed all the territory west of the Mississippi river, from the source to the mouth. England claimed all south of the lakes and the St. Lawrence, to the New England border, west of the Allegheny river, and north of the Ohio river—the very Ohio country that George Washington in his youth attempted to conquer, but failed in part, because the English-speaking colonies were not united, and were discordant, and therefore incapable. Fortunately,

**Gov. Patrick
Henry's
Western Point**

Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, seconded with moral and material aid the generous and adventurous ambition of George Rogers Clark,

who conquered Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and therefore our Revolutionary fathers got the title of the sword, for the northwestern territory, and held it. Benjamin Franklin, especially, was sturdy in asserting that claim, and saved for the people of coming generations the wild land that now comprises Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Our grand old fathers were not afraid of Military titles, or of domains of good land, Imperial in scope, and magnificent in promise.

Spain claimed the entire Gulf of Mexico, and all contiguous land and waters, including the mouth of the Mississippi river, and all the territory south of the Carolinas, except a scrap of Georgia. They had established themselves on the Mississippi river as far north as Natchez, and claimed that which is now the splendid state of Ten-

**European Com-
bine to Belittle
Our Country**

nessee entire. The three great European powers of the Eighteenth Century—England, France and Spain—were combined to allow us only the comparatively slender strip of country along the Atlantic Coast, the Alleghenies being the extreme western boundary, with the exception of the then county of Kentucky, which was indisputably the property of Virginia, and extended in a peninsula between the territory claimed by Spain and England, touching on the extreme west the Mississippi river, beyond which was Louisiana, or the vast remnant of the North American possessions of the French. The idea of the European Monarchial Imperialists was that the new Nation in North America, that all European statesmen had to contemplate, should be prevented from laying the foundations of a free and mighty nationality capable of confronting in American affairs the powers of Western Europe, whose substantial alliance in favor of belittling the future United States was very threatening and imposing. It is easy to say the French, Spaniards and English could not have held against the people of the United States all the land they claimed, but their very object was in seeking to restrict our boundaries to make us in some sense subordinate to Europe; and the British have held on to Canada, and the Spaniards clung a long time to Mexico and Cuba. There are men still living who remember the Military proceedings of General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans and Pensacola, confirming the title deeds of the real estate Thomas Jefferson bought from Napoleon Bonaparte, and beginning the good work of startling and starting the Spaniards in their speedy policy of retirement from the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico—the Mediterranean of the Americas. Thomas Jefferson was bitterly assailed for his Imperialistic waste of the public moneys of poor people in purchasing an enormous wilderness from a man who did not own an acre of it, and for which we could have no rational use, but his offense for buying land for the people has been condoned, and Andrew Jackson, January 8, 1815, removed all chance of contesting our title to the mouth of the Mississippi river, and the immensities westward and northward.

Mr. Jefferson not only bought the land—and there was a Porto Rico row about that—but, though the author of the Declaration of Independence, he never asked the consent of the governed, and sent Lewis and Clark on an expedition to ascend the Missouri and descend the Oregon until the flag floated by the surf of the Pacific Ocean—the same

**The Way We
Got to the
Pacific**

flag that now floats over three great states and one great territory on the Pacific Coast, and the three most commanding archipelagoes in the greater ocean of the globe. This is "the course of Empire" deep into the sunset, the road to India, that Thomas Hart Benton told his generation of. This portentous extension of our Dominions, the only actual Imperialism ever exhibited or tolerated, was in great

The Great Virginian and Tennessee Presidents

part the good work of the five Presidents from Virginia and the three from Tennessee—Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison and Tyler, Virginians, and Jackson, Polk and Johnson, Tennesseans. Washington was the foremost of the men of the tide-water country of the Atlantic who saw, explored and fought for the Ohio country. Monroe and Madison were for the expansion policy, though they did not happen to have to a large extent an executive capacity in that line, because the country had not in their day succeeded in assimilating the land in bulk that Jefferson bought. Tyler wisely guided, retained Oregon, when it had almost been taken from us by British organized immigration; and even Daniel Webster had to be awakened by a missionary, who rode across the Continent to see him, from the delusion that we could have nothing to do with Oregon, because it was "so far away," and it was said, commonly and with an air of authority, that if "it took six months to get there, and six months to pass from any cabin in the woods, where rolled the Oregon, to the banks of the Potomac, where towers the Imperial dome of the Capitol of the ocean-bound Republic," it was added that it would be impossible to have a state on the Pacific represented in Congress,

Objection to Oregon—A Year to Come and Go

because it would take a whole year to pass to and fro between the constituency and the representative seat of the member. Transcontinental railroads had not been laid out at that time. In considering present policies, we have to contemplate the advanced condition. James K. Polk, backed by the influence of Andrew Jackson, secured for us Texas, the France of America, and New and Northern Mexico—giving us California, and to the world the golden good times that were historically identified the world over with the name of the first of our Pacific States.

The degenerate Democrats, who are wailing over expansion—the traditional policy of their party—and bewildered by Bryan's two thousand speeches and innumerable letters and dispatches, have been led by false signal lights and foolish counsellors and a mass

of ridiculous vanities and stupidities, strangely personified, to revile the memories of the Presidents from Virginia and Tennessee, the expanders of the Nation—and according to the lingo of latter days, the Imperialists of their age—who, it seems, according to the polyglot phraseology of Bryanism, must have made way for the destruction of human liberty and the overthrow of our free institutions, as the farmer fathers founded them by deepening and broadening the basic principles of freedom that has given to us—"we the people of

Close to the Soil
But not
Afraid of It

the United States," as the Constitution calls us—the making of the path of the "star of Empire." Our ancestors lived close to the soil, were not afraid

of it, and wanted more of it, nor in any wise alarmed by the sound of the Imperial name that took its westward course across the Continent; and here we are, Destiny and Duty hand in hand, a World Power through legitimate growth and prosperous labor—with malice toward none and charity for all, with free institutions for everybody and apprehension and oppression for nobody.

But in the course of political exigencies and personal self assertions and eccentricities, we have had to listen to tales of woe from the landscapes that were once the hunting grounds of the Pequods and Narragansetts, the Sioux and the Blackfeet, that under the administration of William McKinley we have been wronging the Tagals,

Wrongs
of
Tagals

one of the five Malay tribes of the Philippines; and that a copper-colored George Washington is out there, bearing the sonorous title of Aguinaldo, who

was our ally in the war with Spain, and was driven by our aggressive wickedness into fighting for the freedom of his people against us; and hence we must be Imperialists if we sustain our warlike and conquest-seeking President—the same Chief Magistrate, by the way, who strove as a peacemaker against a Democratic yell for war that lacked little of unanimity in it, reinforced by Republicans, whose wrath was justly aroused, and had not bearing upon them international responsibilities of a diplomatic character, until the Democratic representative of the Central Ohio District, Mr. Lentz,

Wanted to Paint
the White House
Black

cried out in quoted poetry that "The White House should be painted black." This beautiful idea simply flashed into the mind of the Democratic representative because the Republican President was not in haste—did

not take a run, hop, step and jump to paint Cuba red.

The Imperialism, according to Col. Bryan, who was early in

uniform as one of the defenders of our country from the hostile Spanish, comes, of course, from our policy in the Philippines. Beyond that there is precisely a scandalous smear of red and yellow paint splashed upon a background of systematic falsehood. The central point is the character and conduct of Aguinaldo, and his relations with the country he claims belongs to him, and with our country at large. The degenerate Democratic story, rank with falsification, is that this man was our "ally" at the beginning of our Military operations in the Philippines. It is not true. He was a bribed scoundrel, an imposter, a conspirator and a traitor against his own people, and against us from the beginning—that is, as soon as he ascertained that he could not use us, and that we would not recognize his preposterous pretensions that he was to be received as the ruler and master of the Philippine Archipelago in place of the Spaniards. The artistic falsifying of Aguinaldo and Agoncillo on the subject of their relations to the Spaniards, and to their own race, have unfortunately had an extensive circulation, and have been

**The Aguinaldo
and Agoncillo
Falsehood**

largely believed. I know personally the adeptness of these men in deception. I listened to the two flagrant falsifiers—to Aguinaldo in his headquarters

at Bacoar, a point south of Cavite and west of Manila, and to Agoncillo on the long journey from Hong Kong to Chicago. This was soon after the capture of the city of Manila. The official record of what had happened was not accessible at that time and in those places. The writer of these lines of course sympathized with the victims of Spanish misgovernment, whom we liberated, and of course looked favorably upon their favorable accounts of themselves. I visited the penitentiary at Manila; found there that of 1,500 prisoners only one was a Spaniard, and that I thought an incorrect proportion, if justice were done. A single fact, if I could have had access to it when I wrote the "Story of the Philippines," would have saved me some trouble of correction, and so many people as are would not have been mistaken. The point is, General Anderson

**Aguinaldo a Pur-
veyor of Fleet to
the Spanish Army
in Manila**

was the first American soldier to encounter Aguinaldo. The scouts of Anderson's command during the siege of Manila captured six men, each equipped

with papers signed by the Spanish Captain General, and also by Aguinaldo—and these were passes, permits to the bearers to drive cattle into the besieged city. That was the kind of "ally" Aguinaldo was. He was dividing the toll on cattle to feed the Spanish army

with the Spanish officers. At the same time the most confidential aid of Aguinaldo was in Manila in intimate association with Spanish headquarters.

A few lines must be devoted to Aguinaldo's career—with the assurances that each and every statement is established by official and indisputable (by informed and reasonable persons) testimony. Nearly all is written and appears in printed documents of authenticity unquestionable. Aguinaldo was bought for four hundred thousand Mexican dollars—with a lot of his friends. There was an alleged "treaty," known both to Aguinaldo and the Spanish Captain General to be a swindle on those they represented, so far as it did not

**Aguinaldo's Bargain and Sale.
\$400,000 Paid to Him for Himself and Staff**

refer to the passage of money between persons. The Spaniard paid the money, to get which he robbed the bank, with a view that he could go to Madrid and pose as the pacificator of the Philippines, and blame somebody else for the disturbance whenever hostilities were resumed. He was greatly disappointed because the bribing of Aguinaldo did not cause even a temporary suspension of hostile proceedings. Aguinaldo in an official proclamation, written after he believed himself to be a great and good man, said he made this treaty because he "lacked resources" to carry on the war against the Spaniards. His part of the matter was an intrigue with the officers of Spain. He was a village commander, and had but a very small military force at his disposal. When the Spaniards bought him, they of course exaggerated his importance, in order to justify themselves. His first considerable reputation was that of betrayal of his people. Like Judas, he carried the bag—that is, he was trusted with the certified check, extorted from a Manila bank on a Hong Kong bank, and the check was made payable to him. That gave him the leadership of those who participated in the pecuniary consideration. He agreed with the Spaniards to give up his arms, that those of his men should be surrendered, and that he and his companions should be "deported" to Hong Kong, and remain out of his country, "at the pleasure of the Spanish sovereign."

The Aguinaldo Sale a Bribe, Not a Treaty

It is his pretense that he was shocked by the Spaniards, because they did not do as they agreed. He was to get some more reforms on paper, and another four hundred thousand dollars in Mexican silver. Of course, the Spaniards never made any reforms, and never intended to give him any more money, and he never expected they would do either. He knew them very well.

There was no breach of good faith, for there was no good faith on either side.

He and his "compatriots" arrived at Hong Kong, transported at the Spanish expense, in September, 1887, and were received by a

**Aguinaldo Pays
Blackmail Hush-
Money—\$5,000**

Junta of Filipinos, perhaps a dozen or two. The whole crowd, including those deported with Aguinaldo, numbered forty. The Spanish bribe amounted to \$10,000 each. Aguinaldo favored keeping the money in a lump, to buy arms. One fellow—"compatriot"—demanded his share, and accepted a bribe of \$5,000 from Aguinaldo to keep the case out of court; that the facts might not appear in the form of evidence. About four weeks later, the American consul at Hong Kong was notified, officially, of course, that there was a "new Republic," perfectly organized, and the consul was waited upon by Agoncillo, who was duly commissioned Secretary of State of the Republic, and was empowered in his own person anywhere to make any treaty he saw fit with any nation on the earth. Of course, Aguinaldo was President. The weight of the certified check was sufficient. There was a full Cabinet, and a military staff. The whole gang bribed to leave

**The Bribed Gang
Formed a "New
Republic"—All
Officers and No
People**

Luzon for the sake of peace, and cash in hand, constituted the entire Government and all the people that were in sight. There is no record that anybody else had anything whatever to do with the new Republic; AND THAT IS ALL THE AUTHORITY FROM THE PEOPLE AGUINALDO AND HIS GOVERNMENT EVER GOT. This is the Government over our sad treatment of which the degenerate Democracy are inconsolable mourners. There never was a more blackguard farce on the face of the earth, a more shameless false assumption to represent any people. This Government was simply a machine, with which Aguinaldo set out to set himself up in the Philippines as the Tycoon is up in Japan. He wanted the revenues of the Island. He believed that war was coming on between the United States and Spain, and he hoped to play one against the other, and establish himself as a new Republic; and so he cried out, "Oh, my beloved people!" royal style. The bribery and deportation of Aguinaldo and his compatriots did not at all affect the insurrection; there were just as many insurgents sniping around Manila as ever—the same monthly average of Spanish soldiers killed and wounded. See Consul Williams' reports. This was during the winter of '97-98, while we of the United States were drifting into

**The New Republic
Wanted the United
States to Smuggle
Guns and Be Paid
For It**

the war with Spain. The first move of the new Republic was in the fall, when Agoncillo solicited our consul at Hong Kong to buck up with him, and make a treaty with the United States; and there seems to have been an insinuation, and it is put into the consul's report, that he might make something if there was a dicker for arms. The object was to spend the \$400,000 in a contract with the United States for arms, and it was supposed the United States would smuggle the guns wherever Aguinaldo should want them; but this was not all, or the greater end of the proposed contract; there was money to be made—Agoncillo said he did not care if the United States made money out of that \$400,000. Of course the lion's share of it would have fallen to Aguinaldo and Agoncillo, but they were going to offer the United States a grand bargain, and did so. Emerging from the Chinese boarding-house in Hong Kong, where the new Republic was formed and all its functions were carried out, and all who had anything to do with it were concentrated, just to offer the United States, if they would

**The Object of the
Proposed Contract
Was to Pocket the
Bribe Money**

**The Chinese
Boarding-House
Government**

recognize that Chinese boarding-house as the seat of Government of the Filipino Republic, the United States should have the revenues from the customs at Manila and two provinces, Manila and Cavite, meaning over two millions a year in cash, and a million of people. Now, the people who were to be given away didn't know anything about it, never had and never have heard of it. This was an attempt to bribe the United States to recognize Aguinaldo as the Filipino Government, just as Mr. Bryan recognizes him, and we suppose means to recognize him, if he becomes President of the United States. The news

**Big Bribe Offered
Us If We Would
Recognize the
Boarding-House as
the Philippines**

in the Filipino woods and the high grass is that Mr. Bryan was elected President of the United States in November last; and there is coupled with this a story that there has been an uprising against the Americans in Cuba, making it necessary to send American forces there from the Philippines to put down the rebellion.

There were no Filipino people in the new Republic, that dealt in so curious a way with provinces and people, revenues and contracts, except the "compatriots" who sailed from their own country across the sea of China, with the proceeds of the bank robbery in Judas Aguinaldo's pocket, which was the National treasury of the Philippines, according to his claim. He assumed the sovereignty of an archipelago,

**Judas Aguinaldo's
Pocket the
National Treasury**

richer in resources than the empire of Japan, 'on the ground of having sold out his small command to the Spanish Captain General at a very high figure. It was this that gave him business standing, and initiated him into his Imperialism. In April, 1898, Aguinaldo, as the man who claimed to represent nine million fellow citizens,

**The Treacherous
Visit of Aguinaldo
to Singapore**

made a journey from Hong Kong to Singapore, putting 2,000 miles between himself and the American fleet, though he knew that a war between the

United States and Spain was in the air, and that in all human probability the storm would strike soon. He had friends in Singapore, old friends who had been with him in Manila, particularly a frisky Englishman named Bray, who wrote much for the newspapers, and was an expert in tricky business. It is clear that the object of Aguinaldo in going to Singapore at this time was to prepare an open door, through which he could negotiate with the Spaniards. With

**Aguinaldo was at
Singapore to
Prepare for an In-
trigue with Span-
iards in Manila**

this key to the situation, the proceedings at Singapore prove that the mission of Aguinaldo was to play fast and loose between the Spaniards and Amer-

icans for his personal profit. It was this Singapore intrigue that ripened during the siege of Manila, in the joint arrangement he made with the Captain General in that city to divide the money gained by permitting the passage of cattle through the Spanish lines, that the beleaguered Spaniards might have fresh meat. The American consul at Singapore was not entrusted with the secret, but supposed himself to be doing everything, and especially cabled Admiral Dewey as to the enormous advantages to be derived from a close association between himself and the Tagal General. The consul was so earnest that Dewey telegraphed him to send Aguinaldo "soon as possible."

This dispatch has appeared in some thousands of Democratic speeches. The meaning of it is, Dewey was about to sail on his

**The "At Once"
Dispatch From
Dewey**

Manila expedition, and if he saw Aguinaldo at all—and he naturally thought there might be information in the young man—he must see him at once.

Aguinaldo was too late to see Dewey. He was 823 miles away, and managed to arrive at Hong Kong the day after the battle at Manila, and was two weeks getting permission from Dewey to go to Cavite, anxiously promising the American consul that he would put himself under orders of the American Admiral, and professing all the time to be an enthusiast for America. When he arrived at Cavite he was accompanied by his 'Government and all his "people,"

with the exception of Agoncillo. He had a staff of seventeen men, all deported for cash by the Spaniards, and that was the whole army, and the whole Government, with the exception of the supreme treaty-maker, Agoncillo.

Aguinaldo's reception at Cavite was discouraging. The Filipinos knew very little about him. He was a case of insignificance, but he had a streak of good fortune at once. It was a great thing for him to get there under the American flag, to be received in a friendly way by the American Admiral. He was born in that part of the country, and was known to some of the people, and the Spaniards of the several garrisons that had been cut off by the destruction of the Spanish fleet from Manila, as well as from Madrid, sought him and surrendered to him, and Dewey let him have some old guns that were in the Spanish arsenal. Among the Spanish soldiers who surrendered were many Filipinos, and they became the best troops of

**Aguinaldo's
Greatness
Due to His Associ-
ation With
Americans**

**How the Beggar
Got on a War-
Horse and Proved
a Traitor**

Aginaldo's command. During the eight months that the Tagal General had been absent, the Tagals had been besieging Manila as usual, notwithstanding Aginaldo's defection, but he had by association the prestige of the victorious Americans. It was this that gave him his start as a military man. The Spanish surrenders had been represented by himself and his great staff as brilliant victories that he had won. He never won a victory in his life, or was in a battle, save in running away and winning some foot races by keeping ahead of the United States troops who got after him. He assumed the airs of grandeur at once. His proclamations were filled with the vanity of Asiatic despots. He professed sacredness of person, and the natives about were taught to believe that neither bullets could penetrate nor

**The Imposter
Started a Super-
stition**

poison destroy him. This imposture was intended to propagate a superstition about him. A few weeks before he had been downcast at Cavite, and ordered out of the public buildings by Admiral Dewey, was compelled to reside in a private house, which offended his supernatural dignity. Still he vehemently protested friendship for Americans, and fawned upon Admiral Dewey until the Admiral refused to go into partnership with him, and take Manila for him, that the city might be given up to plunder by the alleged Filipino army, who were promised that reward by him. The position that Dewey took then is substantially the one that he has held ever since—that the

American fleet might command the sea in his behalf, but that he was royal master of the thousand islands, and that the American rights everywhere stopped at the shores of his sacred soil! He became malignantly disposed at once toward all Americans, and was thrown into a desperate state of mind when he heard American troops were on their way crossing the Pacific. He had headquarters at Cavite, with a display of sentinels, and his greeting to the first American troops who landed was to arrest two of the staff officers of General Anderson for crossing his lines.

**Imposter Became
a Flagrant Enemy
When He Knew
American Troops
Were Coming**

He was allowed to get off for this insolence with a reprimand and a threat to the effect that nothing of the kind must ever occur again. But the swollen imposter claimed the right to demand of General Anderson to give an account of himself, and state his object in landing, and from that time he embarrassed American action as much as was possible. The story that he assisted in the siege of Manila in a serious military sense is pure fiction. Still he promised his troops that they should have the privilege of plundering the city, and he demanded at last joint occupation, but the faith and honor of the American army had been pledged to defend the civilization of Manila. The evidence is decisive that Aguinaldo had the idea of uniting with the Captain General of the Spaniards and the Spanish prisoners to master the

**Plot to Assassinate
the American
Army**

American army, and to burn the city as a part of the ceremony. One of Aguinaldo's points was in attempting to prevent the American soldiers from getting wholesome water supply; he held the water-works, and prevented the Americans getting the water until he was ordered out by General Merritt, and then declared that he had been very kind to let them have water. He quarreled and vaped continually as a hostile to Americans, and exerted his utmost influence, which by that time had become considerable, to poison the minds of the

**Unceasing Insults
to Americans**

Filipinos against their liberators, and presently he was so vain as to believe in his ability to drive the American forces into the sea. And his insolence had bloody results in the murder of two American soldiers in an affair of pickets. He apologized for that, but the American military authorities were by no means satisfied by his explanation. This was the beginning of his policy of antagonizing the men who had broken the Spanish yoke and liberated the people of all the islands and races and conditions, so far as was possible. The Tagal General was playing himself for a tycoon, but was actually the tool of a

clique of sharp rascals, who were skilled in treachery, and eloquent in proclamations; and he proceeded deliberately in a course of aggressions against the Americans, who were under the strictest orders from the President not to permit any provocation to lead them to take the initiative in fighting, but hold themselves ready to crush assailants; and the endurance of insolence by the American troops under these circumstances was something unparalleled. Still it is an article of faith of the Democratic party that it was McKinley's Imperialism that caused the Filipino war, and that it is a manifestation of Militarism; and this hideous slander is a part of the platform upon which Mr. Bryan is running for the Presidency; and the Democratic-Pop candidate has conceived and delivered a history that is a vicious and detestable tissue of blundering, rank with venom, and is "aid and comfort" to the armed enemies of the United States. The great point that the Democracy seem disposed to make in exploiting their idea of the Militarism of William McKinley's administration, is that when Admiral Dewey had executed his orders

**Should Dewey
Have Fled After
His Battle?** to destroy the Spanish fleet at Manila, he should have turned tail and run away, and sought an American port, the nearest available being San

Francisco, and there have sheltered himself until we could have obtained the consent of the Filipino people to govern them. It is true the Spanish ships of war were destroyed and some of their gunboats, but there were fourteen gunboats carrying three-inch rifles and machine guns, not in the Bay of Manila, and if Dewey had pursued the Democratic policy, these fourteen Spanish gunboats would have destroyed the Asiatic commerce of our country, and Dewey's flight across the Pacific would have been taken as an exhibi-

**The Infinite Dis-
grace of the Bryan-
Filipino Run-
Away Policy for
Americans** tion of helplessness, and converted a glorious victory into an unparalleled disgrace. No American at that time dreamed of such a thing, and the fact that

there is a creepy notion that the duty of the Admiral was to flee from the scene of his victory, and the cities that were under his guns, from the harbor that he commanded, and the arsenal in his hands, is a sort of abomination that accompanies the dismal farce which is being played, that it is time the American people should

**Bryan Must Op-
pose McKinley,
even if Against his
Country, or Yield
Claim on Presidency** terrify themselves about Imperialism. Why, even William J. Bryan, if Dewey and McKinley had adopted the policy of flight from gain and glory, in Manila Bay, would have gone on forever, that is almost forever, to the effect that such conduct was a blasphemous outrage upon

the honor and glory of the United States. Such a performance would have been in accordance with the Kansas City platform, but it couldn't possibly have taken place under the American colors.

We destroyed the Spanish combination in the East Indies, the Filipino Aguinaldo Government was a positive fraud, and if we had abandoned the country to that fraud it would have been to immediate civil war and European intervention. It should not be forgotten that no one ever yet voted for Aguinaldo for anything, unless in some way identified with him in the Spanish bribery. His flowery proclamations are the productions of several persons, abler and better educated than himself. He is as incapable of

**The Real
Aguinaldo**

writing such papers as of going into battle. The war in the Philippines would have lasted but a few weeks if it had not been insidiously instigated, and

openly at last promoted by the cranky and fanatical opposition in the United States to the McKinley Administration. There would not be another skirmish in the islands if it were not that the Agui-

**The Democratic
Degenerates all
Promoting the
Assassination of
American Soldiers**

naldo dupes and desperadoes believe that all American soldiers assassinated are to be counted as aiding

by their fall the rise of the cause of Bryan, who, as they understand it, has already been elected President, and is fighting for his seat. The deepest and darkest disgrace that ever befell any political organization in this country is that of the Bryan degenerates, who have shouldered this bloody burden. They go so far as their imbecility of animosity, the sweltered venom of years, crowded with the story of their discomfitures, as to make a malicious outcry to the effect that the grandeur of the American Nation is

**The Paramount
Issue at Kansas
City is a Phantom**

amassed for military and monarchical movements, and they have the audacity to declare in their platform that the PARAMOUNT ISSUE of the cam-

paign is their morbid phantom of Imperialism.

They are fanatically frantic concerning Militarism, and have worked themselves into a frothing excitement about our regular

**Our Standing
Army and the
School Houses**

army, claiming that we are going the way of the armed nations of Europe—getting up standing armed forces to trample out the rights of people,

and subordinate labor. One must wonder at such folly until it is seen to be an effusion of madness. We have not discovered if there is any remedy for this outburst of lunacy, except to run away from the Philippines now. It is hardly possible to be serious about the

scare that Mr. Bryan is working up as a beneficiary to the effect that there is a danger of Military domination in our country. So long as the flag flies on the school houses, and the children are taught Americanism in the schools, the standing army is not going to be a great factor in the Government of the United States. It is to be noted that the statue of the first President, erected by the

**The Statue of
Washington Be-
fore Independence
Hall**

schools in front of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, holding the Constitution in his hand, wears a sword, and it is worth while to remember that the last letter George Washington wrote was one to Alexander Hamilton in favor of the establishment at the National expense of a Military Academy.

If our Democratic friends are really frightened about Militarism, Imperialism and that sort of thing, it might occur to some of them to advocate a law of the Nation, perhaps to amend the Constitution, to the effect that not more than one man in every thousand of the people of the United States should be enlisted in the regular army. For purposes of additional safety we might exclude the territories from the enumeration. What would be the limit? At the present figures of the population, the army could not exceed 75,000 men, one soldier to each 1,000 citizens; there is the simple arithmetic of Imperialistic dangers. It is the peril that one soldier would put his hands and feet upon, and put upon and trample over 999 of his fellow citizens. It is thought by some persons now that we need an army of 75,000 men, and it is well to cipher out the full propor-

**Terrors of 1 to 999
to 1 to 16**

tion of the terrors that is expected to come forth and stalk over our farms and shops and intimidate all our firesides, when we remember that the administration policy seems to be to dispatch nine-tenths of the available regulars to the other side of the world. That is just where the awfulness of the Militarism threatens us, strikes in, and sounds the wild alarm—that one soldier, counting those who are far away, threatens to wrest with his armed hands, tho' he is beyond seas, the inheritance of liberty from 999 civilians, about 200 of them capable of bearing arms.

FREE SILVER

and Some Other Things

BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

(REDIVIVUS.)

IN TWO PARTS. PART I, 1896. PART II. 1900.

"Even for logical and convincing argument, poetry is often the finest vehicle."—*Pres. Elliot.*

[Copyright secured.]

PART I.

CAMPAIGN OF 1896.

Just in the midst of the city square,
Quite at ease in an old arm chair,
In solid bronze there sits a man
Who was built all through on the broadest plan;
And who, if my estimate be correct,
Had the greatest American intellect.
Strong and sound on every side,
Open as day, and deep and wide,
With comprehension and range immense,
The genius of every-day common sense;
Simple in manners and plain of speech,
With a style of writing that's out of reach;
Prompt in action, in counsel sage,
A guide and teacher for every age. .
One night a reporter—what won't they dare?—
Climbed up to Franklin sitting there.
He stood and gazed for a little space
On the portly form and placid face,
And then, by some strange fancy led,
He broke the silence and quietly said:
"Doctor, I hope I don't intrude,
But I'm sure you've never been interviewed;
There's limitless space to air your views
On whatever you please in the Morning News."
The image stirred, and a slow, wise smile
Played round the fast-closed lips awhile:

And then they parted beyond a doubt,
 And just what follows came clearly out:
 "Tho' sitting here among living men,
 I never expected to speak again;
 But buried heresies rise and stalk,
 It's enough to make a dead man talk.
 Had you come along in the greenback days,
 I'd have spoken out; and this silver craze
 Makes me want to rise and make a speech,
 The whole wide country to warn and teach.
 They'd say 'twas stilted and dry as sticks,
 If I spoke as we did in seventy-six;
 And so, to catch the public ear,
 I'll talk like the men I daily hear;
 For if the country don't stop and think,
 It's going headlong over the brink.
 I'll not discourse of the good old days,
 And how much better were all our ways;
 For if you really want to know,
 I'm bound to tell you it wasn't so.
 I'll talk like a modern who straddles no fence,
 And try to talk with my old horse-sense;
 I've no old fables to relate,
 And my facts and figures are up to date.
 Fiat money, in colony time,
 Shrank and shrank from dollar to dime;
 Down, still down, it steadily went,
 Till worth in market nothing per cent;
 In spite of which when trouble began
 With old Mother Britain, we stuck to the plan,
 And came very soon to the bottom again;
 It brought more ruin than armies ten—
 I own the contagion I early caught,
 But I never forgot the lesson it taught.
 Oh, for a voice like a trumpet blast
 To ring out, "Remember, remember the past!"
 Be classed second-rate, go shabbily dressed,
 But never use money that isn't the best.
 Before beginning, one thing more:
 While in the flesh I'd titles four—
 Exactly why it's not easy to see,
 But they all begin with a capital P—
 Titles four while still alive,
 I've taken a notion to make it five.
 Printer and Patriot head the list,
 Philosopher then, and Philanthropist.
 Anyone in a moment sees
 There's nothing alike about these P's.
 The fifth is Poet; it may be now
 Too late for that laurel to crown my brow;
 But you never can rise unless you climb,
 And I'll make my speech tonight in rhyme.
 It seemed as likely that I should preach,
 And make a rhyming political speech—
 Political broadly, not partisan;
 I never was counted a party-man,
 But through my life did all I could
 For Liberty and the common good.
 The old man rose with an aspect grand,
 And, beck'ning with his outstretched hand,
 Began his speech in a ringing tone:
 A pity the public hadn't known.

The reporter stood with open book
 And every word in short-hand took.
 Here is exactly what he wrote—
 You'd better read it before you vote.

Come every tiller of the soil, and worker at the loom,
 Come every honest son of toil, and start a mighty boom;
 The silver barons of the West, to make their bullion sell,
 Would drive from use the coin that's best, no matter what befell.

They know the country's honor is pledged to pay in gold;
 Are the days come back when honor for silver can be sold?
 Nay, even were your creditor your very bitterest foe,
 You'd scorn by trick to cheat him of the half of what you owe.

It takes an honest dollar to pay an honest debt;
 'Tis the only way to pay it, tho' it cost you blood and sweat;
 Be the trickster high or lowly, he will surely trip and fall,
 "The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly small."

What an insult to the eagle who has always soared so high,
 To stamp him on a token that is nearly half a lie;
 If they clip his mighty pinions so he cannot cross the sea,
 He will cease to be the symbol of a country proud and free.

There are doubtless many people who would like to scale their debts,
 'Tis an easy way of payment, but its apt to bring regrets;
 For the man from whom you borrow, if you only pay him half,
 When you ask again for money, will be sure to give you chaff.

There's surely been depression that every one must feel,
 And you'll hear a dozen reasons, some fanciful, some real;
 By every way that's possible search out and stop the cause;
 The way to true recovery is under nature's laws.

Don't turn to quacks and mountebanks, who promise you a cure,
 With their patent silver nostrum stimulating safe and sure;
 Perhaps a heavy dose enough would make you crazy drunk,
 But when you wake up sober, you'll find you've lower sunk.

Confidence will bring employment that will drive away unrest;
 'Tis nature's sovereign remedy, none other'll stand the test;
 'Twill come when all sham remedies you've manfully disdained,
 And vote the present standard shall be honestly maintained.

Because there's slack employment, because there's discontent,
 Because it's hard to struggle with your board bill or your rent,
 Don't let a wily Charlatan who wants to fill his purse,
 Unload a project on you that will only make things worse.

They pose for pure philanthropists, and say their meat and drink
 Is to labor for the people, and sit up nights and think
 Of how to make them prosperous; wait till they cease to spout,
 And see who have their pockets full, and who are badly out.

They've taken shrewd advantage of conditions that prevail,
 And emptied all Adullam caves—you know the Bible tale—
 And swarms who have a grievance, or are hopelessly in debt,
 Are flocking to their standard for what there is to get.

Not that they care for silver, but they are willing to o'erthrow
 All existing institutions, so that they can "get a show;"
 Thinking in the general scramble, should the trouble ever stop,
 Their chance as good as any to find themselves on top.

They're fighting Mother Nature, who has fixed a different part
For every man and woman; and endowed them at the start,
With widely varying quantities of brain, strength, will and pluck;
Against her inequalities its foolishness to buck.

'Tis plain that all about you hard conditions do exist;
One man a hopeless pauper, one a rich monopolist;
But if counted by the millions that they've thrown away in drink,
There'd be easier conditions if they had them, don't you think?

You know that all the trouble isn't always due to laws,
Hard times, like chills and fever, have some recurring cause;
And much of all the misery for which they can't account,
In their very own short-comings, has a never failing fount.

Thrift, industry and temperance, before the century's close,
Would vastly change conditions and mitigate their woes;
But those who daily practice them will bitterly regret
If silver's substituted for all outstanding debt.

They scoff at laws of commerce, and would lead you to expect
In its realm alone that causes may exist without effect;
"Abroad" they have no use for, and say with loftiest tone,
"The biggest Nation on the earth can surely stand alone."

Yes, stand alone if need be, when you stand for self-defense;
And stand alone for honor, nor stop to count expense;
But you'll lead your sorrowing country a wild and woeful dance
When you stand alone in commerce, in business and finance.

You'd surely think that Congress was, to put it mildly, "cracked,"
If, when it comes together, it should solemnly enact:
"Henceforth from over ocean no storms shall ever come;
We hate all British weather, and can make our own 'to hum.'"

That's the sort of legislation the silverites invite
A great enlightened Nation on its statute books to write;
Just as silly and as futile, and without the least pretense
Of deference to experience, or the laws of common sense.

They say they're bimetallic, but they know beyond a doubt,
When they make a fiat dollar it will drive the real one out;
Now you head commercial nations; then you'll be compelled to go
To the foot of the procession, down along with Mexico.

When Altgeld, Bland and Bryan, and Debs embraced and kissed,
'Twas plain they all, and singular, were monometallist;
They talk bimetalism, but if they gain control,
You'll find the silver standard was all the while their goal.

And then, when from the country all coin of gold has fled,
And business now so drooping lies altogether dead;
When panic and disaster stalk up and down the land,
Who's coming to the rescue—Bryan? Altgeld? Debs? and Bland?

Universal laws of Nature include the laws of trade;
One has always been that something out of nothing can't be made;
But the man who wants free silver says it surely can be done
If you'll something mix with nothing, always just sixteen to one.

Market value fixes ratio; you'd laugh the man to scorn
Who asked the law to fix it as between, say, wheat and corn;
No stamp of legal tender or any such device
Could hold the two together in value or in price.

The same is true exactly of silver and of gold;
 They both are natural products, they both are bought and sold;
 And the relative production, spite the siren song they sing,
 Will determine at the moment just what each one will bring.

You're a great and stalwart Nation, but 'twould sink you like a stone
 If the whole world's idle silver should be dumped on you alone;
 When they all adopt one ratio, and will help to bear the load,
 It may be safe to venture on the bimetallic road.

If you want increase of wages, there must be more work to do,
 And the only way to get it is the old way, tried and true;
 A partnership of enterprise with capital and thrift,
 Honest pay and skillful labor; they will give your wage a lift.

Precisely the experiment they're urging you to try,
 Has been tried down in Colombia, and they tell it with a sigh;
 The gold all left the country and prices skyward went—
 Prices, mind—not wages—prices, up ninety-five per cent.

The farmer and the merchant get more for what they sell,
 But in just the same proportion they find expenses swell;
 And the masses—they who labor—by the year or month or day,
 Find that those who held the purse strings, say they can't increase
 their pay.

They've fooled a lot of people, and made them really think
 The shortest road to riches is high-priced food and drink;
 But when they come to figure on expenses and receipts,
 They'll find they have been buncoed by a band of brazen cheats.

Suppose you'd bought and paid for a thousand tons of coal
 Which hadn't been delivered, and the dealers got control,
 And passed a law providing that from that date on, a ton
 Should be half the weight you'd paid for, and could be refused by none.

That's exactly what the silver men are fixing up for you;
 An act that every payment in the future coming due,
 Shall give you half the value for which you had agreed;
 Can you let such doctrine fool you? Will you let such schemes succeed?

When they talk about free silver, there's a lot of simple folk
 Think they'll get it for the asking—that's a fact and not a joke;
 How they're really going to get it, has been explained by none,
 Even if the treasury had it, and coined it by the ton.

In some back country district, they're getting ready carts,
 To haul away their quota when once free coinage starts;
 No one for ready money at any time need lack,
 If he's something to give for it, or is sure to pay it back.

They tell the struggling farmer, 'tis "the crime of '73"
 Has lowered all his bread-stuffs, when 'tis plain as plain can be
 That new foreign competition, cheap labor and cheap freights,
 Have demoralized the markets, and put down his selling rates.

"Crime of '73" they call it, by the way of throwing dust;
 When before it was enacted it was thoroughly discussed,
 And the ones who howled the loudest, we are credibly told,
 Write all their private contracts, "when you pay, you pay in gold."

Silver ceased from circulation, and the much be-labored act
 Didn't cause it, or abet it; simply recognized the fact;
 All their fierce denunciation does not count a pewter dime,
 For if silver hadn't fallen, you'd have heard no charge of crime.

They say the people's silver will be just as good as gold,
 If you'll coin it into money, take it back into the fold;
 But it kept on falling, falling, while the mints ran night and day,
 Which would seem to be a pointer, that points the other way.

It's the old exploded theory, to which so many cling,
 That value is created by a Government or King
 No lesson in all history has been so often taught,
 As that every such experiment is bound to come to naught.

In all the silver countries, in spite of coinage Acts,
 They find it is impossible to get away from facts;
 And when they take their money to the markets of the earth,
 'Twill only buy and pay for, just what the bullion's worth.

The fact that you are bigger can't modify the rule;
 Like the law of gravitation, of which you learned at school,
 Which swings the mighty planets and guides the apple's fall,
 One common law of value must govern great and small.

Suppose that legislation, as you're so often told,
 Makes sixteen pounds of silver worth just a pound of gold,
 How you will profit by it, is not apparent yet,
 For then a silver dollar'd be as hard as gold to get.

If you take ten golden dollars and heat them till they fuse,
 You'll find they're just as useful for purchases or dues;
 No element of value which they ever had, they'll lack;
 You can take the lump to market and get ten dollars back.

But try it on with silver, and the purchaser will laugh;
 You'll find your silver dollars have melted down to half;
 To say the stamp gives value is absolutely rot;
 Its only honest function is to tell you what you've got.

A dollar is a yard-stick, and what can be the gain
 To any one, in any way, by cutting it in twain?
 How is it going to help you, when all is said and done,
 To pay, as you will have to, two, where now you pay but one.

There's a saying shrewd, of Lincoln's, that exactly fits my rhyme,
 That you can't fool all the people, so they'll stay fooled all the time.
 If they never yet have heard it, there can't be any doubt
 That these wild-eyed silver ranters are going to find it out.

Give us more, more circulation they continually cry,
 Just as though the springs of traffic had run completely dry,
 When today there is per capita more circulation out
 Than in all the country's history—a fact beyond a doubt.

The capital that's needed is brains and skill and pluck,
 Not wealth by legislation, nor fortune by good luck;
 Wealth has but three real sources—man's never ending toil,
 Control of Nature's forces, and products of the soil.

If the country needed money, it would come here fast enough:
 All the talk about its scarceness is the most transparent "stuff."
 When confidence comes back again—November's coming soon—
 The money'll flow to meet it, as the tides rise toward the moon.

Your scope and opportunity are wonderful, immense;
 Add industry, frugality and level-headed sense,
 And money will come streaming here as fast as rivers run;
 You'll never fail to find it where there's business to be done.

Why is it England prospers? because money there is cheap;
 She is reaping all the harvest, part of which you ought to reap;
 Capital in untold millions seeks low-rate investment there,
 Which was giving you employment before this silver scare.

If you want it in a nutshell, 'twas the very great increase
 Of silver mine production made its use as money cease;
 Everything that man produces will find its market price,
 Even when, like martyred silver, it is beautiful and nice.

Copper once was in the coinage, and you never have been told,
 When the Rothschilds basely stabbed it and left it stark and cold,
 If its "friends" will rally promptly, with a torrent of abuse,
 They may yet avenge the outrage and restore its ancient use.

Let the miners fix the value, say, a dollar for a pound;
 It's a truly native product, with enough to go around;
 'Twill fill up the circulation without the slightest hitch,
 And you all will get your quota, and be happy, good and rich.

It will quickly lift the burden of the hateful public debt;
 Every cent of obligation will be scrupulously met;
 And should "Abroad" not like it, let 'em take it out in "jawin',"
 You never said you'd pay it in anything but coin.

The farmer sells his products for whatever they will bring,
 But that doesn't suit the miner, so he's formed a silver ring,
 And demands with threat and bluster, that is cause for just offense,
 Uncle Sam shall pay a dollar for what's worth but fifty cents.

And who'll make up the difference? Why, every one who toils,
 And the greedy silver barons will fatten on the spoils;
 They'll roll up mighty fortunes with all that they can seize,
 While pensioners and laborers come down to bread and cheese.

All savings bank depositors, and all who on their lives
 Have taken out insurance for their children or their wives,
 Will find, if they will study it, the silver scheme is planned
 To scoop their hard-earned savings by clever sleight-of-hand.

Now you have it, now you haven't; hey, presto, just a word,
 Half your earnings in a moment in spite of you transferred;
 They call it legislation in the modern silver code,
 But people call it robbing when it happens on the road.

Ever since the days when Jacob cozened Laban of his sheep,
 There've been those who manage somehow where they didn't sow
 to reap;
 Your debtor of your property would get the benefit,
 And give you nothing for it, though you created it.

Did we your Constitution build up with toil and blood
 To have its fairest columns smeared with populist mud?
 Will you say it was for nothing our heroes fought and died?
 That Washington and Jefferson and Jay and Marshall died?

Protect the Nation's honor, defend her fair, good name;
 They would hawk it on the market, they would drag it down to shame;
 Preserve the Nation's credit, now so spotless and so high;
 They would smirch it and destroy it by a statutory lie.

There is danger to your country, there is menace to your flag,
 Will you stop to think of party, will you hesitate or lag?
 Surely they are false who tell you the days are out of date
 When "none was for a party, and when all were for the State."

You wouldn't of a fireman his politics inquire
 If he came with hose to help you when your house was all afire;
 Nor ask them of your neighbor when he'd help you stop the blaze,
 Dishonesty and ignorance have formed a league to raise.

You all must act together, free silver's joined with Debs,
 And you must join to thrash them, Boys in Blue and Johnny Rebs;
 Sink every party difference; all minor questions shun;
 Both parties shouldered muskets in the days of sixty-one.

Knock out this agitation, and business will revive,
 'Till every town and hamlet hums like a busy hive;
 And cash from every center will seek investment here,
 When you kill repudiation, and end distrust and fear.

There is ample store of money lying waiting all about;
 When this silver craze is over, it will all come flowing out,
 And fill trade's thirsty channels; then you'll hoist your drooping sails,
 And all move on together until prosperity prevails.

And when you've beaten silver there's other work to do;
 Reorganize the currency upon a basis new;
 Make gold the only standard, make money uniform,
 And you'll be in shape to weather the worst financial storm.

The leader has been tested in the field and in debate,
 Trained to steadiness in battle and to govern in the State;
 He will make the laws respected; and his virtues shine so fair,
 The country will be better that McKinley has been there.

Then come each sturdy farmer, each worker at the loom,
 Come every honest son of toil, and start a mighty boom;
 Vote down the silver barons, drive doubt and fear away;
 And the land that halts in darkness will move forward into day.

See! hostile lines are forming, listen to their steady tramp;
 Look! red flags boldly flutter in the confines of their camp;
 Let your country's starry banner for your standard be unrolled,
 "Good faith" writ large upon it, in the brightest, purest gold.

Gather as the torrents gather in resistless swelling might,
 And you'll sweep the cranks and anarchs with their rubbish out of sight;
 Fill the ranks from every section; bid all cries of party cease,
 And November'll bring you victory, with honor and with peace.

The old man stopped and turned his head
 To where the reporter stood, and said:
 "I've finished; of course they'll say absurd,"
 But its all sound doctrine, take my word,
 And its bound to win in this campaign
 If the fight is made with sand and brain.
 I've been so long upon the shelf
 It well may be I've repeated myself,
 And got my subjects a good deal mixed,
 Honor and finance and politics,
 With considerable good advice thrown in,
 And a little humor spread very thin.
 But none can question that through and through
 It's what I honestly think is true;
 It's too late now but I really ought
 To have taken time to arrange my thought;
 However, I think for extempore verse
 It might have easily been much worse.
 Good night, I'm sure I'm very much—

He gave the old arm-chair a clutch,
 And sat again as rigid and fast,
 As on the day when he was cast.
 The reporter dropped to the empty street
 And chuckled "I've surely got a beat."
 Its most unlikely to happen again,
 A speech in rhyme from wise old Ben.

PART II.

CAMPAIGN OF 1900.

A moonlight night! there sits old Ben,
 And the same reporter strolls by again;
 Another election day's in sight,
 And he suddenly thinks the old man might
 Be willing to give the world his views,
 As he did before in the Morning News:
 So he climbed and asked. In a little while
 Round the fast closed lips played the same old smile,
 "What, you up here again," he said,
 "Can it be four years have nearly sped?"
 You must give to me the credit due,
 For I proved a profit wise and true,
 Read over again just what I said;
 I hit the nail right on the head.
 My prophecy wasn't at all too bold,
 For it all turned out as I foretold;
 But in spite of it all and strange to say,
 There still is heard that same old bray,
 'Sixteen to one,' 'sixteen to one,'
 Without it we're ruined, lost, undone;
 They said if it failed in the last campaign
 Prosperity never would come again;
 But here it is with a rising tide,
 And every sign that it's come to 'bide.
 They said that wheat, by some mystic bond,
 To silver's movements must respond;
 But wheat went up and silver dropped
 And kept on dropping and hasn't stopped.
 Supply, demand, fix what they're worth,
 The same as all things else on earth;
 The fancied marriage of metal and grain
 Could never be sprung from a healthy brain.
 They said that wages would shrink and fall,
 Till the laboring man got nothing at all;
 As a matter of fact they have constantly grown
 Till they're higher to-day than ever was known.
 Never before in a canvas were heard
 So many predictions, both false and absurd.
 Bryan's dismal forebodings were heard all the while,
 But they didn't come true—not an inch to the mile;
 Every single prediction Republicans made
 Came true, and fulfillment was not long delayed.
 They promised good times, and there never were known
 Such times, since the country could first walk alone.

They promised of currency, stable and sound,
 Based on a gold standard, enough to go round;
 And though business increases by leap after leap.
 Money's everywhere plenty and everywhere cheap.
 They promised industrial growth, and you know
 How the new lighted furnaces everywhere glow;
 They promised from fresh foreign commerce, relief,
 And the figures today are beyond all belief.
 It would surely be something much stranger than strange,
 If the country should vote such conditions to change.
 And change they all would in the wink of an eye.
 Every spring of prosperity instantly dry,
 If, throughout the land the black message should run
 "For four years it's Bryan and sixteen to one.
 Shops and factories would close, all loans would be called,
 And the car of our progress be hopelessly stalled,
 While those who from such a disaster don't shrink
 Will have plenty of leisure to sit down and think.
 Bryan says to the Germans who've taken alarm,
 "Don't you see I am tied, so I can't do much harm?"
 He is tied pretty tight, but you never can tell
 Just how a fanatic is going to raise h—l.
 They promised to settle all questions with Spain
 In a way that would never give trouble again,
 And no one can fairly or truly allege
 That they haven't most fully redeemed every pledge.
 The Phillipine Islands we've taken by right,
 Porto Rico is ours, and Cuba's long night
 Has vanished forever; it shortly shall be
 That under our guidance, she's perfectly free.
 Contrast now the promise and payment of each;
 It's a contrast, indeed, that is quite beyond speech.
 They call Bryan statesman, but statesmen learn seuse,
 If, in no other way, from accomplished events;
 A party, indeed, must be sorely bestead,
 When it fights on an issue it tells you is dead.
 They long that good times may grow steadily less,
 As the one thing alone that can give them success.
 It has often been said, and it's very well known,
 That its wisest to let well enough well alone.
 Lincoln said, "don't swap horses while crossing a stream,"
 Good leaders and wheelers, now make up your team;
 Just give them their heads, when election comes 'round,
 You'll find the whole outfit is on solid ground.
 As I look at the list of men who've been called
 To the head of the State, since the first was installed,
 And study their lives, it is certain to me,
 That the verdict of history impartial will be
 That none at the helm through a crisis has stood
 And done for the country the best that he could,
 With tireless endeavor, with wisdom and zeal,
 Any greater than his who now stands at the wheel.
 Put him back there again and you need have no fears,
 The four years ahead will be prosperous years.
 It was surely propitious and kindly of fate
 To give him a winner to run as his mate.
 Search all the land through, up and down, far and near,
 You can't beat our Teddy; you'll scarce find his peer.
 First, a man through and through, with a big heart and brain,
 And a record superb, with no flaw and no stain;
 A scholar and author, a soldier renowned,
 A vertebrate statesman, with principles sound.

He believes in reform, he believes and he toils;
 Give him scope, and he'll smash the vile system of spoils.
 You can't fool him, or buy him, or drive him an inch,
 And he's handy to have when things come to a pinch.
 He's exactly the kind of a leader you need,
 To curb the combines, and check corporate greed;
 He stood like a rock in political place,
 And the plutocrat power defied to its face.
 He is all this, and more, but I tell you again,
 First of all, best of all, he's a man among men.
 Bryan's second, in statesmanship totally lacks,
 But he's skilled and enduring in wielding the axe.
 If that motley outfit should come into power
 Civil service reform would be dead in an hour.
 Let them talk about trusts, as much as they list,
 The genuine trusts have now ceased to exist.
 The laws you enacted the Courts have applied,
 And the trusts that could hurt you have withered and died.
 They'll need regulation; the worst one of all
 Bears the impress and trade-mark of Tammany hall;
 The suffering poor they intended to rob,
 But publicity always will spoil such a job;
 It shows how Democracy hungers and lusts,
 If once given the power, to freeze out the trusts.
 Since I talked to you last, you have driven out Spain,
 Set free the oppressed and increased your domain,
 Exalted the flag and inscribed a long roll
 Of American names on Fame's glorious scroll.
 I am sure that George Washington thrilled in his tomb,
 As I did up here, when I heard the guns boom.
 And knew that behind stood the blue and the grey,
 Like the North and the South, when they fought in our day;
 United in purpose, all differences healed,
 Patriotic alike, when the country appealed.
 It was worth the whole war, if naught else had been done,
 To wipe out the sections, and make us all one.
 You need wider markets for all that you raise,
 And all that you make: and it certainly pays,
 If you'd stay where you are, in prosperity's van,
 To get them and keep them, whenever you can.
 A country that's hampered and tied by the leg
 To a century-old constitutional peg,
 And cannot advance with the rest of the world,
 Should never be seen with a banner unfurled.
 They shout "Imperialism"—don't be frightened by a word—
 And invoke the Declaration, which is plainly most absurd;
 They never have applied it in all the days gone by
 To the Indians in the country; is there any reason why
 It, or the Constitution, should cover in a day
 Every other kind of people who may come beneath your sway?
 If you are a sovereign nation—and this is the highest test—
 You've a right to gain possessions, and rule them as is best.
 They claim the Constitution always marches with the flag,
 A legal proposition they are sure to find a snag;
 For if we hold the islands by the Constitution's force,
 We can never alienate them—that follows as of course.
 It's the Democratic doctrine by which they claimed the right
 To curse the Territories with slavery's withering blight;
 Lincoln led the fight against it; it was killed and buried then,
 Together with secession, and can never live again.
 Not a child in all the country but knows the die was cast,
 When Bryan brought the pressure by which the treaty passed;

He thought it was good politics, and thinks it's now the same,
 To try to shirk the consequence, and say he's not to blame.
 When we ratified the treaty we owned the Philippines,
 And Bryan knows, and well knew then, that's what the treaty
 means;

He had the power to stop it before it was begun,
 And now goes shrieking through the land, "Just see what they
 have done!"

Perhaps I am mistaken, but I think it is a fact
 That if demagogues existed, that's the way that they would act.
 Expansion, of course; you must grow and expand,
 When you cease to do that you know what is at hand.

Aguinaldo proclaims that he never will yield
 While Bryan, his ally, is still in the field:
 Vote for him, and you vote to go back on the men
 Who have fought for your country again and again;
 Only Freedom can thrive and her blessings abound
 Where the blood of our heroes has watered the ground.
 It is said that two birds can be killed with one stone,
 If you beat Colonel Bryan, it's not him alone;
 The Tagal rebellion will come to a stop
 When you knock out forever its very last prop.
 Vote the Bryanites down; it will bring speedy peace,
 And commerce will grow, while expenses decrease.
 From expansion I know there are many who shrink;
 I'll just alter my meter, and say *I* think.

When Dewey's echoing guns had ceased,
 And smoke clouds cleared away,
 A better day for all the East
 Dawned in Manila bay.

And better days for all our land;
 New marts and broader views;
 The power and will to lend a hand
 Though ignorance refuse.

The warring tribes will hail the hour
 Their savage conflicts end,
 And rescued from oppression's power,
 In peace and freedom blend.

The end of war we trust is near,
 'Twere ended long ago,
 But for misguided people here,
 Who back their country's foe.

They brace the almost conquered will,
 Incite to hope and dare,
 They nerve the arms that maim and kill
 Our brothers fighting there.

The peerless Lawton knew and said,
 That should it be his fate to fall,
 'Twould be his countrymen, misled,
 Who aimed and fired the fatal ball.

A cruel, treacherous, sordid chief,
 Whom all the tribes but Tagals shun,
 They give unquestioning belief,
 And hail a second Washington.

The Tagals are one-eighth at best,
Of all the peoples island bred;
Why they should dominate the rest,
The Atkinsonians haven't said.

For us t'would be a wicked thing;
For Aguinaldo just and right;
And they who still his praises sing,
Would have us lend to him our might

To seat him in tyranic state;
Compel the islands to obey,
Who all, his rule resist and hate,
And much prefer that we should stay.

Opinion always must be free,
But all the Atkinsonian cranks,
Who bushwack here behind a tree,
Should be in Aguinaldo's ranks.

What! yield the domain we have won;
Turn recreant to our trust;
Desert a duty just begun,
And trail our flag in dust.

Give up the helpless Philippines
To petty tyrants rule;
To bloody San Domingo scenes,
Become a despot's tool.

No, not while wisdom guides the State,
And honor still holds sway;
The bond that Dewey gave to Fate,
The country's going to pay.

Who asked the Indians their consent
To rule them with an iron hand,
And when the "erring sisters" went,
Four years of warfare rent the land.

And forced them back against their will;
It meant, we'll rule where we've the right,
E'en if we're forced to fight and kill,
And gain consent by armed might.

They say the Tagals all should vote,
That we should rule them is a shame;
If that be true pray let them note
The States in which they kill and maim,

And cheat a different colored race
Of rights the Constitution gave;
They say its quite another case,
The black man who was once a slave.

The Press that wails for Tagal woes
Is hardly in the least concerned,
When citizens—not murderous foes—
Without a trial are lynched and burned.

When thousands have their votes suppressed,
It's done in fun, or just for greens,
The tyranny one should detest,
Grows only in the Philippines.

The man who "Constitution" cries,
And any slight infraction dreads,
Turns and before your very eyes
Tears the whole instrument to shreds.

We took the Philippines, and hold
By laws that all the world maintain;
Not hope of trade, nor greed of gold,
But simply duty clear and plain.

Compels to stamp rebellion out;
And then by rule just, firm and free,
Dispel all native hate and doubt,
And bring the better days to be.

We differ in a hundred ways;
One thing is certain sink or swim,
The old flag at Manilla stays,
A beacon where the light is dim.

The war that came and its event,
They must be blind who cannot see,
Is part of that development;
It differs only in degree.

Which heretofore has made us great,
And hold a hope to which we cling,
That be it Providence or Fate,
Some "far divine event" 'twill bring.

Bryan poses as a democrat, but surely can't mislead
Any well informed adherent of the Jeffersonian creed;
Where are Olney, Wilson, Cleveland; where are Palmer and Carlisle,
Lamont, Fairchild and Buckner? Bryan says they're traitors vile.
They are men of brains and conscience; should they follow such a lead
To Democratic principles, they'd traitors be indeed.
The Democratic party has been shamefully betrayed,
To Populistic leadership; it's on the downward grade;
Its statesmen have abandoned it; to compensate the loss
Mr. William Jennings Bryan has become its reigning boss.
A boss most autocratic, unquestioned and supreme,
Weighed with whom a whole, great party has lately kicked the beam
Not a man at Kansas City dared to call his soul his own,
And when they got their platform it came by telephone;
He forced free silver on them, exactly as he'd bragged,
While the great states of the Union lay voiceless, bound and gagged.
You've now got the old hand, and what counts fully half,
He has gathered around him an excellent staff.
No better first mate ever weathered a gale
Or handled a crew when the ship crowded sail,
Than gallant John Hay; 'twas in stormier seas
That Lincoln trained *him* for such duties as these.
In the mighty world drama that's on in the East,
His hand can be seen in our prestige increased,
Our rights all maintained, and a wide open door
For our commerce secured, who could ask any more?
Great tact and ability, patience and skill,
A long, careful training, a resolute will
Such fruitage requires; and the country feels sure
That while he still serves us, it still will endure.
He knows every rope, every turn of the tide,
Just how, midst her rivals the old ship should ride;

He misses no signal and makes no mistake,
 And rivals are now mostly far in his wake.
 All the other lieutenants are rated A 1;
 There are Gage, Root, and Griggs, their whole duty have done,
 And there's he who will live in story and song,
 For his splendid successes—Chief Mariner Long.
 Smith, Hitchcock and Wilson are all first-class men,
 Strong in counsel, in action, with voice and with pen.
 Just think if Boss Bryan should win in the race,
 Of the wreckers and cranks you would have in their place.
 No one in the world who of wisdom takes heed,
 Will encourage or follow the third party lead.
 Every *man* in the land has a duty to do;
 He knows that the choice will be one of the two—
 McKinley or Bryan; his duty is first
 To make up his mind which is best,—or which worst;
 Then vote as he thinks; it is silly child's play
 In a contest like this to throw ballots away.
 Lack of sense, too much "culchah," too much self-conceit—
 One of these is the cause, and sometimes they meet.
 If you think both are evil, you ought to select
 The one which is least; you can't always expect
 To have choice of the best; but the world will advance
 When the best thing available's given a chance.
 Did there any real question of "Empire" exist,
 As the Antis so loudly and falsely insist,
 None truly can urge the least shade of pretense,
 That it can not be settled, say three years from hence,
 Just as well as today; but you've got to expect
 From Bryan's election an instant effect;
 The result to our finances won't be delayed,
 A fact that the Antis don't seem to have weighed;
 They've lost all perspective, all power to judge
 Of existing relations. The Empire; what fudge!
 When an enemy's pressing you sharply in front
 Good sense and good discipline certainly won't
 Let you fire in the air, because haply you fear
 You *may* be attacked later on in the rear.
 When a man gets one subject lodged fast in his brain,
 And turns it and talks it again and again,
 He soon will be swelling the time-honored ranks
 Of unbearable bores and fanatical cranks.
 Bryan's high up in both with his sixteen to one,
 And the Antis will join him before they have done;
 Furthermore, there are some, much too good for this earth,
 Unequaled in wisdom, supernal in worth,
 Who on their own virtues so constantly dote,
 That they think they're too too so, to cast any vote;
 Their feet move around on the earth with the crowd,
 But their heads are concealed in a sanctified cloud.
 They are few, and the masses from humbug exempt,
 Can't fail to regard them with honest contempt.
 Just a word as I close of this dangerous schism
 Which again rears its head, that is called Populism;
 It would wreck and destroy the fair fabric we built;
 Give it war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt.
 As I sat here and heard how Spain's navy was sunk,
 Run ashore, and reduced to a lot of old junk,
 I fancied a flight 'twixt the good ship of State,
 And the Ship Populism; the fight I'll relate.
 She leads Bryan's fleet, and he's hauled down the flag
 And run up instead just a flaming, red rag.

POPULISM.

Fling out the standard to the breeze,
 'Tis growing to a gale;
 There is a sound of rising seas
 May make the stoutest quail.
 Look, yonder in the western sky
 Rise clouds of doubt and gloom;
 List to the sea-bird's warning cry,
 The rumbling thunder's boom.

And see, from out the tempest's shroud
 There steals a fearsome shape;
 With rakish masts, grim, dark, low-bowed,
 She creeps around the cape.
 The flag she flies is fiery red—
 The flag of blood and hate;
 She's fully manned; she's boldly led—
 To arms, oh Ship of State.

Quick, muster all the gallant crew,
 There's work today for men
 To honor and to country true:
 Run out the guns, and then
 Bear down upon the hellish craft;
 Let loose the bolts of Fate:
 Rake the black pirate fore and aft—
 Now for it, Ship of State.

She turns, she runs! crowd on the steam
 And ram her as she flies;
 Well aimed, that shot struck full a-beam:
 Hark to the frightened cries.
 A deadly, deafening broadside peals,
 Its wrath she cannot shun;
 Her flag has struck, she fills, she reels—
 Hurrah, the fight is won!

Her armor's sham, her hulk is old,
 And rotten overy plank;
 Her huddled crew she scarce can hold—
 Dupe, rascal, anarch, crank.
 Down to the slimy depths she hies,
 Repudiation's done;
 No longer flat money lies—
 No more sixteen to one.

The storm-clouds break, the wind subsides,
 The evening sky is fair;
 The good old ship securely rides,
 As staunch as ever there.
 Head her for port; a mighty shout—
 She's safely crossed the bar,
 And as her anchor chains run out,
 Up climbs a golden star.



"The country is altogether too busy with active industry and thriving commerce to listen any longer to the prophet of evil."—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY.

How the Promises of the "Advance Agent" Have Been Fulfilled in all Branches of Business and Industry.



There are even now many Bryanites, and some very prominent ones, too, who deny that the people of the United States are today in a more prosperous condition than they were five or six years ago. Indeed, there are some who contend that "the masses" are worse off now than they were then.

It is not so many moons since Bryan himself ceased his sneers at, and ironical references to, "McKinley prosperity." A fat and rapidly growing bank account derived from his voice and pen at last touched his conscience, for even he could not fail to realize that except in prosperous times hardly a single county fair association in the Union could afford such a luxury as a five-hundred-dollar address from the Boy Orator of the Platte.

COXEY AND HIS ARMY.

Six years ago Mr. Bryan was chairman of a sub-committee of the Ways and Means Committee of the National House of Representatives and he would be able to recall the fact that in that capacity he was a sympathetic listener to an argument submitted by "General" Jacob S. Coxey, of Ohio, in favor of a "Good Roads Bill" which provided for the printing of five hundred million dollars of "money" to be scattered broadcast throughout the land in the payment of wages to the unemployed "masses," hundreds of thousands of whom with their families were idle and destitute of the necessities of life. "General" Coxey advocated on the same occasion a bill providing for the issue by the General Government of four thousand million dollars in non-interest bearing bonds for the further relief and benefit of the same destitute and suffering "masses."

Bryan, although a man of ardent imagination and broad and warm sympathies, balked at the latter scheme, because he perceived that if it should be adopted and carried out there would be no need of a law for the

free and unlimited coinage of 50-cent silver dollars. Besides, his conscience forbade him "to go the whole hog." It would permit him to go half-way.

CONDITIONS OF SIX YEARS AGO.

An interesting and instructive glimpse of the conditions which prevailed throughout the United States six years ago will be obtained through a brief reference to the "Army of the Commonweal," one division of which marched into Washington in May, 1894, under the command of "General" Jacob S. Coxey.

Divisions of this army were organized in nearly every State, and for weeks the story of their wanderings and vicissitudes claimed a large share of public attention. The rank and file of this "army" was composed of men who had no work to do and could not find employment. It was easy to enlist recruits who were willing to serve without pay and for such rations as the charity of sympathetic persons or the good nature and prudence of municipal authorities might provide, and they flocked to the Coxey standard by the scores and hundreds.

They were bent on a common purpose — to march to Washington, where Congress was in session and demand relief. There was no need to establish recruiting offices, for they sprung up as if by magic in every State, and within a few weeks it seemed probable that Coxey's call for 100,000 men to move on Washington and lay their grievances before Congress would be filled; but dissensions arose, there was lack of discipline, private charity grew weary, municipal authorities began to frown, free railway transportation was denied and many of the divisions of this grand army dissolved, each unit thereof preferring to suffer and starve alone rather than in company with others as miserable as himself. "General" Coxey persevered, and early in May the first division of his army which had crossed the Alleghenies through the frosts and snows of April approached the National Capital, where necessary preparations had been made for its reception by putting the police on the alert and locking and barring the rooms and vaults of the National Treasury in which public money and securities were handled.

The President and a majority of both branches of Congress were Democrats, and they turned a deaf ear to the appeals of "General" Coxey and his army in behalf of unemployed, destitute and helpless labor. "General" Coxey and two of his chief lieutenants were arrested for trespassing on the public grounds and a number of the privates were laid by the heels on charges of vagrancy. The "General" was sent to jail for a brief period and the great champion of the "masses" against the "classes" never publicly gave him a substantial token of his sympathy.

A PERIOD OF DISTRESS.

The "Commonweal" movement indicated and represented a prevailing condition of general and severe distress throughout the country. Even Bryan never denied that, but, on the contrary, repeatedly and vehemently asserted it, and he and his party associates in Congress sought to remove it by continuing the free silver agitation and by the enactment of a tariff and income tax law. One half of the law was declared unconstitutional and the other half was so fraught with evil that the then existing unhappy conditions were enormously and intensely aggravated, as every man in the United States

who was striving to earn an honest living in whatever employment or by whatever means, can easily recall.

Whether the law was, as President Cleveland declared, "an act of party perfidy and party dishonor" or not, it was one which plunged the people of the United States into a deeper and darker gulf of misery than ever.

THE WAGE-EARNERS IN 1894.

The condition of the wage-earners in December, 1894, within four months after the enactment of the law, was even more deplorable than it had been a year before when, in the annual official report of the president of the American Federation of Labor (submitted December 11, 1893), it was described as follows:

"Since August of this year we have been in the greatest industrial depression this country has ever experienced. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 3,000,000 of our fellow-toilers throughout the country are without employment and have been so since the time named. This lamentable industrial condition is attributed by many to various causes, and it seems to me that the accurate statement of them here is both requisite and appropriate, so that we may be better enabled to so frame our legislation that it may tend to a proper solution of the problem dependent upon the wage-workers for solution.

"Never in the history of the world has so large a number of people vainly sought for an opportunity to earn a livelihood and contribute to the support of their fellows."

The conditions thus described continued and gradually grew worse, especially as regarded the wage-earners and farmers and planters during the next three years and until after the defeat of Bryanism and the triumph of the Republican party in 1896.

These conditions were general throughout the land. The iron molder, the glass blower, the carpenter, the bricklayer — the man skilled in any branch of industry — and the butcher, the grocer and the merchant who depended on his custom, all alike drank from the same cup of misery; and the cotton grower in Alabama or Texas, the wheat grower in Kansas or Minnesota, and the wool grower in Ohio or Michigan alike felt the heavy hand of adversity. Wages fell, earnings grew scantier, days' work scarcer and the number of idle hands steadily multiplied, while on the farms and plantations mortgages piled higher; rates of interest increased; wheat and cotton fell lower than ever before, and "free wool" sent millions of sheep to the shambles. Even the Government — the richest one on earth — was "on its uppers" and had to borrow money to pay its current running expenses.

THOSE TERRIBLE YEARS.

Let us read a few pages from the history of those terrible years.

Here is an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Bell, of Texas, a Democrat, in the National House of Representatives on January 8, 1894:

"But there is a limit to all things. The money lenders realized that they had advanced all that they could with safety on the farmers' property, and this source of obtaining money was cut off. Our farmers, therefore, being

unable to buy the merchants' goods, the merchants had no occasion to purchase of the manufacturers, and our manufacturers, being restricted to the home markets, were compelled to close their establishments and deprive of work thousands of their employees.— *Congressional Record*, volume 137, page 556."

February, 1894.—All the mills in Lawrence, Mass., with one exception have reduced wages 10 to 25 per cent. Silk mill, Rockville, Conn., 400 hands, wage reduction 10 per cent. Greensburg, Pa., steel works, reduction 25 per cent. Lancaster, Pa., cotton mill, 800 hands, wage reduction 10 per cent. Foundrymen's Association, Cleveland, Ohio, reduce molders' wages 10 per cent. Police census of New York city showed 67,280 persons idle who usually had employment. Wages were reduced in lumber mills at Ford, Ky., 400 hands. About 1,500 coal miners in Eastern Ohio who had struck against reduction of wages, accepted it and returned to work.

March, 1894.—Police census of Brooklyn, N. Y., 46,686 men out of employment. Among other wage reductions reported this month were the following: New England Railroad employes, 600, 10 per cent. New York and Pennsylvania Railroad hands, 2,000, 10 per cent. Pittsburg, Pa., machine shops, 10 per cent. Salem, Ohio, coal miners, 20 per cent. Pennsylvania Railroad employes, 10 per cent. Trenton, N. J., iron and steel factory, reduction. Bloodville, N. Y., ax works, 10 to 25 per cent, 150 hands. Newburyport, Mass., cotton mills, 10 per cent. Lebanon, Pa., puddlers, reduction. Charleroi, Pa., shovel factory, reduction. Pueblo, Colo., iron mills, 46 per cent. Sharpsville, Pa., foundry, 10 per cent. Allentown, Pa., iron works, reduction. New Bedford, Mass., glass workers, 10 per cent. Newburyport, Mass., cotton weavers, 10 per cent. Harrisburg, Pa., iron workers, reduction. Kingston, N. Y., cigar factory, 800 hands, reduction. Bellaire, Ohio, furnace hands, reduction. Bellaire, Ohio, railroad section hands, reduction. Pittsburg, Pa., machine works, 10 per cent. Woonsocket, R. I., woolen mills, 10 per cent. Shut-down: Wilmington, Del., cotton mills.

WAGES REDUCED AND LABOR IDLE.

March 17.—Miners in Salineville, Ohio, return to work at reduced scale of wages. Wages on Seventh Avenue Railroad, New York city, reduced 25 to 50 cents a day. Three thousand miners near Phillipsburg, Pa., accept reduced wages.

In April, 1894, the Labor Commissioner of Michigan reported that of 3,966 factories in that State which he had visited, 377 were wholly shut down and 572 running on short time. On May 5, cotton mills at Manchester, N. H., employing 7,000 people, were partly shut down. Of the hands employed, 2,000 were rendered idle and the rest put on two-thirds time. The weekly pay roll was reduced from \$50,000 to \$22,000.

A Massillon, Ohio, dispatch, said: "Just three families remain at Groves Patch—five months ago a prosperous mining village—in consequence of the coal strike, which is five months old today. Pigeon Run is almost depopulated also."

STRIKES AND LOSS OF WAGES.

The estimated losses on account of the Chicago railway strike and boycott of 1894 were as follows:

United States Government.....	\$ 1,000,000
Loss in earnings of Chicago railroads.....	3,000,000
Loss in earnings, other railroads.....	2,500,000
Loss, destruction of railway property.....	2,500,000
Loss, railway employes' wages.....	20,000,000
Loss in exports.....	2,000,000
Loss on fruit crops.....	2,500,000
Loss to manufacturing companies.....	7,500,000
Loss to employes of same.....	35,000,000
Loss to merchants on quick goods.....	5,000,000
Total	\$81,000,000

This strike lasted twenty days and cost seventeen lives.

Reductions of wages, strikes and shut-downs continued throughout the years of 1894, 1895 and in 1896 until after the Presidential election.

Most of the strikes in the latter part of 1895 and in 1896 were against reductions of wages, which had been already reduced twice or thrice from the rates which had prevailed in 1892.

Many of the shut-downs were due to the fact that there was little or no demand for manufactured goods on account of the general depression and acute distress which prevailed throughout the country. It was easy in such times for production to outrun demand and pile up unsold goods in factories and warehouses.

THE FARMERS SUFFERED ALSO.

The prices of agricultural products of every description fell because of a greatly reduced demand for consumption. Men and women who were receiving starvation wages or none at all could afford only the barest necessities of life.

The balances in savings banks were depleted because the depositors were compelled to use their past savings to buy bread and fuel for themselves and their families.

The Public Soup House Became a Well Recognized and Necessary Municipal Institution in Every Large City and Town.

Hundreds of thousands knew daily hunger, and hundreds starved, while thousands who had lived in comfort were reduced to the barest necessities of life. The great army of unemployed received daily accessions of unwilling recruits everywhere until, by comparison, Coxey's "Army of the Commonwealth" seemed, and was, but a corporal's guard.

The shoe pinched everywhere. Nobody escaped. Great and rich corporations were forced to reduce the number and wages of their employes; countless thousands of locomotives and passenger, freight and coal cars stood empty and idle for want of traffic; the doors of thousands of manufactories of every description, from the largest to the smallest, were shut and barred, or opened only one, two or three days a week to admit a reduced number of hands. The mechanic's plane, and chisel, and trowel put on a deep, thick coat of rust and the coat of its owner grew more rusty and shabby day by day.

BUSINESS FAILURES EVERYWHERE.

Business failures trod on one another's heels so closely that the procession soon became a solid phalanx. Banks, railroads, merchants, big and little, manufacturers — every occupation, employment and kind of venture — were

involved in the common ruin. Tottering fortunes, blasted hopes and mournful financial derelicts were on every hand.

In 1892 the total number of commercial failures in the United States had amounted to 10,344; the total liabilities \$114,044,167, and the average liabilities to \$11,025. The people were generally prosperous that year; the shoe did not pinch very seriously anywhere, and that fall the voters, believing that prosperity would continue even under Democratic rule, turned the Government over to that party for four years. What happened? One thing that happened was a big increase in the number of commercial failures, as the following table shows:

Year.	No. of Failures.	Total Liabilities.	Average Liabilities.
1893.....	15,242	\$346,779,889	\$22,751
1894.....	13,885	172,992,856	12,458
1895.....	13,197	173,196,060	13,124
1896.....	15,088	226,096,834	14,992

In 1892 the total number of commercial failures was 10,344; the aggregate liabilities amounted to \$114,044,167, and the average liabilities to \$11,025. In 1899, three years after the Republican party regained power, the total number of commercial failures was 9,377; the aggregate liabilities amounted to \$90,879,889, and the average liabilities to \$9,733.

In 1896 the shoe pinched hard and the Democratic party was turned out of power, and the Republican party was put in. Now, again, a party is trying to get into power which is seriously affected by a complication of political diseases. It is as much more dangerous to the prosperity of the country as either the Democratic party or the Populist party alone would be, as a case of confluent smallpox and bubonic plague combined would be more hopeless than a case of either disease alone.

PROSPERITY OF TRANSPORTATION COMPANIES.

The prosperity of railway and other transportation companies is a faithful index of the general prosperity of a country. Of course, bad or dishonest management may send a railroad or a bank into the hands of a receiver, but that is a local cause which does not so affect railroads or banks in general. But "bad business"—that is, want of business—if serious and protracted enough, will do the work, as the following little table, showing first, the number of railroads placed in the hands of receivers in the years noted; second, the total mileage involved, and third, the total amount of indebtedness, will sufficiently indicate:

Year.	No. of Roads.	Mileage.	Stocks and Bonds.
1893.....	74	29,340	\$1,781,046,000
1894.....	38	7,025	395,791,000
1895.....	31	4,089	369,075,000
1896.....	34	5,441	275,597,000

For the sake of comparison the following table is here given:

Year.	No. of Roads.	Mileage.	Stocks and Bonds.
1897.....	18	1,537	\$ 92,909,000
1898.....	18	2,069	138,701,000
1899.....	10	1,019	52,285,000

This comparison is an instructive one. It may be added that the total number of railroads in the United States placed in the hands of receivers from 1876 to 1899—a period of twenty-four years—was 618; that one-fourth of

them were in the four years of the last Democratic administration; that the total mileage involved in the entire period was 112,110, of which 42,895 was in the four-year period referred to, and that of the total indebtedness of the entire period (\$6,310,536,000) the amount involved in the four-year period exceeded \$2,821,000,000.

A BRIGHT CONTRAST.

But turn we from the dreary past of 1892-1896, with its miseries, its privations and its groans of industrious men and women who could find no work to do; with its thickly strewn wrecks of shattered fortunes, maimed and ruined industries and commercial enterprises, and its heavy, never-lifting clouds of gloom overshadowing the farms, the plantations, and the sheep and cattle ranges, to the bright, beaming sunshine of prosperity which has sent and is sending its rays into every nook and corner of the land, reviving the hopes and renewing the courage of the people and filling their hearts with gladness, their purses with good, honest money, and feeding those who had so long gone hungry, and clothing and warming those who for four long years had been shivering in half-nakedness.

The dawn of prosperity appeared very soon after the Presidential election of 1896, and within three months after the inauguration of President McKinley the sun had risen far above the horizon. Here are a few of the effects as recorded in the month of July, 1897, which afford a striking contrast to the record of July, 1893, four months after the last inauguration of the last Democratic President.

FACTORIES OPENED AGAIN.

Operations were resumed in the Washington mills at Washington, R. I., employing 80 weavers. At a conference of the employing plasterers and workers, New York, terms favorable to all interests were drawn up and agreed upon. Tube department and sheet mill of the Reading Iron Works resumed operations. The tube department employs 900 men and the sheet mill will give 250 men work. The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad shops at Sedalia, Mo., resumed operations at full time. In Mercer County, Pa., 800 coal miners had their wages increased. Reports indicate that in Kansas the help required to harvest the crops is by no means equal to the demand. The Kansas & Texas Mining Company and the Prairie Creek Mining Company, of Huntington, Ark., started up on full time with a large force of men. The Everett, Pemberton and Atlantic Mills, at Lawrence, Mass., started up with an aggregate of more than 3,000 hands. The Pawnee, Kelly and Westville companies, of the Danville, Ill., district, posted notices of increase of 10 cents a ton in wages. The rolling mill of J. Painter & Son was started. Steel mill of Jones & Laughlin, of the same city, also resumed. Bigelow Carpet Company resumed, 900 hands. Packer No. 5, colliery, which had very little work since December, 1896, resumed, giving employment to 1,000 men and boys. The Columbus Buggy Company, Ohio, resumed operations, giving employment to 400 men. The Great Western Tinplate Company's plant, at Joliet, Ill., employing 300 men, resumed work; the men get an advance of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

BETTER WAGES AND PLENTY OF WORK.

For the first time in several years all the employes of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad shops, at St. Joseph, Mo., are working full time. The rush of work in some departments has necessitated the employment of additional hands. Chattanooga *Tradesman* reports iron and steel trade active and prices steady in South. Movement in lumber good and textile trade shows improvement. McKenna Steel Works, at Joliet, Ill., will resume, employing 400 men. Striking spinners at Dolphin silk mill, Paterson, N. J., granted increase of 5 per cent. Weavers at Gallant Bros. mill, same place, also granted increase of 20 per cent. Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, Kokomo, Ind., resumed, employing 800 hands. For first time in four years full time being worked at St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad shops, at De Soto, Mo. Jones & Laughlin, Pittsburg, Pa., have signed the finishing scale of the Amalgamated Association; work resumed in mills at once. Fully 3,500 men will secure employment in this plant.

In 1893 the Maine Central Railroad employes had wages reduced 10 per cent. Officials decided to restore old rates. Cotton mills in Blackstone Valley, R. I., started up on full time with a large number of employes. A number of large industrial concerns in Connecticut resumed operations because of passage of Dingley tariff bill. Several manufactories in Chester, Pa., which have been running two and three days a week, have started on full time. Avery Plow Factory, Louisville, Ky., resumed. Hayden Rolling Mill, Columbus, Ohio, resumed. Sloss Iron and Steel Company blew in another furnace at Birmingham, Ala. Tennessee Coal, Iron & Railroad Company blew in idle furnace at Bessemer, Ala. As a result of new tariff, Algonquin Woolen Mills, Passaic, N. J., increased wages from 10 to 15 per cent. Dispatches from North Tonawanda, N. Y., state demand for labor greater than supply. Industrial concerns send to Buffalo for men.

CHEERING SIGNS EVERYWHERE.

The cheering signs continued to August and September, 1897, from the record of which months one or two specimens are taken. The owner of seven sugar plantations in Louisiana, the largest producer in the United States, advanced wages of field labor $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Work was resumed in all departments of the American Watch Company, at Waltham. Avery Plow Company, at Louisville, Ky., made a large addition to their force of workmen on account of improved conditions and prospects in the agricultural districts. Providence Coal Company's mines, at Scranton, which had been idle for two years, resumed. Among the evidences of returning prosperity in October was an increase of 10 per cent in the wages of all employes of the Minnesota Iron Company. The Disston Saw Works, at Tacony, Pa., which had been running on short time for four years, resumed work, and they employ at least 1,000 men. The Wilhelm Bicycle Works, of Hamburg, increased wages 5 per cent. Naumkeag Mills, at Salem, which had been running four days a week, started full time with about a thousand skilled operators. Wages of hands in the National Woolen Mills, at Olney, R. I., which had been reduced 30 per cent in 1893, were restored.

THE IMPROVEMENT RECORD BETTER.

In November, 1897, one year after the Presidential election, the record of improvement was longer and more gratifying than ever. The Thomas Iron Company, of Hellertown, Pa., which had been idle for two years, resumed operations. The Tremont Worsted Mills voluntarily increased wages 10 per cent for day hands and 20 per cent for night hands. Andrews Steel Works, at Youngstown, advanced wages 10 per cent. Philadelphia's thousand weavers returned to work, increase of wages which they demanded having been granted. Blast furnaces in Mahoning Valley, Pa., advanced wages 10 per cent. Upward of 3,000 persons were benefited. Strike at Alice furnace over, men returning with 10 per cent increase of wages. Wheeling (W. Va.) Steel Company advanced wages, nearly 2,000 employes, 10 per cent.

This record might be continued through the remaining months until January, 1898, when it became brighter than before. Many instances of a second advance in wages since 1896 were recorded. Among some of the items in the record for January are the following: Eastern Pottery operatives secured an advance of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Advance of 5 per cent granted to 200 employes at cutlery factory at New Britain, Conn. West Milwaukee shops of St. Paul Railroad had a total of 2,400 employes and were busier with work than they had been for five years. Metropolitan Iron & Land Company, of Michigan, announced increase of wages affecting a thousand men. Carnegie-Oliver Mining Company, employing 1,500 men, increased their wages 10 per cent.

SOUTHERN TEXTILE MILLS WORKING.

In February practically all the 250 textile mills in the Carolinas were working full time night and day. In March the mine owners in Mercer and Venango counties, Pa., agreed to increase 10 cents a ton to miners, to continue for a year; it affected 2,500 miners. In April the owners of the stone-yards of New York agreed to the demand of their striking employes for increase of wages. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company, which in 1893 had reduced the wages of all its employes 20 per cent, restored them in June 1898; 30,000 men were directly benefited. In July the Northern Pacific Railway Company restored wages to the figure before the reduction of 1894, advanced about 15 per cent. In August the Zinc Smelting Works at Marion, Ind., which had been closed for over two years, resumed operations. In September only four of the 136 cotton mills in North Carolina were idle.

The Labor Commissioner of Michigan, in October, 1898, reported that a better industrial condition had not existed in that State for years; there was a general improvement in condition of wage-earners, both as to the increased wages and number of men employed.

FARM MORTGAGES REDUCED.

Reports from 83 counties showed that mortgages upon farm property had been reduced by millions of dollars as compared with 1896, while the rate of interest had been also materially reduced. The lumbermen complained of difficulty in obtaining hands to enter the woods, although they offered \$25 to \$35 a month and board. The same month the president of the Milwaukee Associated Charities reported that there had not been so little work for that

organization for five years, and he said: "We are able to find work for every able-bodied man who applies, while it is not possible to supply all the calls for intelligent labor."

The report of the New York City Factory Inspector in October showed an improvement in the industrial situation over that of 1897; no less than 58,000 more persons were employed. In the year 3,613 factories started, 1,939 of which were new, and the remainder were concerns which had been closed down for several years.

Annual report of cotton mills for North Carolina in November, 1898, showed 191 spinning and weaving mills and 39 hosiery mills in operation. About half of these were running both day and night.

WAGES VOLUNTARILY ADVANCED.

On December 10, 1898, Trenton potteryware manufacturers reported business as being better than ever before. And on December 24 the Southern Railway announced that on January 1 it would restore the wages of its mechanics, which in 1895 were reduced 10 per cent. In February, 1899, the 5,000 employes of the Cambria Iron Company at Johnstown received a voluntary advance of 10 per cent in wages, the second in two years. The *Railway Gazette* showed that the output of locomotives from all competing shops, exclusive of railway shops, in 1898, amounted to 1,875, as compared with 1,051 in 1897, and that 1898 was the best for the car building industries since 1890.

The following is a record of the increases of wages in the week ended March 11, 1899, the increases averaging about 10 per cent: Tin-plate workers, New Castle, Pa., 1,300 to 1,500 employes; iron workers, Greenville, Pa.; iron workers, Bellaire, Ohio, 300 hands; iron workers, Wheeling, W. Va., 3,000 employes; nail workers, Williamsport, Pa.; brickmakers, Jeannette, Pa.; cotton operatives, North Bridge, Mass., 600; cotton operatives, Brunswick, Me., 1,000; cotton operatives, Soco, 1,500; quarrymen, Franklin, Pa.; iron workers, Duncansville, Pa., 500; cotton operatives, Salem and Fitchburg, Mass., 2,700; miners, Birmingham, Ala., district; chainmakers, Pittsburg, Pa., 300; laborers, Bethlehem, Pa., 500; iron workers, Syracuse, N. Y., Myerstown, Pa., Harrisburg, Pa., and Altoona, Pa.; cotton operatives, Amesbury and Webster, Mass., 2,900; iron workers, Chattanooga, Tenn., 700; iron workers, McKeesport, Pa., 7,000. These weekly records of increases of wages and employment continued through the year 1899 and have continued down to the present.

COAL MINERS EARNED MORE.

The coal miners of Illinois earned an average of \$100 more in 1899 than they did in 1898, which was twice as good a year for them as 1896. In February, 1899, a report of the New York Labor Bureau showed that 6,553 establishments which in 1896 employed 299,957 men, employed 356,278 in 1899, an increase of 19 per cent in the number of hands employed. Wages had risen in about the same proportion and every skilled workman who wanted employment easily found it. On March 10, 1900, an advance was granted to Rock Island trainmen; 10 per cent also advance to iron-mill workers under amalgamated scale. This advance brought puddlers' wages up to \$6 a ton, the

highest pay for twenty years. Upward of 15,000 men were affected by this action.

These proofs of the great and growing prosperity of the wage-earners might be swelled to a volume. They were and are found everywhere. There is not a town, a village, a hamlet or neighborhood in the Union, however small or remote, in which such evidence can not be found today. Practically everybody who is able to work and wants to work is at work and getting better wages than he ever did before. This means that business in general is better than it ever was before—ininitely better than it was in the sad, gloomy years from 1893 to 1896.

The wage earner is usually the first to feel the effects of business distress in reduction of wages and fewer opportunities of employment, as he is often the last to reap the benefits of a revival of business in increase of wages.

CONDITION OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

As to the general condition of organized labor in the United States, an extract has hereinbefore been given from the annual report to the American Federation of Labor for the year 1896. Following are similar extracts from the same authority (the president of the same organization), for the years 1897 and 1899, respectively:

1897.

“That terrible period for the wage-earners of this country which began in 1893 and which has left behind it such a record of horror, hunger and misery, practically ended with the dawn of the year 1897. Wages had been steadily forced down from 1893 till toward the end of 1895, and it was variously estimated that between two million and two-and-a-half-million wage earners were unemployed.

“It is agreed by all that the wage-earners are the principal consumers of American products, and it necessarily follows that a reduction in wages involves a diminution in the power of consumption, and consequently a proportionate decrease in production, and, naturally, also, in the force of labor required for the production. A reduction of wages, therefore, results in an increase in the army of the unemployed, and any circumstance or combination of circumstances that will check reductions in wages, and hence the diminution of consumption by the masses, is a humane act, based on the soundest laws of economics and of progress.”

1899.

“The revival of industry which we have witnessed within the past year is one for general congratulation, and it should be our purpose to endeavor to prolong this era of more general employment and industrial activity. In this effort no power is so potent as organized labor, if we but follow a right and practical course.

“It is beyond question that the wages of the organized workers have been increased, and in many instances the hours of labor either reduced or at least maintained.

“The report which your officers are enabled to submit to this convention, so far as the growth and progress of our movement during the past year are concerned, is of a most gratifying character. At last we are realizing some of

the fruits of the years of unceasing sacrifice, devotion and uninterrupted work of our fellow-unionists."

PROSPECTS FAVORABLE FOR LABOR.

Several months ago the executive officers of the various labor organizations were requested to answer the following question: "In your opinion are the prospects favorable for continued and steady employment?" Within a short time replies were received from forty-eight different organizations, every one of which replied in the affirmative, while many of them also referred to the deplorable conditions that prevailed from 1893 to 1896. The annual reports of sixty-two labor organizations for 1897, 1898 and 1899 show that there has been a steady increase in the percentage of members who are employed, the percentage rising to 100 in seventeen cases and in only eight cases falling below 90. In eighteen cases wages had been thrice advanced in the three years, the increase ranging from 17 to 300 per cent. In eight cases wages had been twice advanced, and in the other cases only once — in 1899. The record shows that the sudden return of prosperity in 1897 and 1898 created so great a demand for labor in every branch of industry that wages were speedily advanced and before the end of 1899 were generally higher than they had ever been even in the most prosperous year of our industrial history. Not only so, but the wage-earner, whether skilled or unskilled, had a chance to choose between several employers and places of employment.

CONDITIONS IN MICHIGAN.

The State of Michigan is a fair average of the States of the Union. The bulletin of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of that State for the year 1899 says that at no time within its history has Michigan enjoyed the same general condition of prosperity in all branches of industry that it did during the year 1899. Manufactories of all kind were run to their full capacity and many were running overtime to meet increasing demands. Labor, both skilled and unskilled, was very generally employed at fair and improving wages and so great was the shortage in unskilled labor that it materially interfered in work upon railroad construction and in forests and mines. There was a great scarcity of carpenters, masons, and builders' employes. The farmers had prospered far better than for years before, and a canvass of nearly 5,000 factories showed that 545 of them had increased their actual capital \$6,500,000 in the year. In 1,382 factories 24,000 more hands were employed than in 1896, and 74 reported an increase of wages over 1898. The average daily wages, considering all the hands found work in the factories, of 1899, was \$1.99 per day, while the same average in 1898 was \$1.37 per day.

PAY-ROLLS HAVE BEEN DOUBLED.

The official returns from 200 manufactories of the United States show that in 1894 the names of 90,483 persons were on their pay-rolls, who received a total in wages of \$40,803,866. In 1898 there were on the pay-rolls a total of 131,428 employes, who received a total of \$62,247,940. In 1899 the same pay-rolls showed a total of 174,645 persons employed, to whom was paid in wages the total sum of \$78,835,000.

THE FARMER IS PROSPEROUS.

So large a proportion of our population consists of farmers, planters, and cattle and wool growers that general prosperity can not exist unless they are large sharers of it. Every student of the economic conditions of the United States knows that in the period from 1893 to 1896 agriculture was in a state of great depression; every grain grower, every cotton grower, every sheep and cattle grower remembers that fact of his own bitter experience. The home demand for agricultural products had been reduced to the lowest point in years, by the depressed industrial conditions, which had reduced wages of home consumers and thrown millions of others out of employment, and the foreign demand could not take up any considerable part of the surplus, and prices of agricultural products consequently fell in many cases below the bare cost of production. Since 1896 not only has the home demand immensely increased but exports to meet a better foreign demand have also been much larger. In regard to the latter, the following examples, which are from official sources, with the amounts expressed in round numbers, are both interesting and instructive.

FOREIGN DEMAND FOR OUR CROPS.

In 1896 the foreign demand required \$141,000,000 of American breadstuffs; in 1899 it required \$274,000,000, almost twice as much. The corn exports of 1896 amounted to 99,000,000 bushels; those of 1899 to 174,000,000 bushels, an increase of 75,000,000 bushels. In 1896 the exports of wheat amounted to 60,000,000 bushels; in 1899 the total was 139,000,000 bushels. The exports of wheat flour increased from \$52,000,000 in 1896 to \$73,000,000 in 1899.

Exports of provisions, which amounted to \$133,000,000 in 1896, were \$175,000,000 in 1899. The exports of cotton in 1896 amounted to \$190,056,460, in 1900 they amounted to \$241,837,737 and the export price had increased from 6 cents a pound in 1896 to 10 cents a pound in 1900. Cotton-seed oil is an important article of export for the Southern States, and the exports increased from 19,000,000 gallons in 1896 to 50,000,000 gallons in 1899, while the total exportation of cotton-seed meal, which amounted to 404,000,000 pounds, was in 1899 more than 1,000,000,000 pounds. One article of agricultural export which decreased from 1896 to 1899, and that the only one which materially decreased, was sheep. In 1896 more than 3,000,000 were exported and in 1899 less than 1,000,000. The exports of 1896 were due to the low price of wool consequent on the enactment of the free wool tariff in 1894.

FARM PRICES ARE HIGHER.

There was not only an increase between 1896 and 1899, but also between 1898 and 1900, in some of the principal cereal products of the United States. In 1898 the average farm price of corn was 28.7 cents per bushel. In 1900 it was 30.3 cents. In 1898 the average farm value of wheat was 58.2 cents; in 1900, 58.4 cents. The total farm value of the three products mentioned was \$1,149,000,000 in 1898, and \$1,215,000,000 in 1900.

The increase in the demand for and prices of cereals was hardly greater than in the case of live stock. In 1896 the average value of sheep was \$1; in January, 1900, it was \$2.97. On January 1, 1897, the average value of horses

was \$23.65 per head and on January 1, 1900, it was \$45. Mules advanced from \$39 a head on January 1, 1898, to \$48.07 on January 1, 1900. On January 1, 1895, the average value of cattle was \$14.15 a head; on January 1, 1900, it was \$24.88.

FARMERS' LOSSES UNDER DEMOCRACY.

The losses of the farmers from the decline in value of farm products were enormous and the aggregate was so large that, expressed in figures, it would convey but a faint idea of its actual magnitude. Between 1893 and 1896 the number of sheep on farms decreased from 47,000,000 to 37,000,000, and the total value of these sheep fell from \$126,000,000 to \$65,000,000. It is easy to explain why this happened after one finds out that the price of medium wool fell from 23 cents a pound in 1893 to 18 cents a pound in 1895 and 1896. It is now 31 cents a pound and American flocks have begun again to increase, and the total value of them had advanced last year to \$108,000,000, as compared with \$65,000,000 only four years before.

What happened to the sheep and wool grower happened also to the cattle raiser, to the cotton grower, to the wheat and corn grower, and to every other producer of agricultural wealth. Nobody escaped. The domestic consumption of wheat and corn fell off thirty to fifty per cent between 1892 and 1894, and the export demand for agricultural products shrunk from \$798,000,000 in 1892 to \$569,000,000 in 1896. The estimated total loss suffered by the agricultural producers of the country in the four years amounted to FOUR THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED EIGHTY THREE MILLION SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, a sum three times as great as the existing national debt.

These losses were distributed as follows:

Loss on farm animals.....	\$2,560,422,958
Loss on wheat crops.....	300,832,581
Loss on corn crops.....	303,725,658
Loss on oat crops.....	138,481,331
Loss on hay crops, three years.....	464,739,066
Loss on potato crops, three years.....	83,291,365
Loss on barley crops, three years.....	7,250,377
Loss on cotton crops.....	221,863,355
Loss on wool crops.....	111,272,023
Loss on tobacco crops, three years.....	29,873,517
Loss on rye crops, two years.....	1,864,142
Loss on buckwheat crops, two years.....	172,137

THE HOME DEMAND IS GREATER.

The enormous recuperative powers of the country have never been better or more clearly demonstrated than in the last three years, which have placed the farmers and planters of the United States on the highest pinnacle of prosperity they have ever occupied and enjoyed. The home demand for every product of the soil is greater than ever before, average prices are higher, and the export demand in the year ended June 30, 1900, amounted to the magnificent and unprecedented total of \$835,912,952.

The farmers have largely become creditors instead of debtors of the banks, and many of them have become lenders instead of borrowers of money on mortgage security. In a recent conversation Representative Hepburn, of Iowa, said:

"Iowa is prosperous. One county in my district, which I have in mind, is largely agricultural. There are no towns of more than 3,500 inhabitants and there are no banks with a capitalization of more than \$100,000. I was figuring up with a banker a few days ago who estimated that the little banks of this county have deposits aggregating \$1,750,000, of which 95 per cent belongs to the farmers."

PROSPERITY IN NEBRASKA.

Even further west, in the State of Nebraska — one of whose honored and prosperous citizens is William J. Bryan, who lives in the city of Lincoln, and for that or some other equally good reason claims the title of "the second Lincoln"—evidences of prosperity are visible on every hand.

Farmers are now selling their hogs at $4\frac{3}{4}$ cents a pound, whereas four years ago they could get only $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The high prices of wheat and cattle that have prevailed for two or three years have enabled the farmers in Nebraska and South Dakota to pay their debts and lay up money. Railroad agents report that there are more pianos and fine top-buggies being purchased by farmers this summer than ever before in the history of the State. Jobbing houses report increased sales, ranging from 40 to 100 per cent. The Union Pacific Railroad Company has sold more land in the last two years than for fifteen years before. That company had 125 idle locomotives in the roundhouses four years ago, and now can not move all the freight offered with its increased capacity. Similar conditions prevail on the other railroad trunk lines which traverse Nebraska. The State Bank statement of June 30 showed an increase of over \$3,000,000 in deposits and a decrease of over \$2,000,000 in loans and discounts.

The record of the railways of the United States is a pretty accurate register of commercial activity. The net earnings of all the railways in 1894 averaged \$1,800 per mile, and in 1898, \$2,111 a mile. In 1898 the number of railway employes was 100,000 greater than in 1894, and the amount paid in wages \$50,000,000 more than in 1895, while the year 1899 showed an increase of 149,000 employes over 1894, and a total increase of \$75,000,000 in wages over the year 1894 or 1895.

SAVINGS BANKS DEPOSITS.

Perhaps no better index of the general prosperity of the country can be found than in the record of the savings banks. In 1894 the number of depositors in the savings banks of the United States was 4,777,000; the total deposits amounted to \$1,747,000,000. The average balance of each depositor was \$365. In 1899 the number of depositors had increased to 5,687,000, the total deposits to \$2,290,000,000, and the average deposit was \$392. The United States led all the world in the amount of deposits in savings banks, having more than twice as much as either France or Great Britain. The average deposit was also higher than in any other country.

In the State of New York alone on July 1, 1900, there were 129 savings banks, and the total number of depositors' open accounts was 2,036,017. Making one allowance for depositors who had accounts in more than one savings bank, at least two million wage-earners and widows and children and others in the Empire State were creditors of these banks. They numbered more than the total population of Manhattan Island; their number had increased 105,168 since July 1, 1899, and their total deposits had swelled to

the enormous total of \$922,081,590, a sum sufficient to pay off one-half of the national debt and leave a handsome surplus. The total deposits had increased more than \$200,000,000 since 1896, when Bryanism was threatening to scale down the value of savings banks deposits in this country to 50 cents on the dollar. That same Bryanism is now threatening to cut down the value of such deposits to a still lower figure.

MANUFACTURERS USE MORE MATERIAL.

More of the materials of manufacture were imported in the year ended June 30, 1900, than in any previous year of the history of the country, and the percentage of such materials to the total importations was higher; the total was \$310,000,000, which was 35.8 per cent of the total importation. On the other hand, the exports of manufactured goods were larger than ever before. In 1890 we exported \$130,000,000 worth of manufactured goods in the year, and in 1900 the exports of such goods amounted to \$432,000,000, being an increase of nearly 300 per cent. In 1899, 13,620,000 tons of pig iron were produced in the United States, being an increase of 718 per cent in the last thirty years.

The growth of the cotton manufacture industry under prosperous conditions has been remarkable. In 1892, a prosperous year, the American mills took 2,856,000 bales of American cotton. In 1894, a year of general depression, the mills took only 2,221,000 bales. Last year the American mills took 3,632,000 bales, an increase in five years, and mainly in two years, of about 1,400,000 bales.

A BAROMETER OF PROSPERITY.

In 1894-5 the United States was borrowing money in England and elsewhere at 4 and 5 per cent to pay the current running expenses of its Government in a time of profound peace. The people were unable to support either their Government or themselves. In 1898, the United States then being at war with Spain, the Government decided to borrow \$200,000,000 at three per cent, and the scramble of investors to obtain each a share of the bonds was a memorable one. In thirty-one days the subscriptions amounted to \$1,400,000,000 — seven times the amount of the loan. On May 14, 1900, a law was enacted to authorize an issue of two-per-cent refunding bonds, and more than \$300,000,000 of them had been taken within the first three months by investors who surrendered three, four and five per cent bonds in exchange for them.

The United States has become a creditor nation instead of a debtor nation, and this first administration of William McKinley has seen England coming to the United States to borrow money and paying one and one-half per cent a year more for it than the United States pays on the bonds of May 14, 1900.

The Demand for Farm Crops

When Labor is Well Fed *then* the Farmer is Prosperous

The dinner pail is full now, let us keep it full—the farmer is happy now, let us have no change.

The following correspondence between Mr. F. E. Baker, a prominent Illinois farmer, and Mr. B. W. Snow, the Agricultural Statistician and a member of the editorial staff of one of the leading agricultural papers of the United States, goes to the root of the whole question of rural prosperity.

Mr. Snow's letter deals with facts, not theories; results, not arguments, and his analysis of the increased consuming power of American labor and its effect upon the American farmer makes clear beyond question the duty of agricultural voters this year.

The Republican platform stands for a continuance of the policies of a sound currency system and an equitable protective tariff, policies whose application during four years have brought thrift, happiness and prosperity to all classes of our people.

The Kansas City platform stands for a renewal of financial disturbance and a repetition of the Wilson bill, the very things which four years ago brought stagnation to national industry and ruin to American farms.

The Paramount Issue to the American farmer is a Continuance of the Present Well-Filled Dinner Pail of American labor.

MR. BAKER'S LETTER.

Whitehall, Ills., August 1, 1900.

Dear Mr. Snow:—

It seems to me that, so far as the American Farmer is concerned, the Paramount Issue of the campaign of 1900 is whether he is having his share of prosperity and is satisfied with his material conditions as they now exist.

My Democratic friends are now forced to admit that prices of farm products are higher than in 1896, and that values of such products and of silver have parted company—a good many even that no price relationship ever existed.

But they now argue, first, that there has been but a small advance in farm products generally; second, that such change as there is is largely due to changes in crop volume; third, that short crops, wars and famines abroad are the main source of the advance; fourth, that Republican policies deserve no share of credit for such price im-

provement; and, fifth, that the election of Mr. Bryan would not unfavorably affect present conditions.

As regards these present Democratic contentions will you please give me your views, and the facts upon which you base them.

Truly yours,

F. E. BAKER.

MR. SNOW'S REPLY.

Chicago, Ills., August 10, 1900.

Dear Mr. Baker:—

Paramount issues are determined by voters and not by conventions. I quite agree with you that the Paramount Issue this year with the American farmer is whether he shall continue his present prosperity or risk the effect of a violent change in the policies of domestic government. The best form of government is that which brings the largest share of happiness and prosperity to its people as a whole. Judging both by the present platforms of principles and by the historic record of each of the great parties, we find a radical difference in the domestic policies outlined as the basis of government in case of success.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE POLICIES.

Republican success means a maintenance of the gold standard, a sound stable currency system, continued adherence to the policy of protection, a renewal of commercial and industrial confidence, and a general continuance of domestic conditions as they exist after four years of upbuilding of National credit and industrial enterprise.

Democratic success means a reopening of financial agitation with its evil train of vanishing confidence, business panic, industrial stagnation, hoarded capital and diminishing employment for American labor during whatever period of time must elapse before the final readjustment of commercial enterprise to a new financial system.

It means an immediate re-opening of the tariff question and the paralyzing period of uncertainty that precedes legislation hostile to the protective policy, just as was experienced eight years ago before the enactment and during the life of the last Democratic tariff measure, the Wilson bill.

It means a carrying into effect of the assault upon the judiciary proposed at Chicago in 1896 and reaffirmed at Kansas City in 1900, with all the shock which such an attack by the executive and legislative upon a co-ordinate branch of our government would involve.

In short, it would mean a complete reversal of those conditions that during the past four years have brought prosperity and happiness to our people, given steady employment at high wages to American labor and a wider market and higher prices for the products of the American farm.

Truly the Paramount Issue for the American Farmer is the Well Filled Dinner Pail of the American laborer.

CONDITIONS OF FOUR YEARS AGO.

Four years ago, under the blighting influence of hostile tariff legislation and the threat of a depreciated, fluctuating currency

system, two things that the Democratic platform this year is pledged to renew, our industries were prostrate, mills silent, chimneys smokeless, and labor without employment. Business was paralyzed, capital hoarded, and Coxey armies drew their rations from soup houses of public charity.

To-day under the stimulus of a sound financial system and equitable tariff legislation confidence has returned, labor has employment, capital flows in the channels of commerce, and the output of our manufacturing enterprises not only surpasses anything in our own history, but makes us the greatest manufacturing nation of the world.

Not only do we supply the great market which our own prosperous people furnishes, but we are beginning to manufacture for the markets of the world.

To appreciate the industrial development during the past four years as a consequence of the proper settlement of the financial question and the tariff question in 1896, note the following figures of our export trade in manufactured products:

Dollars.		Dollars.	
1893	.....158,023,018	1897	.....277,285,391
1894	.....183,728,808	1898	.....290,697,354
1895	.....183,595,743	1899	.....338,675,558
1896	.....228,571,178	1900	.....432,284,366

This is but the beginning, the first fruits. With permanency in our present domestic policies of government American labor will soon manufacture for the world.

INCREASED EMPLOYMENT OF LABOR.

This showing of our increase in exports of manufactured products is indicative of the rapid expansion of our industrial system during four years of present governmental policies. But there are other data available to emphasize still more strongly our present industrial activity, with all that it implies in increased employment of labor, increased wage payment and increased ability of American labor to command not only the necessities but the luxuries of life. Iron is the foundation upon which rests all modern industry and commerce, and the condition of the iron trade is an infallible barometer of the condition of all industry. When it languishes, industry and commerce languish; when it is active all other branches of industry are quickening with life.

The production of pig iron tells the whole industrial story. The following statement shows the production of this corner stone of the industrial edifice yearly since 1893. The figures are divided into four year groups, so as to compare the industrial condition of the country under Democratic and under Republican domestic policies:

Tons.		Tons.	
1893	.....7,124,502	1897	.....9,652,680
1894	.....6,657,388	1898	.....11,773,934
1895	.....9,446,308	1899	.....13,620,703
1896	.....8,623,127	1900	.....15,000,000

Average ...7,962,831

Average ...12,511,829

Here is an increase in the average production of the past four years of 57 per cent, a figure which will fully hold good as the measure of the expansion of our manufacturing industries, carrying with it quite as great an increase in general commerce and exchange. This means a 57 per cent increase in the opportunities for labor, in wages paid and in the consuming capacity of our home market for farm products.

HOW THE AMERICAN FARMER FARES.

So much for the industrial situation under Republican and under Democratic domestic policies. How fares the American farmer? Statistics collected jointly by the Census Bureau and the Department of Agriculture a few years since show that our home market absorbs 90 per cent of the products of American agriculture.

It follows naturally that when the people making up this great market are prosperous, fully employed and receiving good wages they are able to consume more freely and pay better prices for the material they use.

The dinner pail is a more profitable customer for farm products than is the soup house of charity. The larger our non-agricultural population the larger the market for farm products.

Every new factory employing labor furnishes a new consuming center which the farmer reaches without long shipments destroying his profits.

Industrial activity at home means good prices and rural prosperity; industrial stagnation means rural depression and foreclosed mortgages.

To fully appreciate the practical force of this, note the following table, which shows the current price of nearly all farm products on August 1, 1896, the closing days of four years of Democratic domestic policy, compared with the same date in 1900 after four years of Republican policies. In each case the figures are from the same source, compiled from official records:

FARM PRODUCT	GRADE QUOTED	MARKET	August 1, 1896	August 1, 1900	Increase
Corn	No. 2 in Store, bu	Chicago	\$0.24 1/2	\$0.38 1/4	56 per cent
Wheat	No. 3 Spring, bu	"	.58 1/2	.72 1/4	24 per cent
Oats	No. 2 in Store, bu	"	.18 1/2	.21 1/4	15 per cent
Rye	No. 2 in Store, bu	"	.30 1/2	.50 1/8	64 per cent
Barley	Fair to Good Malting, bu.	"	.31	.43 1/2	40 per cent
Potatoes	Early Ohio's, bu.	"	.18 1/2	.31 1/2	70 per cent
Hay	No. 1 Timothy, New, ton.	"	8.25	12.25	49 per cent
Flaxseed	No. 1 N. W., bu.	"	.73 1/4	1.45	98 per cent
Butter	Creamery, Firsts, lb	"	.12 1/2	.17 1/2	40 per cent
Cheese	Full Cream, Choice, lb...	"	.05 1/2	.09 1/2	73 per cent
Live Hogs	Heavy Packing, 100 lbs ..	"	3.10	5.30	71 per cent
Live Cattle	Butchers' Steers, 100 lbs..	"	3.70	4.45	20 per cent
Live Sheep	Westerns, 100 lbs	"	2.65	3.75	42 per cent
Clover Seed	Prime Contract, 100 lbs ..	"	7.15	8.00	12 per cent
Cotton	Middling Uplands, lb	N. Y.	.07 1/2	.10	33 per cent
Broom Corn	Self-Working, ton	Chicago	32.50	160.00	392 per cent
Hops	N. Y. State, Choice, lb...	N. Y.	.07 1/2	.13	73 per cent
Millet Seed	German, 100 lbs.	Chicago	.55	1.20	118 per cent
Eggs	Firsts, strictly fresh, doz.	"	.10 1/2	.11 1/2	9 per cent
Wool	Tub Washed, lb.	"	.16 1/2	.28	70 per cent

FARM PRICES HIGHER, SILVER LOWER.

Not a single product but that is materially higher in price. There is an average advance, taking into consideration the relative importance of the different items, of not far from 50 per cent.

At the same time the price of silver has declined from 68.7 cents per ounce, on August 1, 1896, to 61.5 cents on the same date in 1900, completely puncturing the whole silver argument as presented to the farmer four years ago.

This advance in farm prices is what industrial activity, consequent upon a sound currency system and freedom from tariff meddling means to the American farmer. This is what he is asked to throw away by risking another trial of Democratic domestic policies.

You say your Democratic friends claim that this advance is due to changes in the volume of crop production.

That is easily answered. The changes in volume of production have all been in the way of increased production so that we have the happy and healthful combination of larger crops and higher prices.

Averaging the years 1893-'96 inclusive, and 1897-'99 inclusive, there is an increase in the annual production of wheat in the last period of 125,000,000 bushels; in corn of 300,000,000 bushels; in oats of 40,000,000 bushels; in cotton of 2,385,000 bales; in hogs marketed of 8,404,000; and so it runs throughout the entire list.

God gave increased crops, and Republican policies made possible the distribution of the increased production at higher prices.

Again you say that your Democratic friends allege that short crops and famines abroad were the basis for the higher prices of American farm products.

So long as only 10 per cent of our total production is exported, and the majority of the items given in the above table are not exported at all, it is difficult to see the logic of the claim. Of our staple crops exported wheat and cotton are most important. The advance for each you will see is not up to the average for the whole. Fortunately we have figures of the world's crop of wheat and the commercial supply of cotton show that we have not been in a period of world shortage:

	Wheat—Bu.	Cotton—Bales.
Average 1893-'95	2,595,352,666	10,826,000
Average 1897-'99	2,626,696,333	11,192,000

AMERICAN LABOR'S CONSUMING POWER.

There is but one explanation for the advance in price of American farm products.

It lies in the increased consuming power of American labor. The proposition should be self-evident, but to place it beyond pale of argument I invite your attention to a short analysis of the records of production and distribution of four of our leading staples—corn, wheat, hogs and cotton. The same conditions which govern these staples govern every other product whose marvelous advance in price has brought prosperity, peace and comfort to the American farmer.

. DISTRIBUTION OF OUR CROPS.

The distribution of the crops grown in 1892 and in 1896 was partially under Republican and partially under Democratic administration, and on that account in the following statements the three crops entirely grown and distributed during the continuance of the same domestic governmental policies are considered. The following statement shows the production, exportation and domestic use of corn in the two periods, all figures being from official sources:

	Production, Bu.	Exports, Bu.	Domestic Use, Bu.
1893	1,619,496,131	66,489,529	.....
1894	1,212,770,052	25,585,405	.....
1895	2,151,138,580	101,100,375	.....
Average	1,661,134,921	65,391,769	1,595,743,152
1897	1,902,967,933	212,055,543	.....
1898	1,924,184,660	177,255,046	.....
1899	2,078,143,933	211,641,115	.....
Average	1,968,432,175	200,317,235	1,768,114,940

Here is an increase in our own domestic consumption of 173,000,000 bushels a year, and it is our ability to use this additional amount at home that accounts for the increase of 56 per cent in the price of corn as shown in the comparative table of prices already presented.

In the case of wheat the showing is even a stronger illustration of our farmers' dependence upon the consuming ability of their great home market. For this grain the facts are as follows:

	Produc., Bu.	Exports, Bu.	Seed, Bu.	Dom. use, Bu.
1893	396,131,725	164,283,129	50,000,000	.....
1894	460,267,416	144,812,718	50,000,000	.....
1895	467,102,947	126,443,968	51,000,000	.....
*Average	446,307,029	145,179,938	50,300,000	250,827,091
1897	530,149,168	217,306,005	64,000,000	.....
1898	675,148,705	222,694,920	65,000,000	.....
1899	547,303,846	186,090,564	65,000,000	.....
Average	570,092,573	208,697,163	64,600,000	296,795,410

OUR BETTER DEMAND FOR WHEAT.

Our average population during the first period was about 70,000,000 and during the last 74,000,000.

The average consumption per capita was 3.58 bushels during 1893-'95, and 4.01 bushels during 1897-'99.

This shows that when labor has employment, when wages are good, when the dinner pail is well filled, every one of our population consumes a half a bushel more of the farmer's wheat than it does when our industries languish under Democratic domestic policies.

* This average includes the change in commercial stocks between the beginning and close of the period.

With this showing in mind it is easy to understand why the price of wheat has advanced 25 per cent even though the world's crop has been larger.

THE CASE OF COTTON.

In cotton the activity of our mills has not only furnished a market for a vastly increased production, but the same mills have furnished employment and wages to an increased number of operatives who have thereby become better customers for the food crops of the farm. The facts concerning cotton are:

	Production, lbs.	Exports, lbs.	Domestic use, lbs.
1893	3,769,381,478	2,683,282,325	.....
1894	5,036,964,409	3,517,533,109	.....
1895	3,592,416,851	2,335,226,385	.....
Average ...	4,132,920,913	2,845,347,273	1,287,573,640
1897	5,677,259,827	3,850,264,295	.....
1898	5,794,767,917	3,773,410,293	.....
1899	4,618,000,000	3,100,583,188	.....
Average ...	5,363,342,581	3,574,752,592	1,788,589,989

The increase in the amount manufactured in our home mills is 39 per cent, and it is interesting to note that the largest part of this increase represents new cotton mills which, under Republican financial and tariff policies, have been built in the South.

THE WAGE-EARNER'S MEAT SUPPLY.

Pork furnishes the staple article of flesh food of the American people, and the consumption of pork products is the best indication of the condition of the people as a whole that exists.

When labor is plentiful and wages good, meat is used in abundance on the table of the working man. In stress of hard times when the practice of pinching economy becomes necessary the use of meat, the high-priced food, becomes less and less.

The importance of this to the farmer is measured by the number of animals he can market and the price he gets for them.

The Cincinnati Price Current compiles, yearly, exact records of the marketing of animals, and the production and distribution of meat products. The marketing of hogs during the years ending March 1 was as follows:

Number.	Number.
1893-'94 16,789,000	1897-'98 26,134,000
1894-'95 21,619,000	1898-'99 29,793,000
1895-'96 20,480,000	1899-1900 28,172,000
Average 19,629,000	28,033,000

This shows that the farmer has been able to dispose of 43 per cent more hogs, and the price table before presented shows that he is getting for them prices higher by 71 per cent.

This is a wonderful showing. Let us see what has brought it about. The same authority presents each year the amount of meat product made from these hogs, the amount of the same exported and the amount entering into domestic consumption. The latter showing is as follows:

Domestic consumption, Pounds.	Domestic consumption, Pounds.
1893-'94 1,564,000,000	1897-'98 2,308,000,000
1894-'95 1,825,000,000	1898-'99 2,583,000,000
1895-'96 1,950,000,000	1899-1900 .. 2,769,000,000
Average .. 1,779,600,000	2,553,300,000

The domestic consumption of pork meat products in the period of industrial activity which we are now enjoying has increased by 44 per cent. This means an increase in the per capita consumption of pork meats from commercial slaughter from 25.4 pounds to 34.5 pounds each year, and explains why the farmer now markets more hogs and for them gets a much higher price.

A similar analysis of the home consumption of all other farm products would show the same result, an immense increase in the consuming ability of the units of our population, consequent upon the full employment and good wages under Republican domestic policies of government.

WHAT DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION MEANS.

One word as to the fifth contention of your Democratic friends, "that the election of Mr. Bryan would not unfavorably affect present conditions."

These conditions have been brought about by the application of policies of government directly antagonistic to Mr. Bryan's creed.

The Kansas City platform stands for a return to Democratic tariff policies—for a modern edition of the Wilson bill.

I have contrasted conditions as they affected the farmer under that policy and the present policy. Are we already to take from American labor the fattened calf it now enjoys and return it to the husks of 1893-'95?

The Kansas City platform stands for a Re-opening of the Financial Question, with a return of the Commercial Paralysis, Business Depression, Uncertainty and Disaster now so happily past.

Is the American farmer willing to again strap upon his shoulders the crushing weight of business stagnation and rural depression that Republican domestic policies have removed during the past four years?

For him it is a question of continuing present conditions or of returning to those of four years since.

The Paramount Issue for the American Farmer is the Well-Filled Dinner Pail of American Labor. It is Republican policies that have filled it and will keep it full.

Truly yours,
B. W. SNOW.

Not satisfied with assaulting the currency and credit of the Government, our political adversaries condemn the tariff law enacted at the extra session of Congress in 1897, a law which at once stimulated our industries, opened the idle factories and mines and gave to the laborer and to the farmer fair returns for their toil and investment. Shall we go back to a tariff which brings deficiency in our revenues and destruction to our industrial enterprises?

William McKinley.

[Part of Congressional Record.]

THE TARIFF

Extracts from the Speeches of

Hon. WM. J. BRYAN

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 16, 1892; Jan. 13 and 20, 1894.

Should Purchase Abroad.

"I want to state, as emphatically as words can state, that I consider it as false in economy and vicious in policy to attempt to raise at a high price in this country that which we can purchase abroad at a low price in exchange for the products of our toil."

Believes in Ad Valorems.

"To my mind ad valorem rates are not only just, but are essential to any genuine revenue reform. It is impossible to adjust specific duties with any degree of equity, for any system which ignores value and relies on number, weight or measure is bound to result in inequality, and the rates are relatively lower on the higher priced articles."

Extracts from the Speeches of

Hon. WM. McKINLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 7 and May 20, 1890.

Purchasing Abroad.

If the bill checks foreign importations of goods competing with ours, it will increase our production and necessarily increase the demand for labor at home. (Applause.) We do not conceal the purpose of this bill—we want our own countrymen and all mankind to know it. It is to increase production here, diversify our productive enterprises, enlarge the field, and increase the demand for American workmen.

What American can oppose these worthy and patriotic objects? Others not Americans may find justification in doing so. This bill is an American measure. It is made for American interests.

BRYAN

Against Specific Duties.

"A specific duty increases in relative importance as prices decrease—the ad valorem rate rises and falls with the values. The specific duty is generally heaviest on articles of least value, while the ad valorem treats all alike. The specific duty is difficult to compute, hard to understand and full to overflowing of 'ways that are dark and tricks that are vain'—while the ad valorem rate is easily understood and known to all. Specific duties may and do cover up all kinds of jobs, while the ad valorem rate must necessarily be fair and equitable."

Favors Free Coal.

"Coal is another raw material placed upon the free list. The duty on coal is indefensible, even if we were adjusting a Protective Tariff according to the Republican platform."

For Free Iron Ore.

"I believe we can make no permanent progress in the direction of Tariff Reform until we free from taxation the raw materials which lie at the foundation of our industries; and I believe in free iron ore, whether we leave the Tariff at 35, 25 or 5 per cent upon carpets."

Carpets.

"The committee has left—not only upon carpets but upon iron, and upon woolen goods and cotton goods and all through the bill—far more Tariff than anybody can justify, even if it could be shown that any Protection is needed at all or could be rightfully asked."

Wilson Bill Rates Too High.

"I think the duties all the way through this bill are higher than necessary, and

McKINLEY

Ad Valorems.

They are troubled about the ad valorem equivalent. They look to percentages; we look to prices. We would rather have steel rails at \$50 a ton and an ad valorem equivalent of 50 per cent. than to have steel rails at \$100 a ton and an ad valorem equivalent of only 28 per cent. (Applause on the Republican side.) They pursue a shadow; we enjoy the substance. (Applause.)

Which would you rather have, low ad valorem equivalents and high-priced goods, or high ad valorem equivalents and low-priced goods? (Applause.) We do not care how high they go up if the price of the commodity goes down, and when they go up it is because we have by our Protective Tariff reduced the price to the consumer.

Iron Ore and Coal.

In the metal schedule, which is probably the schedule in which the country is as deeply interested as any other—in the metal schedule, starting out at the very foundation, iron ore, we have left the duty on that precisely as it exists under the present law, namely, 75 cents per ton, and we left it at the same duty which was proposed by my distinguished friend from Texas (Mr. Mills) in the bill which he presented to the last Congress. The same is also true of coal.

Carpets.

We have increased the duty, as I have already said, upon carpet wools, and that has necessitated an increase of the duty upon carpets themselves. There is no industry in this country which so splendidly illustrates the value of a Protective Tariff as the carpet industry, which has had such marvelous growth in the last twenty-three years.

Dutiable Goods.

We have taken from the free-list and placed upon the dutiable eighteen articles—ten of which are products of agriculture and the other eight are muriatic

BRYAN

I favor the bill, not because of its perfection, not because the duties are brought down as low as they might be, but because the bill is infinitely better than the law which we now have, and is a step in the right direction."

Placed on the Free List.

"When Michigan iron ore is placed on the free list, Alabama ore is placed there also; when Pennsylvania coal is placed on the free list, West Virginia coal is placed there also; when the rough lumber of Maine and Wisconsin is placed upon the free list, the rough lumber of North Carolina and Georgia is placed there also."

I Am for Free Wool.

"Wool, for instance, is the chief raw material in the woolen industry, and it has been placed upon the free list. Whether the Tariff on wool has raised the price of wool to the sheep grower above the point it would have reached without a Tariff, is a question which has been discussed rather than settled. Speaking for myself, it is immaterial in my judgment whether the sheep grower receives any benefit from the Tariff or not. Whether he does or does not, whether the wool manufacturer collects a compensatory duty from the consumer of woolen goods and pays it over to the wool grower, or collects it and keeps it himself, or doesn't collect it at all, and therefore does not need it, I am for free wool, in order that the vast majority of people who do not raise sheep, but who do need warm clothing to protect them from the blasts of winter, may have their clothing cheaper; and in order that our woolen manufacturers, unburdened by a tax upon foreign wool, and unburdened by like tax upon home grown wool—if they pay an increased price now—may manufacture for a wider market."

"There is no probability that the sheep industry will be more injuriously affected by free wool than it has been by Protection; or, perhaps, it would be more accurate to say that it has existed and will exist independent of any Tariff legislation."

McKINLEY

and sulphuric acid, gold size or Japan, crin vegetal or vegetable fiber, camel's-hair, and amber beads. If these eighteen articles are imported in the same quantities dutiable as now the revenue will be increased in the sum of \$2,456,030.14.

Free Goods.

We have taken from the dutiable list and placed upon the free-list forty-four articles, which last year yielded a duty of \$60,936,536. Fifty-five million nine hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred and ten from sugar alone.

Protection for Wool.

The present rate of duty on first-class wool is 10 cents per pound, and upon second class 12 cents per pound. We have recommended in this bill that the duty on first-class wool shall be increased from 10 cents to 11 cents a pound, and that the duty now fixed on second-class wools shall remain as at present. On third-class wool the present rate of duty is 2 1-2 cents per pound upon all wool costing under 12 cents, and 5 cents a pound on wools costing above 12 cents.

The Committee on Ways and Means will offer an amendment when this schedule is reached, providing that on carpet wools the dividing line shall be changed from 12 to 13 cents, and that the duty on wool under 13 cents, commonly known as carpet wool, shall be 32 per cent. ad valorem, and above 13 cents per pound shall be 50 per cent. ad valorem. It will be noted that we make on first-class wool an increase of 1 cent a pound, and that the existing rate on second-class wool shall be maintained, and the proposed ad valorem rate will raise the duty on carpet wools of certain grades according to their value.

If there is any one industry which appeals with more force than another for defensive duties it is this, and to no class of our citizens should this House more cheerfully lend legislative assistance, where it can properly be done, than to the million farmers who own sheep in the United States. We cannot afford as a nation to permit this industry to be longer crippled.

BRYAN

Small Sheep Interests.

"Upon what ground is this Protection to the wool grower asked? It is because of the importance of the industry. The gentleman from Maine (Mr. Dingley) said that it was one of the most universal of all the industries of the farm; and when I tried to call his attention to the fact that only a small proportion of our people own sheep he did not care to be further interrupted. The fact is, Mr. Chairman, that last year the value of sheep in this country was only \$108,391,444, while the value of live stock upon the farm was \$2,329,787,770; that is, the value of sheep was less than one-twentieth the value of all the live stock."

"The wool crop last year was valued at about \$70,000,000, while the value of the corn, wheat and oats raised that year, without mentioning the other crops of the farm, amounted to \$1,582,184,206. Three items of the farm amounted to twenty times the value of the wool clip."

Prefers a Bounty to Tariff.

"Some have advocated the immediate repeal of the bounty and the imposition of a Tariff on sugar. Others have favored the repeal of the bounty without a duty on sugar. I do not believe that it is possible to secure the passage of this bill through both houses unless it provides either for a Tariff on imported sugar or for a bounty on sugar produced in this country. When I was compelled to choose between a gradual reduction of the bounty and the restoration of a sugar Tariff, I chose the former without hesitation."

"Impossible to Justify a Bounty for Beet Sugar."

"There is no reason for a bounty on sugar which will not apply to any other agricultural product. If the bounty paid went to the farmer directly instead of the manufacturer, he has as much right to ask for a bounty on wheat, oats or cattle as upon sugar, beets or cane; but so much of the bounty as goes to Nebraska finds its way, not to the farmers, but to two factories. If the people

McKINLEY

Protection for Farmers.

The cost of farm labor in Great Britain, estimated by the statistician of the Agricultural Department, is \$150 per annum; in France, \$125; in Holland and Austria, \$100; in Germany, \$90; in Russia, \$60; in Italy, \$50, and in India, \$30, while the same labor costs in this country \$220. The farmers of the United States have therefore come to appreciate that with the wonderful wheat development in India and Russia, with the vast sums of money which have been expended for irrigation and in railroads for transporting this wheat, taken in connection with their cheap labor, the time is already here when the American farmer must sell his product in the markets of the world in competition with the wheat produced by the lowest priced labor of other countries, and that his care and concern must in the future be to preserve his home market, for he must of necessity be driven from the foreign one, unless by diminishing the cost of his production he can successfully compete with the unequal conditions I have described.

The Duty on Sugar.

Speech in the House of Representatives, Fifty-first Congress, May 20, 1890.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. 9, 416) to reduce the revenue and equalize duties on imports, Mr. McKinley said:

Mr. Chairman: The Committee on Ways and Means, looking to the average sentiment of the country, wishing on one hand to give the people free and cheap sugar, and desiring on the other hand to do no harm to this great industry in our midst, have recommended an entire abolition of all duties upon sugar; and then, mindful as we have been of our own industries, we turn about and give to this

BRYAN

of Nebraska pay their share of Federal taxation, the Government collects for the bounty from all the people of Nebraska about \$150,000, and pays over to two corporations \$76,000. It is thus seen that the State of Nebraska pays out twice as much as it receives, and that while everybody pays only two factories receive. I have yet to learn the duty of a Representative if I am under any obligation to plead for two sugar factories because they receive large sums and disregard the rights of more than a million people because they pay in small amounts. If I demand bounties for beet sugar in my State, I cannot oppose bounties and subsidies for industries in other States, and thus, to secure a special advantage for two factories in Nebraska I must subject the people of that State to a burdensome tax upon everything."

"IT IS AS EASY TO JUSTIFY A BOUNTY AS A PROTECTIVE TARIFF, AND IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO JUSTIFY EITHER."

No Protection for Sugar.

"But I do believe, as I say, and I am ready to stand by it anywhere, that a Protective-Tariff levied not to raise revenue but to protect some particular industry is wrong in principle and vicious in practice."

Mr. Perkins: "Are you to be understood as opposed to a State or national protection to be extended to the beet-sugar industry?"

Mr. Bryan: "I am, most assuredly."

Tin Plate Manufacture.

Mr. Bryan: I will ask the gentleman (Mr. Raines) if tin is manufactured in this country?

Mr. Raines: Well, I have in my desk a list in a trade paper—(derisive laughter on the Democratic side).

A Member: They are all on paper.

Mr. Raines (continuing): A list of twenty-seven manufacturers of tin; but I want to say to the gentleman that no trade paper was ever printed that could contain a list of all the tin plate liars of

McKINLEY

industry two cents upon every pound of sugar produced in the United States, a sum equal to the duties imposed upon foreign sugar imported into this country. We have thus given the people free and cheap sugar, and at the same time we have given to our producers, with their invested capital, absolute and complete protection against the cheaper sugar produced by the cheaper labor of other countries.

Shipping.

While Great Britain lost between 1870 and 1880 13 per cent. of her trade, the United States gained 22 per cent. And if the United States would give the same encouragement to her merchant marine and her steamship lines as is given by other nations this commerce on the seas under the American flag would increase and multiply. When the United States will expend from her Treasury from five to six millions a year, as do France and Great Britain, to maintain their steamship lines, our ships will plow every sea in successful competition with the ships of the world. (Loud applause on the Republican side.)

Railroads.

The increase in value of the railroad tonnage of the country in 1887 equaled \$1,660,000,000, or \$960,000,000 in excess of the value of the exports for the same year. Could all this have been secured under your economic system? Would they have been possible under any other than the Protective system?

Tin Plate.

Now, Mr. Chairman, the important part of the metal schedule, and that which will probably be most harshly assailed, is that proposed in connection with the duty on tin plate.

The bill proposes to advance the duty from 1 cent per pound, the present rate, to 1.85 and 2.15 cents per pound, varying according to gauge. The existing tariff presents the anomaly of placing a higher duty upon the sheet iron and steel, which constitute the chief element in the production of tin plate, than upon the

BRYAN

the United States. (Laughter and applause on the Republican side.)

Won't Admit Making Tin Plate.

Mr. Bryan: Mr. Chairman, I am sure if I have indulged in ancient history, this House will not pardon me unless I have a better excuse than the gentleman from New York can furnish for his indulgence in ancient history. (Applause on the Democratic side.) And on this point—I expected to come to it later, but it is made opportune by the remarks of the gentleman—I want to ask him if he believes the Tariff upon tin plate had anything to do with the cheapening of the price of tin plate in this country?

Mr. Raines: I believe that the Tariff upon tin will result in the establishment of an industry in the United States—(manifestations of derision on the Democratic side.)

A Member: Answer the question.

Mr. Raines (continuing): And will result in the keeping at home of thirty millions of dollars a year that have been sent abroad, and will give employment to 100,000 men in the industry, and will result in cheapening the price to the consumers in the United States. (Applause on the Republican side.)

Mr. Bryan: Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from New York may well be pardoned, as the rest of his party may be, for indulging in prophecy rather than history since 1890. (Laughter.) But that is not an answer to my question. He stated that the price of tin plate had been reduced in the last ten years. I ask him, and I expect a direct answer and no equivocation, whether in his opinion the Tariff upon tin plate has reduced (not will reduce) the price of tin plate? For that can be the only point of his remarks.

Mr. Raines: I have given my answer. When the industry of tin plate is established in the United States—and three months ago there was not a gentleman on that side who would admit that there was or would be a tin plate factory in the United States.

Mr. Bryan: We will not admit it today, sir.

McKINLEY

tin plate itself, which is a manifest wrong demanding correction, independent of the question of encouraging the manufacture of tin plate in the United States.

The duty recommended in the bill is not alone to correct this inequality, but to make the duty on foreign tin plate high enough to insure its manufacture in this country to the extent of our home consumption. The only reason we are not doing it now and have not been able to do it in the past is inadequate duties. We have demonstrated our ability to make it here as successfully as in Wales. We have already made it here. Two factories were engaged in producing tin plate in the years 1873, 1874 and 1875, but no sooner had they got fairly under way than the foreign manufacturer reduced his price to a point which made it impossible for our manufacturers to continue.

When our people embarked in the business foreign tin plate was selling for \$12 per box, and to crush them out, before they were firmly established, the price was brought down to \$4.50 per box; but it did not remain there. When the fires were put out in the American mills, and the manufacturing thought by the foreigners to be abandoned, the price advanced, until in 1879 it was selling for \$9 and \$10 a box.

Our people again tried it, and again the prices were depressed, and again our people abandoned temporarily the enterprise, and as a gentleman stated before the committee, twice they have lost their whole investment through the combination of the foreign manufacturers in striking down the prices, not for the benefit of the consumer, but to drive our manufacturers from the business; and this would be followed by an advance within six months after our mills were shut down.

We propose this advanced duty to protect our manufacturers and consumers against the British monopoly, in the belief that it will defend our capital and labor in the production of tin plate until they shall establish an industry which the English will recognize has come to stay, and then competition will insure

Mr. Raines (continuing): When it is established in the United States the result will be just the same as it has been in the wire nail industry, for you can buy wire nails to-day for less than the duty on the nails.

Doubts the Difference in Cost Here and Abroad.

"The reduction which we have made in the Tariff upon manufactured articles is a great reduction in existing schedules. It is not as great a reduction as might be made. I believe that we have left far more Tariff than can be shown to be necessary to provide for any difference, if there be any difference, between the cost of manufactures here and abroad."

Protection "A Simple Device."

"Now, what is a Protective Tariff, and what does it mean? It is a simple device, by which one man is authorized to collect money from his fellow men."

The Honorable Highway Robber.

"The difference between a Protective Tariff and a bounty is simply a difference of form. In the one case it is open and visible, and in the other it is secret and hidden. There is a difference between a bounty and a Protective Tariff that the Bible describes when it speaks of the 'Destruction that wasteth at noon-day, and the pestilence that walketh in darkness.' It is the difference between the man who meets you upon the highway, knocks you down and takes what you have, and the man who steals into your house in the night while you are asleep and robs you of your treasures; and if I had to make choice between the two I should consider the highway robber the more honorable, because he does what he does openly and before the world."

Protection a Vicious Principle.

"What I denounce is a Protective Tariff, levied purely and solely for the purpose of Protection. It is false economy and the most vicious political principle 'hat has ever cursed this country."

A Tariff Indefensible.

"A Tariff of 10 per cent. levied purposely for Protection is, as far as the principle is concerned, just as indefensible as a Tariff of a thousand per cent."

"Greed" and "Iniquity."

"But when you have a system conceived in greed and fashioned in iniquity I do not think that the question of justice can be brought in when you revise it. That is, reform is not to be delayed until exact justice can be rendered."

regular and reasonable prices to consumers.

We have now four mills which can be at once adapted to making tin plate. They can produce about 4,000 tons a year. It would require ninety mills of the dimensions of those now here to make the tin plate used in this country, and this would require over 23,000 men to be employed directly in this industry. But the benefits would not stop here. The additional labor in mining the coal and ores, in producing the pig metal, the lead, the tin, the lumber for boxing, and the sulphuric acid, would furnish labor to 50,000 workmen and bring support to 200,000 people. The capital required would be above \$30,000,000. I know no more certain and encouraging field for labor and capital than is here presented. We have not hesitated, therefore, to recommend the advanced duty.

Labor.

There is no nation in the world, under any system, where the same reward is given to the labor of men's hands and the work of their brains as in the United States. We have widened the sphere of human endeavor and given to every man a fair chance in the race of life and in the attainment of the highest possibilities of human destiny.

What Protection Has Done.

We have now enjoyed twenty-nine years continuously of Protective Tariff laws—the longest uninterrupted period in which that policy has prevailed since the formation of the Federal Government—and we find ourselves at the end of that period in a condition of independence and prosperity the like of which has never been witnessed at any other period in the history of our country, and the like of which has no parallel in the recorded history of the world.

In all that goes to make a nation great and strong and independent we have made extraordinary strides. In arts, in science, in literature, in manufactures, in invention, in scientific principles applied to manufacture and agriculture, in wealth and credit, and national honor we are at the very front, abreast with the best, and behind none.

In 1860, after fourteen years of a reve-

Favors Raw Material.

"The reason why I believe in putting raw material upon the free list is because any tax imposed upon raw material must at last be taken from the consumer of the manufactured article. You can impose no tax for the benefit of the producer of raw material which does not find its way through the various forms of manufactured product, and at last press with accumulated weight upon the person who uses the finished product."

Absolute Free-Trade.

"When the tax on raw material is not fully compensated for in the tax on the finished product; in such case the manufacturer is in a worse condition than he would be with absolute Free-Trade."

For Free-Trade in Machinery.

"I will say this, that speaking for myself, I shall be glad to put on the free list not only the machinery for manufacturing binding twine, but for manufacturing all things, for I believe that it is a legitimate advantage that can be given to industries in all parts of the country. I was glad when the last Congress put on the free list the machinery used in the manufacture of beet sugar. My only criticism was that they did not make it broad enough to include not only the machinery used in the manufacture of beet sugar, but that used in the manufacture of all other kinds of sugar."

Free Lumber.

"Rough lumber has been placed upon the free list, and only a slight duty retained on planed and grooved boards. We found a rate of 34.12 per cent. and left a rate of 23.65."

Opposes "Infant Industry."

"We welcome to this country every industry that can stand upon its feet; but we do not welcome the industries that come to ride upon our backs. We do not desire to discourage industries; we desire to restore to them the 'lost art' of self-support. We are not objecting to 'infant industries,' but what we do say is that the public Treasury shall no longer stand sponsor by the cradle of every 'infant industry' born upon American soil."

Arguments "Diluted and Often Polluted."

"Out in Nebraska we are so far away from the beneficiaries of a Tariff that the arguments in justification of Protection in traveling that long distance become somewhat diluted and often polluted."

nue Tariff, just the kind of a Tariff that our political adversaries are advocating to-day, the business of the country was prostrated, agriculture was deplorably depressed, manufacturing was on the decline, and the poverty of the Government itself made this nation a byword in the financial centers of the world.

With a debt of over \$2,050,000,000 when the war terminated, holding on to the Protective laws, against Democratic opposition, we have reduced that debt at an average rate of more than \$62,000,000 each year, \$174,000 every twenty-four hours for the last twenty-five years, and what looked to be a burden almost impossible to bear has been removed under the Republican fiscal system, until now it is \$1,020,000,000, and with the payment of this vast sum of money the nation has not been impoverished. The individual citizen has not been burdened nor bankrupted. National and individual prosperity have gone steadily on until our wealth is so great as to be almost incomprehensible when put into figures.

What Free-Trade Will Do.

Free-Trade, or, as you are pleased to call it, "revenue Tariff," means the opening up of this market, which is admitted to be best in the world, to the free entry of the products of the world. It means more—it means that the labor of this country is to be remitted to its earlier condition, and that the condition of our people is to be leveled down to the condition of rival countries, because under it every element of cost, every item of production, including wages, must be brought down to the level of the lowest paid labor of the world. No other result can follow, and no other result is anticipated or expected by those who intelligently advocate a revenue Tariff. We cannot maintain ourselves against unequal conditions without the Tariff, and no man of affairs believes we can.

Experience has demonstrated that for us and ours and for the present and the future the Protective system meets our wants, our conditions, promotes the national design, and will work out our destiny better than any other.

With me this position is a deep conviction, not a theory. I believe in it and thus warmly advocate it because enveloped in it are my country's highest development and greatest prosperity; out of it come the greatest gains to the people, the greatest comforts to the masses, the widest encouragement for manly aspirations, with the largest rewards, dignifying and elevating our citizenship, upon which the safety and purity and permanency of our political system depend. (Long continued applause on the Republican side, and cries of "Vote!" "Vote!")

"SILVER MONOMETALLISM"

"We Demand the Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver and Gold at the present Legal Ratio of 16 to 1, Without Waiting for the Aid or Consent of any Other Nation."—*Democratic Platform.*

The Democratic Platform in the Light of History.—Experiences of Leading Nations—A Century's Record.—Conclusions of Eminent Financiers and Statesmen—Stability of Standard the Highest Consideration—Bimetallism, Practical and Theoretical.

The word "free" as used here means that the expense of coining the silver shall be borne by the government. The director of the mint states that it costs \$15,000 to coin 1,000,000 silver dollars. The first demand of the free coinage party is that this \$15,000 for every million coined shall be paid out of the national treasury, and not paid directly or indirectly by the owner of the silver bullion.

The word "unlimited" means that the holder of silver bullion anywhere in the world can send it to the mints of the United States and demand its coinage into money. The secretary of the treasury on Jan. 1, 1895, estimated the total stock of coined silver in the world, aside from the United States, at \$3,444,900,000, and, during the year 1894, the total world's production of silver at \$216,892,200. The word "unlimited" means that this \$3,661,792,200 and all mined since, and all to be mined hereafter, may demand coinage at the mints of the United States.

The phrase, "legal ratio of 16 to 1," means that the mint will take 23.22 grains of pure gold and stamp this weight as one dollar; and that 371.25 grains of pure silver will be stamped as one dollar. Hence the weight of a silver dollar is sixteen times the weight of a gold dollar (15.988 to 1.) This is called a legal ratio because it is established by law.

The legal ratio must not be confounded with the commercial ratio. The secretary of the treasury states that for a considerable period the commercial ratio of silver to gold was 30.32 to 1. This means that 30.32 grains of pure silver bullion would exchange for one grain of pure gold bullion. Or, to state it differently, 30.32 grains of silver bullion could be bought on the market for exactly the same money that would buy one grain of gold bullion.

The free silver demand, when analyzed, cannot be misunderstood.

Every honest free coinage advocate believes in bimetallism. He believes in the actual use of both metals as money, and he believes that the free silver demand, if enacted into law, will give practical bimetallism, that is, the actual use of both gold and silver as money.

It seems evident, from a fair statement of the free silver proposition, from the history of the three great commercial nations,—the United States, France and England, from the present standing examples of free silver nations, and from the unanimous testimony of writers on finance, that a free silver law would result, not in bimetallism, but in a silver monometallism, and that it would reduce the United States to the cheap silver standard of Mexico, derange prices, reduce the wages of labor, and cause widespread disaster.

THE GRESHAM LAW.

The following is this well known law or principle:

"The tendency of the inferior of two forms or classes of currency in circulation together, to circulate more freely than the superior."—Century Dictionary.

THE UNITED STATES.—In 1792 Congress passed the first law which established the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the legal ratio of 15 to 1.

In 1834 Congress passed another law which continued the free and unlimited coinage of both metals, but which fixed the ratio at 16 to 1.

Between these years the legal ratio of 15 to 1 was separate and distinct from the commercial ratio.

During these forty-two years, \$11,852,890 in gold was coined, and in 1834, Senator Benton said: "Where are these pieces now? Not one of them to be seen! All sold and exported! And so regular is this operation that the director of the mint, in his latest report to Congress, says that the new coined gold frequently remains in the mint until the day arrives for a packet to sail to Europe. The 11th section of the act of April, 1792, enacted that every fifteen pound weight of pure silver, should be equal in value, in all payments, with one pound of pure gold. This act was the death warrant of the gold currency. The diminished circulation of that coin soon began to be observable. The extinction is now complete and must remain so until the laws are altered."—Benton's Thirty Years in the United States Senate. When the first law was passed, Alexander Hamilton said that the "consequences of a mistake in the relative value of the two metals would be the expulsion of the one that was undervalued."

Thomas Jefferson, in his report upon foreign coins, said that when the legal ratio differed from the commercial ratio, one of the metals would disappear.

Albert Gallatin, Alexander Dallas, W. H. Crawford and Samuel D. Ingham, four secretaries of the treasury previous to 1834, all pointed out the fact that gold was steadily disappearing under the legal ratio of 15 to 1.

During the same period, several reports of committees of both the senate and the house stated that gold was undervalued by the law of 1792, and that the remedy lay in making the legal and the commercial ratios one and the same.

Among these reports may be mentioned those of Mr. Sanford, senator from New York, Mr. Lowndes of South Carolina, and Mr. Campbell P. White, representative from the City of New York.

GOLD LEAVING THE UNITED STATES.

It was a matter of common information among those who studied the condition of the money in circulation that nearly all the gold was leaving the United States under the legal ratio of 15 to 1; and for that reason and for no other the legal ratio was changed to 16 to 1. It is a remarkable fact that both the framers of the law of 1792 and the law of 1834 aimed to make the legal ratio the same as the ratio in the world of trade. There was no thought in the minds of the framers of this government of fixing on an arbitrary legal ratio independent of the commercial ratio. There was no thought on their part that the legal ratio would control and fix the commercial ratio. On the contrary, by the law of 1834, they emphatically and clearly recognized the absolute supremacy of the commercial ratio.

The reason is perfectly plain. When the legal ratio was 15 to 1, the American holder of gold bullion could take one pound of gold to the mint of the United States and get in return for it fifteen pounds of silver, while during the same forty-two years, he could send it to Spain, Portugal, Mexico and South America and get sixteen pounds of silver. Of course, gold went abroad during those years just as the \$815,000,000 of gold now in the United States would leave the country under a free coinage law at a legal ratio of 16 to 1 when the commercial ratio is 30 to 1.

In 1853 Congress passed a third coinage law which again changed the ratio between gold and all silver coins below the silver dollar.

GOLD CAME INTO GENERAL CIRCULATION.

During the nineteen years from 1834 to 1853, gold had come into general circulation and silver had disappeared.

During those years \$41,889,401 of silver had been coined, and nearly all of that money had gone out of circulation for the reason that silver had been undervalued by the law of 1834. The law of 1853 was passed for the express purpose of preventing the exportation of the half dollars, quarter dollars, dimes and half dimes. In 1852, the legislature of New Jersey petitioned congress to provide silver change for the store and market trade of the people; and yet during those nineteen years, from 1834 to 1853, more than 163,000,000 silver coins of all kinds had left the mint. The cheaper money had again driven out the dearer money. For that very reason and for no other, congress passed the law of 1853 to change the legal ratio back to about 15 to 1. Again the impotency of the legal ratio was distinctly and emphatically recognized.

In view of these two great examples in our own history, supported by the acts and utterances of the greatest statesmen, what becomes of Bryan's contention. "We contend that free and unlimited coinage by the United States alone will raise the bullion value of silver to its coinage value and thus make silver bullion worth \$1.29 per ounce in gold throughout the world."

The whole history of our government and the combined judgment of the greatest statesmen, of Hamilton, Jefferson, Benton, Garfield and Blaine are against this fundamental error which is also in the vital plank of the Democratic platform.

France.—From 1803 to 1851, the legal ratio was 15½ to 1 and gold steadily left the country. The French government had confiscated large quantities of silver in the churches, and this newly coined had driven gold out of circulation. McLeod, the author of a work on bimetallism, states that in 1839, no gold was to be seen in France. During this period of forty-eight years the owner of gold bullion in France could take one

pound of gold to the French mint and exchange it for fifteen and one-half pounds of silver; while, at the same time, he could send it to other countries and exchange it for sixteen pounds of silver. Of course, it is not meant that the actual exchange could be made at the mint, but immediately after leaving the mint, his pound of coined gold could at once be exchanged for only fifteen and one-half pounds of coined silver.

WHEN SILVER DISAPPEARED.

From 1851 to 1867 silver disappeared. Owing to the immense production of gold in California and Australia, gold became cheaper, and so went into France, and silver went out. Again the supremacy of the world's market asserted itself. The French government actually had to coin the five franc piece in gold to prevent its exportation. The government found that the five franc piece in silver was steadily leaving the country. Jevons, the author of a work on money, states that silver rapidly disappeared in France from 1849 to 1869. He says that if the legal ratio differs from the commercial ratio 2 or 3 per cent, that this is sufficient to drive out one of the metals and he cites France from 1849 to 1869 as an example. Of course the average citizen would not send the coined money abroad for such a small margin of profit, but brokers, at once, would see the great profit to be made on large exportations.

ENGLAND.—In England from 1712 to 1816, there was free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at a fixed legal ratio, and the silver steadily left the island. Nothing but worthless clipped silver coin was in circulation. The gold guinea was over-rated by the legal ratio, and hence gold, the cheaper rated metal, came into circulation for the same reason that the clipped silver coins remained in circulation. In 1816, the master of the mint testified that during the whole fifty-nine years of George III.'s reign, only \$164,500 in silver was coined. He also declared that the celebrated law of 1816, which placed England on a gold standard, had merely legalized what had been the custom of merchants for a hundred years. Thus England has been on a gold basis for nearly two centuries.

MEXICO.—In Mexico at the present time there is free and unlimited coinage of both metals at the legal ratio of 16 to 1, and no gold is in general circulation. In 1894, Mexico coined only \$554,107 in gold, which is at a high premium, and hence out of circulation except as a commodity. Over 200,000 Mexican silver dollars had been shipped to Chicago before July 31, 1896, and cost only fifty-five cents apiece in United States money. Two of these Mexican dollars were given for one American dollar by the Armour Co., and yet the Mexican silver dollar contains more pure silver than the American silver dollar. The legal ratio there is $16\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, and the commercial ratio is 30 to 1. The country, of course, is on a cheap silver basis.

RESULTS OF THE EXPERIMENTS.

In these six great examples, we see that wherever the legal ratio has been different from the commercial ratio one of the metals has disappeared from circulation. Two of these experiments took place in the United States, two in France, one in England and one in Mexico.

These experiments also took place over long periods of time, and hence the laws were given a fair trial.

In every case, the result has been the same, and the reason is obvious. No man will exchange one pound of gold for sixteen pounds of silver when anywhere on the market he can get for it twenty-five or thirty pounds of silver.

EMINENT FINANCIAL AUTHORITY.—“The worst form of currency in circulation regulates the value of the whole and drives all other forms out of circulation. This great fundamental law of currency

which is found to be true in all ages and countries, is just as firmly established as the law of gravitation. It is absolutely universal. It is not limited in time or space. It is true through however large an area it operates."—Henry Dunning McLeod, Author of *Bimetallism*.

"If the ratio of gold and silver differs only one or two per cent from the commercial ratio, it may become profitable to export the one metal rather than the other, and in this way, as we shall see, the main part of the currency of France was changed from silver into gold between 1849 and 1869."—Jevons, Author of *"The Mechanism of Exchange."*

"I confess that I cannot conceive how any man who has largely studied the situation can believe, can even hope that the United States can go it alone in this matter of silver coinage; can undertake to do so without coming to speedy grief and humiliation. I am very well aware that many gentlemen do honestly so hope and so believe, but the overwhelming preponderance of the educated financial opinion of the world inclines to the belief that the proposed measure would simply result in stripping us of our gold, in upsetting our exchanges with the great trading and producing nations of the world, in bringing us down to the level of second rate financial powers only, such as China, India and South America, and involving our trade and production in all the evils, the inexpressible evils of a depreciated and fluctuating currency."—Prof. Francis B. Walker, Author of a Work on Money, Before the Committee on Coinage, in 1891. Page 2723, Congressional Record of 1892.

"In my opinion, no country can coin silver alone, and a country that coins only silver will remain alone and will not have the money to pay abroad."—Mr. Henri Cernuschi, French Bimetallist, Page 5386 of Congressional Record of 1892.

"It is my firm conviction that for this country to enter upon that experiment now, under existing conditions would be extremely disastrous, would result not in bimetallism, but in silver monometallism. Such an experiment would, in my judgment, prove a greater disappointment to its advocates than any one else."—William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury in New York, Jan. 29, 1891.

"To remonetize it now, as though the facts and circumstances of that day were surrounding us, is to wilfully and blindly deceive ourselves. If our demonetization were the only cause for the decline in the value of silver, then remonetization would be the proper and effectual cure. But other causes quite beyond our control have been far more potentially operative than the simple fact of congress prohibiting further coinage. * * * It (gold) will flow out from us with the certainty and resistless force of the tides. If I were to venture upon a dictum of the silver question, I would declare that until Europe remonetizes, we cannot afford to coin a dollar as low as 412½ grains. * * * Assurances from empirics and scientists on finance that remonetization of the former dollar will at once and permanently advance its value to par with gold must go for what they are worth in the face of opposition and controlling facts."—Blaine in the Senate, Feb. 7, 1878. Page 820 of the Congressional Record of 1878.

CONTRACTION OF THE CIRCULATION.

The secretary of the treasury reports a total circulation of \$2,060,000,000, of which \$815,000,000 is gold. The six great examples from history, the united judgment of the greatest statesmen and authors on finance, and even the plain dictates of common sense prove that this \$815,000,000 gold would disappear and that this country would at once drop to a cheap money standard. This immense contraction of the circulation would be the smallest evil. This gold, directly and indirectly, maintains twelve hundred millions of silver and paper money at par, and forms the standard of value in all the exchanges of commerce.

Hence the expulsion of this gold would result in unparalleled disaster to millions of people.

First.—The 10,000,000 laborers in the United States would find their wages reduced by the general rise of prices of the necessaries of life. If it is asserted that wages would also rise, it is sufficient to refer to the report of the committee of the United States senate which investigated the rise of prices and the rise of wages during the war. This committee reported that the purchasing power of wages fell from 100 per cent in 1860, to 64 per cent in 1865. Wages would necessarily rise much slower than prices.

Second.—4,500,000 people have over \$2,000,000,000 in savings banks. Free coinage would destroy one-half of the purchasing power of these deposits.

Third.—Nearly a million men are employed on railways at fixed salaries. The railway corporations owe \$6,000,000,000, mostly payable in gold, and their passenger rates cannot be raised except by law. Hence the salaries of the employes cannot be raised, and in effect would be reduced by the rise of prices.

Fourth.—The 1,000,000 old soldiers draw nearly \$150,000,000, which would be lessened one-half by the rise of prices.

Fifth.—200,000 federal government employes would lose one-half of their salaries by the rise of prices.

Sixth.—All state, county, city and township officers would have their salaries reduced one-half.

Seventh.—All ministers, teachers, clerks and secretaries would lose one-half of their income.

Eighth.—5,000,000 insurance policy holders would lose one-half of all insurance paid.

ACCURATE STANDARDS.

Money is a standard of value. It is used to measure the value of the commodities, and as such a standard it is of the utmost importance that it should be exact and uniform.

The history of units of measure for the last two hundred years has shown a constant effort toward accuracy and uniformity. Less than two centuries ago there were three kinds of gallon measures in England. This caused confusion in trade, and the remedy was found in the adoption of one well known standard.

During the same time there were several yard measures in use which were used to the advantage of the seller. The immense number of exchanges based on the yard demanded absolute accuracy in its length, and so, in 1826, by law, a bronze bar prepared with the greatest skill and exactitude was deposited in the government archives.

In 1226, it was decreed by law in England that thirty grains of wheat, well dried and selected from the middle of the head, should make the weight of the penny, and from this was derived the pound weight. The size of these grains, of course, depended on the kind of wheat, soil, season and care.

Uncertainty was thus transmitted into all the weight exchanges of the kingdom. It was not until 1826 that the pound weight was scientifically determined and legally established.

Electrical power was measured inaccurately until 1881, when the Paris Electrical Congress adopted accurate units of measurement. The adoption of the well known, exact and uniform units,—the ohm, volt and ampere gave an impetus to the utility and progress of electrical power.

It is just so with money. The difference in price of half a cent on a bushel of wheat makes a difference of millions of dollars in the aggre-

gate of wheat exchanges. If the standard of money varies in the slightest degree, that variance becomes equivalent to a difference in price. It therefore becomes a matter of world wide importance, that money, which is the standard for all exchanges of values, shall be as exact, as uniform, and as well known as any other unit of measurement. With the United States on a silver basis alone, the value of the American dollar would be subject to the fluctuations of the market and thus the standard of value would be a varying one.

VOLUME OF MONEY.

The fact is that commerce has passed away beyond the era of gold and silver and is in the midst of an immense system of bank credits.

Trade demands an accurate and uniform standard, but it uses a far greater volume of checks and drafts based on that standard. Just as gold and silver used as money were an improvement on a system of barter, so the method of bank credits is an improvement on the actual use of the two metals in trade. Paper money is also an important substitute. Different authorities on finance estimate the amount of money actually passed at from 1 to 5 per cent.

For a writer to consider the amount of money now needed for trade without taking into account the modern instruments of exchange would be like writing a treatise on transportation and mentioning only the stage coach. In a given period, the Bank of Scotland had £4,866,511 of gold reserve, and in the same period issued bank credits to the amount of £92,240,356. McLeod states that 99 per cent of the commercial exchanges of England are effected by the banks without the use of money. It would take eighty horses to draw the gold necessary to make the exchanges for one day in the London Clearing House. This vast business is done without the actual use of money, and every leading city in Europe and America has a clearing house. In the United States alone, there are 9,815 banks of all kinds, all of which are every day issuing bank credits which operate as money. These great issues of checks and drafts constitute the larger part of the actual, practical currency of trade. Moreover, this currency is capable of unlimited expansion as business expands and contracts only with business depression. When this immense volume of currency is taken into account it is of the utmost importance that the standard shall be as accurate and uniform as possible. A change in the standard, as proposed by the free coinage law, would not only unsettle all minor exchanges, but would also give a shock to the whole superstructure of the commercial system.

HOW MONEY CHANGES HANDS.

Mr. McCleary of Minnesota cited an instance which shows how a small amount of money in circulation is capable of making an unlimited number of exchanges: "When I was a small boy, I saw something that I shall never forget. It was at a circus. The clowns and some other employes arranged themselves in a circle. Let us say that there were twenty of them in all. No. 1 said to No. 2, 'I owe you two dollars; I'll pay up as soon as I can.' No. 2 made this statement to No. 3, No. 3 to No. 4, and so on around the circle, No. 20 saying it to No. 1. No. 1 shoved his hands in his pockets, and with a look of pleased surprise, pulled out a dollar. Turning to No. 2, he said, 'I didn't know that I had that dollar; here's so much on-account.' No. 2 took the dollar, and with similar language passed it on to No. 3, and so it went around the ring. No. 20 passed it to No. 1, who received it with a smile and started to put it into his pocket, but instead he turned to No. 2, and said, 'I didn't expect to be able to pay you the balance so soon, but here it is.' And so it went around the ring, finally came back to No. 1, who, with a satis-

fied smile, put it into his pocket. This illustrates the profoundest truth in finance. What is that truth? It is this: Under proper conditions, the working power of each dollar is beyond all human computation."—Hon. James T. McCleary, House of Representatives, Feb. 12, 1896.

It is often claimed that more money is needed in circulation. The exploded per capita theory is advanced, and yet no man is wise enough to say how much money is needed for a city.

VOLUME OF MONEY PER CAPITA.

As a matter of fact the volume of money per capita has increased in advance of the population since 1873. In that year there was \$18.04; in 1896 there was \$21.10 per capita; in 1900 there was \$26.58 per capita in the United States. This refers to the circulation and not to the total stock of money.

In 1873 there was \$751,881,809 in circulation; in 1896 there was \$1,506,631,026; in 1900 there is \$2,060,525,463. This is the report of the secretary of the treasury. But the defect of the per capita theory is that it takes account of only a small part of the instruments of exchange.

In conclusion: The United States is now on a gold standard, and yet in twenty-seven years since 1873, four times as much silver has been coined as was coined in eighty years before 1873.

On Jan. 1, 1895, the secretary of the treasury estimated the stock of coined silver in ten of the leading nations of Europe at \$1,289,300,000. Most of these countries are on a gold basis. This proves that in the great gold nations of the world, there is practical bimetallism.

On the same date in India, China and Mexico, there was \$5,000,000 of gold and \$1,755,000,000 of silver. This proves that in the great silver nations there is actual monometallism.

The following, if enacted into a law, would bring silver monometallism pure and simple:

"We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."—Democratic Platform of 1900.



"The Man with the Hoe"

**Conditions of American Farmers
Contrasted under Democratic and
Republican Administrations.**

VISITED BY GENERAL PROSPERITY.

**Good Demand for Farm Products Followed the
Opening of the Mills to American Labor —
A Full Dinner Pail Causes Good Prices
— Free Silver a Panic Maker.**



It is a matter of history that rural prosperity and Republican rule are coincident.

It is equally a matter of record that agricultural depression, mortgage foreclosures and low prices for farm products accompany Democratic administration of national affairs.

The prosperity of the farmer depends upon the prosperity of all other industrial elements of our population. When the industrial classes are employed at American wages their consumption of farm products is on a liberal scale and they are able and willing to pay good prices for the necessities and luxuries of life. Under such conditions there is a good market for all the farmer has for sale.

When the reverse is true and workmen are idle or working scant time at cut wages, they are forced to practise pinching economy and the farmer necessarily loses part of his market.

The American farmer is prosperous when well-paid workmen are carrying well-filled dinner pails, a condition which has accompanied Republican supremacy since the birth of the party.

Idle men, tramps, and soup houses, familiar sights under Democratic rule, furnish but poor markets for farm produce.

Farm Prices Under Cleveland and McKinley.

If any one is disposed to doubt the accuracy of this grouping of agricultural prosperity with Republican rule, and rural poverty with Democratic ascendancy, let him examine the following showing of farm prices of wheat. The figures are from the annual report of the Secretary of Agriculture and show the farm price of wheat on December 1 of each year averaged into periods of four years, beginning with the election of Cleveland in 1892:

Years.	Administration.	Price of Wheat.
1892-95.....	Cleveland	54.1 cents
1896-99.....	McKinley	67.5 "

Note that under McKinley the price has averaged 25 per cent higher than under the preceding Democratic administration.

Wheat, however, is but the smallest part of the story. The year 1895 also marked the lowest depths of the agricultural depression that followed the assault of the Wilson tariff law upon American industries.

A comparison of the total value and the value per unit, on the farms, of the crops of that year, with a similar showing for 1899, when the beneficent effect of Republican rule and protection and fair treatment for American industries was apparent, furnish convincing proof that Republican policy and rural prosperity go hand in hand. The figures in each case are from the official reports of the Department of Agriculture, except in the case of flax, where the best commercial estimates are used.

Crop.	1895.		1899.	
	Total value.	Value per unit.	Total value.	Value per unit.
Corn	\$544,985,534	25.3	\$629,210,110	30.3
Wheat.....	237,938,998	50.9	319,545,259	58.4
Oats	163,655,068	19.9	198,167,975	24.9
Rye	11,964,826	44.0	12,214,118	51.0
Barley.....	29,312,413	33.7	29,594,254	40.3
Potatoes.....	78,984,901	26.6	89,328,832	39.0
Cotton	260,338,096	7.6	332,000,000	7.0
Hay	393,185,615	8.35	411,926,187	7.27
Tobacco	35,574,220	6.9	45,000,000	9.0
Flax.....	12,000,000	75.0	24,000,000	1.25
	\$1,767,939,671		\$2,090,986,735	

Result of Opening the Mills.

Plenty of work and good wages following the "opening of the mills to the labor of America" so increased the home market for the produce of the farm as to make the ten staple crops above noted worth \$323,047,064 more to the American farmer than in the last year of the Democratic era of free trade disguised as tariff reform, and repression of home industries. Not only was the aggregate larger, but the value per unit of every product except hay was higher, and the volume of production generally greater.

The Value of Farm Animals.

After lands and improvements the greatest item of wealth of the American farmer is his live stock, and the value of such farm stock is a perfect barometer of his financial condition.

Practically the highest point ever reached was at the close of 1892, the last year of the Harrison Administration, when the valuation was \$2,483,506,681, the country being prosperous, labor fully employed and wages good.

The lowest point reached in the past twenty years was at the close of 1896, when mills were closed, fires drawn, labor idle, capital in hiding and business confidence destroyed by four years of Democratic administration.

IN FOUR YEARS THE SHRINKAGE OF THIS FORM OF FARM WEALTH HAD AMOUNTED TO 33 PER CENT, MAKING \$828,091,000, THE PRICE WHICH THE OWNERS OF LIVE STOCK PAID FOR THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT OF 1892.

In the three years of industrial activity which followed the election of McKinley the value of live stock has kept pace upward with the increased earning and spending capacity of American labor, and on January 1, 1900, it had advanced to \$2,288,375,413, or a rise of \$632,960,000, or 38 per cent, from the depths of the depression. The figures in detail, as shown in the official reports of the Department of Agriculture, are as follows:

VALUE OF LIVE STOCK.

	Jan. 1, 1897.	Jan. 1, 1900.
	Total.	Total.
Horses.....	\$452,649,396	\$603,969,042
Mules.....	32,302,090	111,717,092
Cows.....	369,239,993	514,812,106
Cattle.....	507,929,421	689,486,260
Sheep.....	67,020,942	122,665,913
Hogs.....	166,272,770	245,725,000
	\$1,655,414,612	\$2,288,375,413

To appreciate what this means to each individual stock owner note the change in the average price per head of each class of animals.

	Jan. 1, 1897.	Jan. 1, 1900.	Increase.
Horses.....	\$31.51	\$44.61	42 per ct.
Mules.....	41.66	53.56	29 "
Cows.....	23.16	31.60	36 "
Cattle.....	16.65	24.97	50 "
Sheep.....	1.82	2.93	61 "
Hogs.....	4.10	4.99	22 "

Free Silver and the Farmer.

In the campaign of 1896 the Democratic party came forward with an assault upon our financial integrity that laid a heavy hand upon the already sorely stricken farmer. The threat of a depreciated currency completed the business paralysis, the domestic market for farm crops was given a final blow through the cessation of all business enterprise, and prices of all farm products fell to a point where production was not only unprofitable but was conducted at a loss.

Never in American history was the situation of the American farmer as distressing as when the Republican party met in convention in June, 1896.

Business confidence was gone, labor was idle, capital retired, farm values shrunk and the sheriff with his foreclosed mortgage sales the only active man in rural communities.

That Republican convention, planting itself squarely upon the side of national honor and business integrity, nominated a man whose whole life work was summed up in his trenchant declaration, "Open American mills to American workmen."

That man was William McKinley. With Mr. Bryan's nomination the issue was squarely joined and presented to the American farmer for settlement, one candidate offering a debased currency, a cheap dollar; the other standing for sound money, protection to American industries, full employment for labor at American wages, and good prices for American farm products.

The vote of the great farming States of the West elected McKinley, and the statistics already presented prove that rural prosperity followed.

Prices of Farm Products in 1896 and 1900.

The best showing of the change in the condition of the American farmer, between the first nomination of Mr. McKinley and his renomination, is a simple statement of the prices ruling for farm staples at each date. It is an argument against the abandonment of Republican policies which cannot be met. The following table

shows the current market price of different staple crops on June 1, 1896, and June 1, 1900:

Farm Products.	Grade Quoted.	June 1, 1896.	June 1, 1900.	Advance per cent.
Corn No. 2	No. 2 in store.....	Bush. \$0.27¼	\$0.37½	37
Wheat No. 3 ..	No. 3 spring	Bush. .57	.64½	13
Oats	No. 2 in store.....	Bush. .17½	.21¾	23
Rye.....	No. 2 in store.....	Bush. .33	.53	61
Barley	Fair to good malting...	Bush. .28	.40	43
Potatoes	Choice Burbank	Bush. .28	.40	43
Hay	No. 1 Timothy.....	Ton 9.25	11.50	24
Flaxseed.....	No. 1 N. W.....	Bush. .82	1.80	119
Butter	Creamery firsts	Lb. .14¼	.18	26
Cheese.....	Full cream, choice....	Lb. .06¾	.08⅞	20
Live Hogs	Heavy packing.....	100 lb. 3.25	5.12½	58
Live Cattle....	Butcher steers.....	100 lb. 3.55	3.32½	22
Sheep.....	Westerns.....	100 lb. 3.25	4.97½	53
Clover seed ...	Prime contract	100 lb. 7.40	7.50	1
Cotton	Middling uplands.....	Lbs. .07½	.99	20
Wool	Tub washed.....	Lbs. .16½	.29	76
Broom Corn...	Self-working, fair to good	Ton 32.50	180.00	454
Hops	N. Y. State choice.....	Lb. .07	.12	72
Millet seed....	German	100 lb. .80	1.20	50
Eggs.....	Firsts, strictly fresh....	Doz. .09¾	.10½	8

NOTE.—The above are Chicago market quotations except in the cases of cotton and hops, which are New York quotations.

Why the Farmer Smiles.

(By B. W. Snow, of the Orange Judd Farmer.)

The "man with the hoe" is this year also the man with the "dough." This may be slightly slangy, but it is eminently truthful.

The farmer is enjoying a big, juicy piece of the prosperity pie, and if his slice is a trifle larger than seems entirely equitable no one will begrudge it to him. He has well earned it, and besides, when he is comfortably fixed he is a generous fellow, ready to share his surplus with his brothers in the counting house, the factory, the shop and all the by-ways of modern business.

Last year he tickled the earth with that "hoe," and nature in generous mood responded to his advances. She proved no niggard in her favors, but "wantoned as in her prime." Good crops and good prices are a combination that has solved all the bitter, grinding problems of hard times.

Figures are proverbially dry, but sometimes they are more eloquent than silver tongues or gold pens. Just now they tell an amazing tale of rural prosperity. The financial result to the Amer-

ican farmer of his three principal cereal crops in 1898 and 1899 is thus compared:

	1899.		
	Bushels.	Farm Price.	Value.
Corn.....	2,207,473,000	30.3	\$668,864,000
Wheat.....	565,350,000	58.4	330,164,000
Oats.....	869,140,000	24.9	216,416,000
			\$1,215,444,000

	1898.		
	Bushels.	Farm Price.	Value.
Corn.....	1,868,120,000	28.7	\$536,140,000
Wheat.....	702,961,000	58.2	409,123,000
Oats.....	798,958,000	25.5	203,734,000
			\$1,148,997,000

For three crops alone he has a neat little extra surplus just now of \$66,447,000, but this is only part of the tale.

In fact, it is a continued story with as many chapters as he has crops.

He has about 40,000,000 bushels more potatoes than he raised in 1898 and his whole crop is bringing him 10 to 15 cents per bushel more.

A few of him way up where the red line on the map separates him from British tyranny, raise more flax than was ever dreamed of before, 20,000,000 bushels or more, and the soulless seed crushers are burdening his life and his bank account by insisting upon separating themselves from a dollar and a quarter in exchange for every bushel he raised, while last year he got but 80 cents for a 16,000,000 bushel crop.

Down in Illinois and out in Kansas, where broom corn comes from, the honest grower swaps his bale of brush for an almost equally large bale of greenbacks, a mere matter of \$150 a ton for a crop that a few years ago he sold for \$40, and this, too, for a crop the largest for some years.

So it runs, chapter after chapter; butter, cheese, poultry, small grain, all up in price with increasing production.

Value of Crops in 1896 and 1900.

To fully appreciate why the farmer smiles, it is necessary to recall a little history.

His prosperity is no little single year affair, based upon bad

crops at home or abroad. The present is simply the crest of a wave that has been rising for four years.

The cup of depression was passed to the farmer first, and in 1896 he got down to the dregs at the bottom of his draught.

The price of his products started upward before the movement was apparent in other lines of industry, and if prices of other products have seemingly outstripped farm products during the last twelve months, it is simply a case of a late start trying to catch up.

If we would know why the farmers' bank account is fat just now let us look into his books for 1896 and in 1899. Here are a few comparisons, the figures for 1896 being from Government reports:

	1896.	1899.
	Crop Value.	Crop Value.
Corn.....	\$491,007,000	\$668,864,000
Wheat.....	310,603,000	330,164,000
Oats.....	132,485,000	216,416,000
	\$934,095,000	\$1,215,444,000

These are only three eggs. There are others in the same basket.

Value of Stocks in 1896 and 1900.

Now for a last chapter with the hair-raising climax.

Not only has the awful shrinkage in this form of farm wealth between 1892 and 1896 been entirely recovered, but the aggregate now passes any previous record. To show the previous high water mark the low water mark and the present advanced shore line the accompanying table presents in detail the aggregate valuation reported for each class of stock on January 1, 1889, 1896 and 1900:

	1889.	1896.	1900.
Horses.....	\$982,195,000	\$550,532,000	\$678,941,000
Mules.....	179,445,000	94,222,000	109,016,000
Cows.....	366,226,000	394,087,000	600,891,000
Cattle.....	597,237,000	564,304,000	796,457,000
Sheep.....	90,640,000	52,880,000	127,081,000
Hogs.....	291,307,000	204,402,000	245,425,000
	\$2,507,050,000	\$1,860,420,000	\$2,558,111,000

One more little tabular flare of trumpets is needed to fully illustrate the present position of the stock owner. It shows the average

price per head at the lowest point of the depression, the present price and the percentage of the advance:

	Low Point.	Jan., 1900.	Advance.
Horses, January 1, 1897.....	\$33.65	\$45.60	36 per ct.
Mules, " 1898.....	39.66	48.67	23 "
Cows, " 1892.....	21.40	31.12	50 "
Cattle, " 1895.....	14.15	24.83	76 "
Sheep, " 1896.....	1.60	2.97	86 "
Hogs, " 1897.....	4.13	4.99	21 "

Words will not paint the lily, neither will they add to the material evidence of rural prosperity presented above.

The American farmer knows that he was poverty-stricken under the last Democratic administration.

He also knows that, under the Republican administration of President McKinley he has been continuously visited by general prosperity.

Bryan's "Militarism" Cry. Sulu Slavery Question. Labor and Our Colonies.

OFFICIAL RECORDS SHOW THE FACTS AS TO THE UNITED STATES ARMY, AND
THAT DEMOCRATS VOTED TO INCREASE IT.—PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
AND TREATIES RELATING TO THE SULU ISLANDS.—
LABOR'S INTEREST IN OUR TRADE
EXPANSION.

THE "MILITARISM" CRY.

BRYAN'S FRIENDS SUPPORTED THE ADMINISTRATION IN
ITS WAR POLICY.

Is Mr. Bryan trying to deceive the public with his cry of militarism and a large standing army?

He asserts over and over again that the President and the Republican Congress increased the army to one hundred thousand men "when no arm was raised against the Nation anywhere in the world," and by his talk of the "large standing army" and the dangers of militarism under Republican rule, evidently seeks to make the people believe that the increase in the army is a permanent one and that it has been brought about exclusively by the Republican party.

Here are the facts as shown by the official records. The Act which increased the army at the beginning of the war with Spain, provided that the army should be restored to its former size (27,000) at the termination of that war. As a consequence whatever additional force was necessary by reason of the threatening conditions in the Philippines after the termination of the war with Spain, had to be provided by a subsequent Act.

Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in front of Manila on May 1st, 1898; Aguinaldo arrived at Manila on May 19; on May 21 he issued a proclamation announcing the establishment of a dictatorial government with himself as Dictator and decrees for carrying on a military government, and on July 1 proclaimed himself President. On July 25, Gen. Merritt arrived and took command of the American forces which had arrived during that month, and on July 26 Admiral Dewey telegraphed the President: "Situation most critical at Manila. * * * Merritt's most difficult problem will be how to deal with insurgents under Aguinaldo, WHO HAVE BECOME AGGRESSIVE AND EVEN THREATENING TOWARD OUR ARMY." On August 13, the American troops attacked Manila, but Aguinaldo's forces failed to co-operate except to demand, after the action had ended, that the churches, the Palace of Malacanán, part of the money taken from the Spaniards and the arms of the Spanish soldiers be turned over to them, and they be permitted to loot the city. These demands were refused, and during the months which followed, as shown by the report of the Philippine Commission, "the feeling between the Americans and Insurgents grew worse and worse day by day and all manner of abuses were indulged in by the insurgent troops." Meantime the "Filipino Congress" was assembled at Malolos, and Aguinaldo removed to that place, organizations intended to provoke bitterness toward the Americans, and from which local militia could be recruited to aid in the attack upon them, were established in Manila and vicinity, and, on September 21, 1898, a decree passed the Filipino Congress imposing military service on every male over eighteen years of age, while in every carriage factory and blacksmith shop implements of war were being manufactured evidently for use in hostilities.

All of these facts were known to the President, and it is not surprising therefore, that he found it necessary, when he sent his message to Congress

on December 5, 1898, to ask a temporary increase in the army, which he did, saying: "There can be no question that at this time and probably for some time in the future 100,000 men will be none too many to meet the necessities of the situation." As a result of this recommendation, a bill was passed in the House on January 31, 1899, authorizing the enlargement of the Army to 100,000 men. This was referred to the Senate Committee which included such democratic members as Senators Cockrell of Missouri; Mitchell of Wisconsin; Pettus of Alabama, and Pasco of Florida, and, on February 24, that Committee unanimously reported a substitute bill authorizing the President "to maintain the regular army at a strength of not exceeding 65,000 enlisted men * * * and raise a force of not more than 35,000 volunteers" * * * *provided that such increased regular and volunteer force shall continue in service only during the necessity therefor and no later than July 1, 1901."*

On this bill Senator Cockrell, who was a democrat long before Mr. Bryan was born, said: "This measure has been examined very carefully and I want to say that I endorse it. I ENDORSE IT BECAUSE I BELIEVE IT RIGHT AND JUST AND PROPER AND NECESSARY. WHEN 1901 COMES THE ARMY WILL REVERT TO WHAT IS PROVIDED FOR IN THE PENDING BILL WITHOUT DEBATE OR CONTENTION AND IT WILL REMAIN AT THAT FIGURE, AND I THINK THAT IS AMPLE AND SUFFICIENT."

On the official vote upon the bill, February 27th, 1899, which increased the army to 100,000, the yeas, as shown by the official record of Congress, included—

Allen, of Nebraska, Populist,
Bacon, of Georgia, Democrat,
Cockrell, of Missouri, Democrat,
Faulkner, of Virginia, Democrat,
Gorman, of Maryland, Democrat,
Harris, of Kansas, Populist,
Heitfeld, of Idaho, Populist,
Lindsay, of Kentucky, Democrat,
McEnery, of Louisiana, Democrat,
McLaurin, of S. Carolina, Democrat,
Mallory, of Florida, Democrat,

Mantle, of Montana, Silver,
Money, of Mississippi, Democrat,
Morgan, of Alabama, Democrat,
Murphy, of New York, Democrat,
Pasco, of Florida, Democrat,
Pettus, of Alabama, Democrat,
Rawlins, of Utah, Democrat,
Smith, of New Jersey, Democrat,
Teller, of Colorado, Silver, and
Wellington, of Maryland.

Senator Kenney (Democrat), of Delaware, who was absent when the vote was taken, subsequently announced in the Senate: "Had I been present I should have voted in favor of the bill." Twelve Democrats and Populists voted against the bill, while 20 voted for it, thus giving in its support much more than a majority of the Senate members of the parties now supporting Mr. Bryan. When the bill went to the House the Democratic and Populist support was even stronger, the vote in that body standing 203 yeas to 33 nays, the opposition not being sufficiently strong to even command a yeas and nays vote.

When it came up for final action in that body, Representative Sulzer of New York, one of Mr. Bryan's most ardent supporters, speaking of the Bill said:

"I am in favor of it and shall do all I can to pass it. Fifty-five members of the Senate voted for it and only thirteen voted against it. * * * We will be derelict to our fidelity to the Democrats in the other branch of the Legislature if we now impede or defeat this bill. I TRUST THAT EVERY DEMOCRAT WHO SYMPATHIZES WITH THE MEN IN ARMS AT MANILA, WITH OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS IN THE PHILIPPINES, WILL UPHOLD, AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT, THE HANDS OF THE PRESIDENT AND GIVE HIM THE POWER VESTED IN HIM BY THE TERMS OF THIS BILL. I am a partisan, but in times like these I always subordinate my partisanship to my patriotism. We should all be patriots to-day; we must not forget—we must not forsake our brave, heroic soldiers and sailors who are upholding and defending our flag in the Orient. We must stand by them. * * * The bill is only a temporary measure; it will cease to be operative in 1901. THE INCREASE IS ONLY TEMPORARY; THERE IS NOTHING PERMANENT ABOUT IT; IT SIMPLY MEETS THE PRESENT EMERGENCY. * * * This bill can do no harm. *It becomes a nullity and repeals itself on the first day of July, 1901.* * * * I hope the members of the House will realize how important it is to pass this bill. ITS FAILURE NOW WOULD BE A CALAMITY—AN AFFRONT TO EVERY MAN IN THE PHILIPPINES. * * * I cannot see how a Republican or a Democrat can

consistently vote against it. It gives the President ALL THE MEN HE WANTS TO MEET THE PRESENT EMERGENCY AND AT THE SAME TIME IT DOES NOT INCREASE THE STANDING ARMY A SINGLE MAN. AFTER JULY 1, 1901, BY VIRTUE OF THIS BILL, THE REGULAR ARMY WILL BE JUST THE SAME AS IT WAS BEFORE THE WAR WAS DECLARED WITH SPAIN. By that time let us hope the country will be at peace with all the world and the insurrection in the Philippines a thing of the past. This is no time to be captious. This is no time to split hairs or PLAY SMALL POLITICS; we should do our duty; we should do what is right and the people will judge us accordingly."

The above is a plain statement regarding the temporary increase in the Army upon which Mr. Bryan builds his entire bogie of "Militarism." Every statement given above is from official records, entirely accessible to him, and with all of them he must be familiar if he is fit to be a Presidential candidate. Can it be possible that he is doing what Representative Sulzer above describes as "PLAYING SMALL POLITICS?"

SULU SLAVERY QUESTION.

WAS IT AUTHORIZED, RATIFIED OR AFFIRMED BY PRESIDENT
MCKINLEY?—THE OFFICIAL RECORD.

So many misleading assertions have been made about the agreement of the United States Government with the Sultan of the Jolo or Sulu archipelago and its relation to the existence of slavery in those islands that it is proper that the real facts as shown by official records should be told. Then every voter can determine for himself whether Mr. Bryan and his followers are justified in their frequent assertions that the President has made an agreement with the Sultan of Jolo and others, by which slavery heretofore existing in that country has been ratified and affirmed.

The first official statement given to the public on this subject was contained in the President's Message sent to Congress on December 5, 1899, on the first day of its first meeting after the agreement had been made. In that message he said:

"The authorities of the Sulu Islands have accepted the succession of the United States to the rights of Spain, and our flag floats over that territory. On the tenth of August, 1899, Brigadier General Bates negotiated an agreement with the Sultan and his principal chiefs, which I transmit herewith. * * * Article X provides that any slave in the archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value. The agreement by General Bates was made subject to confirmation by the President and to future modifications by the consent of the parties in interest. I HAVE CONFIRMED SAID AGREEMENT, SUBJECT TO THE ACTION OF THE CONGRESS, AND WITH THE RESERVATION, WHICH I HAVE DIRECTED SHALL BE COMMUNICATED TO THE SULTAN OF JOLO, THAT THIS AGREEMENT IS NOT TO BE DEEMED IN ANY WAY TO AUTHORIZE OR GIVE THE CONSENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY IN THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO. I communicate these facts to the Congress for its information and action."

An examination of the agreement which accompanied this message showed that the only reference to slavery which it contained was Article X, which said:

"Any slave in the archipelago of Jolo shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value."

It will be seen from the above extracts that the President took the *very first opportunity* after the agreement was made to transmit it to Congress, and to call especial attention in the most public manner possible to the fact that he had made a specific reservation that the agreement "*is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu archipelago.*" This message was published nearly one year ago and could not have escaped the attention of Mr. Bryan.

A few weeks later, on January 24, 1900, the Senate called for all the papers in the case and they were promptly sent. They contained a full report of the conferences between General Bates and the Sultan's representatives, and a report from General Bates, in which he states that—

"The institution of slavery exists in a very mild form (in fact, the word 'retainer' expresses this condition better than 'slavery'), the average price being about twenty dollars, gold. I also found that the Moros were jealous of any interference with it; but it seemed proper that steps should be at once taken looking to the abolition of the institution. It seemed but fair that the owners should be remunerated, and I think that Article X of the agreement provides a speedy means of doing away with slavery."

This report of General Bates and the agreement itself reached Washington in October, 1899, and when they were laid before the President he directed the Secretary of War to at once instruct General Otis to notify the Sultan that the agreement **MUST NOT BE CONSIDERED AS AUTHORIZING OR GIVING THE CONSENT ON THE UNITED STATES TO THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY IN THE ISLANDS.** This instruction was transmitted to Gen. Otis in a letter from Secretary Root dated October 27, 1899, in which he said:

"The President instructs me to advise you that the agreement * * * * is confirmed and approved, subject to the action of Congress provided for in that clause of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain which provides that, 'The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territory hereby ceded to the United States shall be determined by Congress,' **AND WITH THE UNDERSTANDING AND RESERVATION, WHICH SHOULD BE DISTINCTLY COMMUNICATED TO THE SULTAN OF JOLO, THAT THIS AGREEMENT IS NOT TO BE DEEMED IN ANY WAY TO AUTHORIZE OR GIVE THE CONSENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY IN THE SULU ARCHIPELAGO. A THING WHICH IS MADE IMPOSSIBLE BY THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.** At the same time when you communicate to the Sultan the above mentioned understanding, the President desires that you should make inquiry as to the number of persons held in slavery in the archipelago, **AND WHAT ARRANGEMENT IT MAY BE PRACTICABLE TO MAKE FOR THEIR EMANCIPATION.** It is assumed that the market price referred to in the agreement of August 20, 1899, is not very high at present, and it may be that a comparatively moderate sum, which Congress might be willing to appropriate for that purpose, would suffice to SECURE FREEDOM FOR THE WHOLE NUMBER."

That the President's instructions were complied with is shown by a copy of a letter forwarded to General Bates by Major Murray, Military Secretary of General Otis, in which, after calling attention to the approval by the President of the agreement with the Sultan, he says:

"This conditional approval, it will be seen, is given with the distinct understanding that **THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY OR INVOLUNTARY SERVITUDE IN ANY PORTION OF THE PHILIPPINES IS IN NO WISE AUTHORIZED,** as under the thirteenth amendment of the United States Constitution the authorization or recognition of the continued slavery status by the Executive of the Government is impossible. You will carefully note the instructions in the communication which directs that when the Sultan is informed of the President's conditional approval of the agreement, that inquiry be made as to the extent which slavery is practiced in the archipelago, the number of people held as slaves, and **WHAT PRACTICAL COURSE OF ACTION LOOKING TO THEIR EMANCIPATION CAN BE ADOPTED.** * * * It is understood, too, that the character of domestic slavery existing in the archipelago differs greatly from the former slavery institutions of the United States in this, that the Moro slave, so called, becomes a member of the owner's family, enjoying certain privileges, and that he often voluntarily sells himself to better his condition and to secure some slight temporary individual benefit. Hence it is desired that you report upon the character of this Moro slavery, in order that the institution as existing may be fully appreciated."

It will be seen by the above extracts from official documents that the agreement complained of by Mr. Bryan makes no reference to slavery except to provide a method by which slaves may purchase their freedom, but in order to make it perfectly clear that the agreement did not authorize or give consent to the existence of slavery, a specific announcement to that effect was sent to the Sultan with the statement that such authorization or consent **"IS MADE IMPOSSIBLE BY THE THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES."**

Section 1 of that amendment is as follows:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States OR ANY PLACE SUBJECT TO THEIR JURISDICTION."

The closing words of this section are especially interesting, not only because of their mandatory prohibition of slavery, but because the framers of this amendment seemed to have clearly recognized that the Constitution does not of its own power follow the flag, and therefore took the precaution to explicitly add to the declaration that slavery should not exist in the United States, the words "OR ANY PLACE SUBJECT TO THEIR JURISDICTION."

It is apparent from the above extracts from official documents that the President in making the agreement with the Sultan not only took pains to explicitly disclaim authorization of, or consent to, slavery, but took especial care to call the matter to the attention of Congress when transmitting the agreement to that body for its consideration under the article of the treaty with Spain which declares that "the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territory hereby ceded to the United States SHALL BE DETERMINED BY CONGRESS."

It was not in the power of the President to do more than he did, for the treaty with Spain gives to CONGRESS explicitly the power of determining the civil rights of persons of the territory ceded by Spain, but it was in his power to complete a temporary agreement with the Sultan by which his friendship and co-operation would be assured and at the same time initiate steps by which Congress could provide for the speedy emancipation of the slaves themselves. And this he did.

Mr. Bryan in his letter from Kalamazoo, Mich., dated October 10th, after his attention had been called to the letter of the Secretary of War to General Otis, written by direction of the President, says: "You can but know, however, that since the President sent those instructions the Republican Party, with the approval of the Administration, has adopted the theory that the Constitution does not follow the flag, and, therefore, the 13th amendment does not interfere with slavery in the Sulu archipelago."

It is manifest that Mr. Bryan is not familiar with the language of the 13th amendment of the Constitution, or he would not have made that statement. The whole amendment is as follows:

"Article XIII, Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The President seems clearly to have done his duty when he called the matter to the attention of Congress, for Section 2 of Article XIII provides that "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

These are the plain facts of the case. The whole subject was clearly stated by the President in the most public manner possible in his message nearly one year ago. The entire correspondence was laid before the Senate and ordered printed by that body on February 1st, 1900, and a copy of the document was sent to Mr. Bryan so soon as he began his misleading assertions on this subject. He could not, therefore, say that his assertions were made without a full knowledge, or at least full opportunity to obtain the facts.

The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that Mr. Bryan's assertions were made with the deliberate attempt to deceive the people.

LABOR AND EXPANSION.

HOW WAGE-EARNERS ARE INTERESTED IN OUR NEW COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

Nathaniel McKay, who went to Europe in the years 1838, 1892 and 1896, and took photographs of the working people of Great Britain, and made a comparison of their wages with those of the wage-earners of the United States, which statistics had much effect on the Harrison election in 1888, the National Committee and the Press of the United States publishing millions of his photographs, now furnishes a tabulated statement of all the Colonies of Great Britain, France, Germany and Russia, with their population and area in square miles, and compares them, giving the percentage, with the United States, showing the fallacy of the Bryan Imperialism. Mr. McKay also compares the armies of the various nations, and their percentage, with that of the

United States. These tables with an accompanying letter showing the fallacy of the cry of "Imperialism," have been addressed to Hon. Chas. H. Grosvenor, Athens, Ohio.

"I most respectfully submit to you a compilation of statistics of the following European countries: Great Britain, Germany, Russia and France, giving their population, area in square miles, number of inhabitants to the square mile, the Colonies of each nation and their standing armies. These various tables will be found to be very interesting to the voters of the United States, and the Bryanites will find them especially entertaining.

"The United States holds a very insignificant place among these countries in some respects. We have, in the last two years, acquired by conquest and treaty five islands, three in the Pacific Ocean and two in the West Indies. The Philippine Islands are said to have a population of 9,000,000 and 114,360 square miles of territory; the Samoan Islands contain 36,240 population and an area of 1,076 square miles, and Hawaii 100,000 population with an area of 6,587 square miles; a total colonial population of 11,412,237. These five separate colonies represent the acquisitions of the United States in 114 years. If you will look over the tables you will see what the other nations have acquired in the same length of time. The population of the United States alone is 70,000,000; add to that the colonies acquired by conquest and treaty, 11,412,237, will give 81,412,237. The total area of the United States, including these colonies is 3,753,387 square miles, showing 21.68 persons to the square mile. The States alone without these possessions have an average of 19.54 to the square mile.

"I will first give you a table of the Standing Armies of the various nations and the percentage they bear to the army of the United States: You will see that Great Britain has 86 per cent. as against 14 per cent. of the United States; Germany has 90 per cent. to 10 per cent. for the United States; Russia has 96 per cent. to 4 per cent. for the United States; France has 95 per cent. to 5 per cent. for the United States. Great Britain has an army of 718,821 soldiers on a war footing; Germany 1,005,837; Russia 2,535,896; France 2,000,000; and the United States 100,000, of whom 65,000 are regulars and 35,000 volunteers. Now, we have a population of 81 millions of people and our army is really insignificant when you compare it with the other nations of the world, and yet the Democratic party is trying to enlighten the people—the voters of the United States, by telling them that our army should be reduced, and that our flag should be hauled down instead of raised in any foreign country.

"I want to say here that there is no American citizen outside the Democratic party who will ever haul down the American flag when it has once been raised. There is Germany with a million of soldiers and a population of 49 millions. Great Britain has a population of 38,000,000 in Europe alone; in India she has 278 millions; in Africa nine and a-half millions; in America and the West Indies over seven and a-half millions, and in Australia four millions—a total of 336,843,703. There are 64 separate colonies and over 40 distinct Governments, including the Transvaal and the Orange Free State recently acquired by conquest. They have an army of 718,821; and, as I said before, a population in Great Britain, without the colonies, of 38 millions. We have a population of 81 millions and an army of 65,000; and yet the Bryanites are crying from the Atlantic to the Pacific that we are "imperialists," and creating a large army! Why; if we do not keep an army to protect ourselves these nations will walk over us, and we will wake up some day and find ourselves very much injured by some of these foreign nations. We must keep pace with these nations and create a demand for our manufactures; we must find foreign markets for our products, and the acquisition of these colonies has been of the greatest benefit to our commerce, our farmers and manufacturers; it has added millions to our wealth, and if we do not continue to acquire foreign markets for our products, our mechanics will be as badly off as they are in Europe. England supplies her 64 separate colonies with every article that they require, and they are all controlled in Downing Street, London, at the Colonial Office.

"There are thousands of ships constantly in service laden with merchandise and the goods manufactured by the 38 millions to supply the foreign colonies. If the trade were prohibited between the British Islands and these colonies Great Britain would be bankrupt in a few years. Great Britain maintains her great navy to protect her commerce, and if American produce were stopped from Great Britain for three months they would have a famine and the poor people would be in a state of starvation. The arrival of a ship laden

with food is anticipated, just as our marketing is anticipated, from Maryland and Virginia to-day; if a cattle ship is lost on the ocean the slaughter houses at Berkenhead, Liverpool and Wigan are practically shut down, and the British Empire will be in a state of starvation until the arrival of the next ship. I have visited all these places myself, and know what I am writing about.

"Now, we must furnish these 11 millions of people with our products, notwithstanding the insinuations of the Democratic party that we have a great standing army to maintain peace among the uncivilized tribes. Just think for an instant how many hundreds of thousands of people are constantly employed in the United States to manufacture the goods for these 11 millions of people and to supply them with food? The only thing we have to do now is to build up our commerce on the ocean and protect our shipping; give employment to our farmers and food to the sailors and passengers which is now given to the English transports—millions yearly and daily. The English, French and German ships get all the produce they possibly can at their own homes to feed our passengers that cross the Atlantic, and if we have American ships running under the American flag, commanded by American officers, we will supply all these ourselves. The ramifications and vast operations that would come from these great supplies cannot be estimated by any man or nation; what an increase of wealth it would bring to us! These foreign countries foster the industry on the ocean more than they do the industry on the land, and the manufacturers of the world are watching with a cat-like eye our Capitol, and praying within their hearts for a change so that they can supply the goods which we manufacture by our own mechanics. I warn every voter in the United States that if Bryan ever gets control of this Government their wages will be reduced over one-half, as they were in 1891 and '92, and over one-half of the working people will be idle.

"Germany is one of the most industrious nations on the Continent of Europe; they are always at work trying to make trade for their manufactures. They enact laws to foster their industries and shipping as much as Great Britain, if not more. They have 90 per cent. more soldiers than we have. I wish the people of the United States would just examine these tables for themselves and go to the libraries and verify them.

"The Republic of France has a population of 69,000,000 of people. They have twenty-one colonies in various portions of the globe, which you will see by the table. They buy very little in America and some from Great Britain and other nations. They purchase 'at home.'

"What can the Democratic party say when they examine these tables, and compare the 69,000,000 people of France and 2,000,000 of soldiers with our 81,000,000 and 65,000 soldiers? How does 'Imperialism' stand in the face of what I have enumerated?

"The Russian Empire has a population of 108,000,000 of people—14 to the square mile, its area being 8,450,681 square miles. The estimated total population of Russia is 124,000,000. They have an army of 2,535,896. Compare this with our 65,000!

"I have only made these tables to show what a farce is the attack that the Democratic party is making on our army and the present administration. They are not making this attack on the administration because the Government has not been properly administered in the last four years, but it is for the purpose of getting possession of the Government for public offices; not for anything they have ever done themselves or would ever do in the future if they got control of the Government.

"In 1894 the Democrats voted on the tariff bill after one hour's debate under gag-rule, and passed free sugar, free coal, free bituminous coal, free shale, free coke, free iron ore, free barbed wire. 162 Democrats voted for the measure, and every Democrat in the house will vote for a similar bill if they have the opportunity to deprive our own mechanics of a living.

"When the Democrats were in power they reduced the tariff on clothing from 20 to 71 per cent.; they are now asking for a chance to bankrupt the Government and destroy it, and it behooves every man, woman and child in the United States to stand their guard and protect their own industries; the interest of every man, woman and child is at stake to-day just as much as that of the manufacturer. When the Democrats were in power they murdered every industry and paralyzed the prosperity of this Republic. The Democratic party has drained the cup of confidence, leaving the dregs of bitterness to soothe the idle millions. The Democratic party has closed its ears to the wails of a nation's agony. This is their record when they were in power. The

Democratic party would arrest the vital currents of commercial life and ruin every promising enterprise.

"It is a matter of history in Great Britain, and the London Christian says: 'One out of every two laboring men over 60 years comes under the poor law. One person in every twelve needs relief to keep them from starvation. In London two out of every nine dine in the work-house or other public institutions; in Manchester one out of every five. What a commentary this would be for our working people.'

"I say to the voters of the United States, watch with all your care the Democratic party, and protect your own family. It is your right to elect whom you please, and you should elect those who will benefit your interests and not the interests of the infamous party who seeks to destroy the wealth and prosperity of this nation at this time.

STANDING ARMIES.

	Peace Footing.	War Footing.
Great Britain.....	—	718,821
Germany.....	584,754	1,005,837
Russia.....	800,000	2,535,896
France.....	524,509	2,000,000
United States, Regulars.....	65,000	100,000
United States, Volunteers..	35,000 }	

A comparison of the Army of the United States with that of other nations

The U. S. has 14 per cent. compared with Great Britain.

The U. S. has 10 per cent. compared with Germany.

The U. S. has 4 per cent. compared with Russia.

The U. S. has 5 per cent. compared with France.

Great Britain has 86 per cent. more than the United States.

Germany has 90 per cent. more than the United States.

Russia has 96 per cent. more than the United States.

France has 95 per cent. more than the United States.

FREE SILVER IN SOUTH AMERICA.

There are seventeen Spanish Nations in South America, with a population of 39,534,758.

	POPULATION.
Argentine Rep.—Buenos Ayres.....	4,200,000
Bolivia.....	2,300,000
Brazil—Rio de Janeiro.....	4,000,000
Chili.....	2,527,628
Columbia.....	5,000,000
Costa Rica.....	196,280
Ecuador.....	1,004,651
Guatemala.....	1,357,000
Haiti.....	1,000,000
Honduras.....	329,134
Nicaragua.....	262,372
Paraguay.....	360,000
Peru.....	2,972,000
Santo Domingo.....	250,000
Salvador.....	664,513
Uruguay—Mote Video.....	787,053
Venezuela—Caracas.....	2,323,527

Total..... 39,534,758

These countries are all in a state of bankruptcy on account of having silver standard. The exchange for American gold drafts ranges in these countries from 2305 to 400 per cent.



The Republican party broke the shackles of 4,000,000 slaves and made them free.—WILLIAM
MCKINLEY.

THE NEW NULLIFICATION

Forty Electoral Votes Will Be Given to Bryan From a Disfranchised Class

THE PROGRESS TOWARD SUPPRESSION OF SUFFRAGE—WHITE REPUBLICANS THE
LATEST VICTIMS—DEMOCRATIC HYPOCRISY ABOUT CONSENT
OF THE GOVERNED—WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN
SAID AT INDIANAPOLIS.

With the recent action of North Carolina four Southern States now have constitutional provisions in effect disfranchising the negroes.

The other Southern States have election laws and methods which accomplish the same general purpose—suppression of the negro vote.

There are now forty Representatives in Congress and forty votes in the electoral college which stand for a disfranchised class having no voice in the choice of them except in so far as colored men are allowed to exercise the right of suffrage north of the Ohio and in Texas.

In 1890 an attempt was made to strengthen the Federal election laws to meet the movement to suppress negro suffrage. It was known as the Lodge bill. It passed the House and failed in the Senate.

NATIONAL ELECTION LAWS WIPED OUT.

In 1894, the Democratic Congress wiped the national election laws from the statute books. A minority report made by Republican Senators, recognizing the repeal as inevitable, contained this significant paragraph:

"It is not likely that this particular measure (reference being to the Lodge election law) will ever be revived. The control of national legislation in this country will be for some time beyond the reach of the Republican party, and we believe that it is the desire of a majority of the people that the experiment should be fully tried whether existing laws and an improving sentiment will not cure the evils complained of; so that it is not probable that any legislation having the same object will be proposed again for many years to come, or that it will ever be proposed unless experience shall satisfy the people of the country, without political or sectional division, and with substantial unanimity, that the existing instrumentalities for securing fair elections have failed."

Six years ago the republicans appealed from Congress to the American sense of fairness to meet the suppression of the negro vote. Enforcement by legislation of the national power of the Fifteenth Amendment was tem-

porarily abandoned. The country has waited to see what public sentiment would do.

DEMOCRATIC DISFRANCHISEMENT.

The new nullification has been the answer to this Republican policy. One Southern State after another has boldly completed and made permanent disfranchisement of negroes by constitutional provisions. The others have invented election laws for the same object.

Successive steps have become more radical instead of milder. The North Carolina amendment is far more sweeping than that of Mississippi, with which the movement started. The Goebel law of Kentucky goes far beyond the statutes by which negroes were discriminated against earlier and applies to white men. That is the latest development of the new nullification.

Starting in to remove the alleged danger of black domination these Southern States, in complete control of the Democrats, have found it an easy and a natural step to frame laws which would enable them to eliminate the white Republican vote or considerable portions of it.

MISSISSIPPI'S METHOD.

The Mississippi amendment requires that every voter shall be able to give a reasonable interpretation of any clause in the State constitution which may be read to him. This makes the election officers the sole judges of the voter's qualification under the amendment and they accept the white man's interpretation while they reject the negro's. South Carolina suppresses the negro vote similarly.

It was left for Louisiana to go a long step farther. There the nullifiers make intelligence, the ability to read and write, the test, and provide that the requirement shall only apply to negroes. They especially exempt the white people. They do not say "white," but the constitution reads that it shall not apply to those eligible to vote in 1867 and to their descendants. It might as well read:

"Males above twenty-one who cannot read and write and are black shall not vote; whites who cannot read and write may vote."

North Carolina, by the adoption of its constitutional amendment a few days ago, repeats the Louisiana provision and even goes a little farther.

THE GOEBEL LAW AND ITS PROVISIONS.

Of the Goebel law and its provisions and purpose to centralize election machinery under the complete and exclusive control of the State Democratic government, the country has heard so much that rehearsal would not be profitable. In Missouri this Democratic tendency has shown itself in the Nesbit law, applying the principle of Republican disfranchisement to the two principal cities of that State.

Of this disfranchising movement in Tennessee so much has not been heard, yet the progress made there is alarming. It takes the form of wholesale suppression and perversion of the white vote of East Tennessee. This movement obtained impetus a few years ago when the State government threw out the votes which had elected the Republican ticket and gave the certificates to Democrats.

BOLDNESS OF DEMOCRATIC METHODS.

A letter recently received at Republican national headquarters shows the boldness and extent of the white disfranchisement. The writer says:

"Tennessee, following the suit of other Southern States, enacted elec-

tion laws intended primarily to get rid of the negro. They have served their purpose in this respect, and now the Democratic machine in this State is applying these laws to the white people of East Tennessee with an impudence and boldness that temporarily staggers our people. The laws are being gradually extended until the whole scheme will soon cover the entire State.

"The governor, 300 miles away from us, appoints three county commissioners, one of whom is nominally a Republican. To be plain all such Republicans ought to be in —. These three appoint all of the election officers in the precinct and make final returns. The power to name the county election officers rested with the sheriff for 100 years. The sheriff was a servant of the people elected by the people. The election officers are now either all Democrats or two-thirds Democrats with so-called Republicans chosen by Democrats who control them absolutely. They are Republicans who will turn their backs while the Democrats do their work. This county is 3,000 Republican. Enough ballots at the recent county election were stuffed into the boxes to make the Democratic ticket run 1,500 ahead of Bryan's vote in 1896. Enough Republican votes were taken out to make the Republican poll fall 1,000 short of the McKinley vote. This is fraud on its face. In November the election will be held with the same Democratic election officers who made such results. If we could find enough Federal law left on the statute books to arrest these criminals we would carry this county and perhaps enough other counties to carry Tennessee."

ARKANSAS A LEADER IN DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Arkansas, perhaps, leads the others in the extent to which the Democrats have gone in the disfranchisement of Republicans. This year will furnish a striking object-lesson in the possibilities of the suppression of suffrage in the South.

There is widespread revolt in Arkansas among Democrats against their nominee for Governor. Thousands are inclined to vote against him.

So well fixed is the machine, however, that although the Democrats would furnish the votes to elect the Republican nominee if there could be a fair election, disfranchisement will thwart the will of the better Democrats. A letter from Little Rock calling attention to conditions there says:

"On the 3rd day of September our State election will come off. The Republicans of Arkansas are better organized and are doing better work in the State for their candidate for governor, H. L. Remmell, than has ever been done before in Arkansas. There is a large element of Democrats all over the State, especially in the cities and towns, who will not support the Democratic nominee, but are outspoken in favor of Mr. Remmell. If a fair election could be had we have no doubt that Mr. Remmell would carry the State by 15,000 majority, but our election laws make it impossible to have a fair election. The Goebel law is a modified copy of the Arkansas election law, some of the most drastic provisions of our law being left out of the Goebel law for fear the people of Kentucky would rebel against it. The white counties of this State where really the Democratic majorities have been heretofore, will give Mr. Remmell, the Republican candidate, good majorities in many instances. The black belt which should give him from 20,000 to 25,000 majority on a fair election will probably be returned as giving those majorities to the Democratic candidate."

In his columns of protest against government of the Filipinos without their consent, Mr. Bryan at Indianapolis asked:

"Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States and the twilight of citizenship to be endured by the people of Porto Rico while the thick darkness of perpetual vassalage covers the Philippines?"

HOW BRYAN WILL GET VOTES.

Not a hint of reference did the long speech of acceptance contain to the fact that the States which will give their electoral votes to Bryan without

contest will do so through the disfranchisement of nearly 5,000,000 of people, disfranchisement after the right had once been conferred by most solemn constitutional provisions.

Allen Ripley Foote, editor of Public Policy, has written to the Republican national committee suggesting certain inserts in Mr. Bryan's pledge to make its sentiments and logic apply to conditions in the South. He would have the pledge contain also the words in parentheses:

"If elected I shall convene Congress in extraordinary session as soon as I am inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose: First, to establish a (Republican form of) government (in our Southern States), just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in the island of Cuba; second, to give (the right of suffrage to the negroes), just as we have promised to give (the right of suffrage) to the Cubans; third, to protect the (negroes) from (the white man's domination) while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America, and are, by the Monroe doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba."

MORAL OBLIGATION OF THE NATION.

And it is further suggested that Mr. Bryan's definition of the moral obligation of this nation might also read, to paraphrase what he says of the Filipinos:

"After the (negroes) had aided us in the war (for the preservation of the Union and in the war) against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former masters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious designs of (unscrupulous employers); and since we do not desire to hold them as subjects we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them (the right of suffrage) and guard them against molestation (when exercising that right)."

It is surprising how greatly Mr. Bryan's speech of acceptance can be improved by keeping in mind and including its application to the disfranchised people of the South. The Anti-Imperialistic Congress at Indianapolis last week embraced in its resolutions the negroes and their right to suffrage. Most of the Bryan papers, as the files show, blue penciled the action of the Indianapolis body in reference to disfranchisement in the South. Here is one more extract from Mr. Bryan's speech as it might have been made effective by the insertion of the words in parentheses:

"When (those who are opposed to negro suffrage) are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back on the assertion that (to be deprived of the right of suffrage) is (their) destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates moral precepts and our principles of government. This is a complacent philosophy. It obliterates the distinction between right and wrong and makes individuals and nations helpless victims of circumstances."



DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS

Overruling the Supreme Court—False Premises About the Philippines — Reaffirmed Declarations of 1896 — Reiterated Hostility to National Banks—Government by Injunction Again Denounced—"Immediate"
Free Coinage of Silver Demanded.

The Democratic platform adopted at Kansas City says:

"We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny."

Within thirty days from the adoption of this declaration the Democrats of North Carolina carried by force a Constitutional amendment having for its avowed purpose the disfranchisement of the mass of colored voters of that State, applying the same principle previously made effective in nearly every other Southern State.

"We hold that the Constitution follows the flag and denounce the doctrine that an executive or Congress deriving their existence and powers from the Constitution can exercise lawful authority beyond it, in violation of it."

The President and Congress, by a majority vote of both branches and sustained by the ablest lawyers of the land, hold that the Constitution follows the flag only when the legislative branch of the government extends the instrument over the new territory. That is in accord with historical precedents in the treatment of new territory by the United States.

A parallel to this declaration at Kansas City is found in the action of the Democratic National Convention of 1896 which, in its platform, "overruled" the Supreme Court as, on this latter date, it assumed to reverse the action of Congress. Regarding the income-tax decision, the convention of four years ago held it was "the annulment by the Supreme Court of a law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having sustained constitutional objections which have been overruled by the ablest judges that ever sat on that bench."

THE PORTO RICAN LAW.

"We denounce the Porto Rico law. It imposes upon the people a government without their consent and taxation without representation."

The Porto Rico law was the subject of longer and graver consideration than any other matter of legislation before Congress at the late session. It conferred upon the Porto Ricans a larger measure of home

rule at an earlier period than was ever given to any previous addition of American territory, unless possibly Texas. It treated the Porto Rican people with more liberality than was shown to the residents of the Louisiana Purchase, of New Mexico, of California, of Alaska, of Hawaii or of any of the other annexed portions. As for the tax, the form of burden for the support of their own government easiest for the Porto Ricans to bear was chosen, and the duration of it was limited to a little more than a year with the option given to the Porto Ricans of substituting another form at any time. The manner in which the Porto Ricans have accepted the new order of things best answers the Democratic declaration that this is "the first act of its imperialistic programme."

THE FREEDOM OF CUBA.

"We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people."

Within twenty months from the date of occupation the island from end to end is under the rule of native municipal officials chosen through popular suffrage. The police power is exercised entirely by native organizations. The troops have been reduced from 35,000 to 5,000, and some of the 5,000 are under orders to return to the United States. A few American officials remain at the heads of civil and military bureaus with Cuban assistants and subordinates. The order has been issued for an election of members of a convention to draft a constitution for Cuba. The time of the election has been set. There is only satisfaction expressed by Cubans at the manner in which the United States is keeping its pledge.

THE PHILIPPINE POLICY.

"We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy. It has involved the republic in unnecessary war."

Historical evidence is conclusive to all fair-minded citizens that hostilities were begun by a general attack upon the American troops holding Manila, against the purpose of Aguinaldo, avowed in writing, to loot that great city.

"We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos: first, a stable form of government."

That declaration was made by proclamation before hostilities began, and was coupled with the pledge of the largest possible measure of home rule.

"Second, independence."

Such a declaration could only be made by Congress. There has been no time when such action would have been indorsed by a majority of the people of the United States, and there are no indications that the majority will favor it.

"Third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central America and South America."

It is for the American people to say whether this Government shall undertake the extension of the Monroe doctrine to Asia in behalf of an independent country there, with all that such application of the doctrine may imply in the way of force.

"MILITARISM."

"We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home."

The United States has just passed through a foreign war and is closing up an insurrection in a part of the Philippines, while maintaining peace and good order until Cuba can establish her own government, and at the same time participating with other civilized nations in the rescue of American officials and American missionaries from massacre in China. The fulfillment of the duty of the government in China, in the Philippines, in Cuba, and the maintenance of the military establishment on a peace footing at home are being accomplished with an army of less than 100,000 men. There is no proposition or thought to go beyond this limit. An army of 100,000 men in proportion to the population and growth is smaller than the army of 25,000 was for more than a generation after it was established. There is no militarism in this country, nor any tendency in that direction. There cannot be. The Constitution says: "Congress shall have power to raise and support armies, but no appropriation for that use shall be for a longer term than two years."

"The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished."

For the hypocrisy of this let the treatment by Republican States and Legislatures of the militia be compared with that of Democratic States.

"We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, state and city against private monopoly in every form."

The only trust regulations enacted by Congress have been when the Republicans were in power. As to States, here again the records of Republican and Democratic Legislatures may be compared profitably.

"We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure."

The tariff legislation by Democrats which preceded the present administration was dictated by corporations to such an extent that it was officially denounced by the Democratic President and was a scandal to honest Democrats.

"We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896."

These principles were enunciated as follows:

1. **"Maintenance of the rights of the States."**
2. **"The first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit, and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver dollar unit."**
3. **"We are unalterably opposed to gold monometallism."**
4. **"We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."**
5. **"We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private."**
6. **"We are opposed to surrendering to the holders of obligations of the United States, the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin."**
7. **"We demand that the power to issue money be taken from the National banks."**

8. "We denounce as disturbing to business the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law."

9. "Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws."

10. "The most efficient way to protect American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor."

11. "We denounce the profligate waste of money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation."

12. "We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all of the Constitutional power to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government."

13. "We especially object to government by injunction, as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression."

14. "We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad Funding bill, and we denounce the effort of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure."

15. "Sympathy to the people of Cuba."

16. "Enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease or disability before enlistment."

17. "Opposed to life tenure in the public service."

18. "No man should be eligible to a third term of the Presidential office."

19. "Consolidation of our leading railroad systems and formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal government of those arteries of commerce."

20. "Admission of the Territories."

21. "Improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways."

Some of the "principles" of 1896 were reaffirmed and indorsed without specific mention. Others were reiterated in the former language or amplified. The convention at Kansas City declared for—

"The immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the consent of any other nation."

The form adopted in 1896 was "without the aid or consent of any other nation."

"We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money."

In this form the Kansas City convention repeated its hostility to national banks, demanding "the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as this government's paper (greenbacks) or silver certificates can be substituted for them."

"We are opposed to government by injunction."

This was repeated from the Chicago platform, although the question has been passed upon by the United States Supreme Court.

"We earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing in Asia."

This is supposed to be aimed at the policy of an open door for trade in China, and against the policy of the Republican party to maintain the integrity of the Chinese Empire as against encroachments of European Powers.



A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenues has been written in public law. We have lower interest and higher wages; more money and fewer mortgages. The world's markets have been opened to American products, which go now where they have never gone before.—*William McKinley.*

EFFECT OF PROTECTIVE AND FREE TRADE TARIFFS UPON MANUFACTURERS AND WAGE-EARNERS.

The census of 1890 showed the number of employes in the manufacturing industries of the United States in that year to be 4,712,622, against 2,732,595 in 1880, an increase of 1,980,000, or nearly 75 per cent., and the wages in 1890 were \$2,283,216,529, against \$947,953,795, an increase of \$1,335,000,000, or 141 per cent. It is particularly interesting to note that the per cent. of increase in wages paid in 1890 was nearly double the per cent. of increase in number of persons employed, thus showing an average increase in the individual earnings of employes during the decade, as well as a great increase in the number employed, while the value of the products manufactured was in 1890 \$9,437,283, against \$5,369,579,199 in 1880—an increase of \$3,957,858,084, or nearly 75 per cent. The population during the same period increased 25 per cent., while manufactures increased 75 per cent., thus indicating that the manufacturers were in 1890 supplying a much larger proportion of the consumption of the people of the United States than in 1880. During the same time importations of articles manufactured ready for consumption increased only \$24,000,000, or 17.5 per cent., while population was increasing 25 per cent., thus indicating that during the decade for which we have accurate figures of both domestic manufactures and imports the manufacturers of the United States rapidly increased the proportion which they were supplying of the home consumption of manufactured goods.

INCREASED IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURERS' MATERIALS.

Manufacturers' materials imported in 1890 amounted to \$178,435,512, or 23 per cent. of the total importations, while in the fiscal year 1900 the importations of this same class amount to \$310,000,000 and form 35.8 per cent. of the total importations. It is thus apparent that our manufacturers are to-day drawing from abroad fully twice as much material for use in manufacturing as they did a decade ago, since the actual value is nearly double that of 1890. It is a well-known fact that prices of manufacturers' materials are now much less than those of a decade ago and that a given number of dollars now represents a larger quantity than at that time. It is especially gratifying to note that this class of material, that required by manufacturers, now forms nearly 36 per cent. of the total imports, against 23 per cent. in 1890.

INCREASED EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.

In the fiscal year 1890 exports of domestic manufactures amounted to but \$151,000,000, and in the fiscal year 1900 to \$425,000,000—an increase of nearly 200 per cent.

DECREASED IMPORTS OF MANUFACTURES.

Meantime, importation of manufactures has been greatly reduced, having been, in 1890, \$346,678,654, and forming 44.8 per cent. of the total imports, while in 1899 it was but \$259,862,721 and formed but 37.9 per cent. of the total imports.

Thus, in the study of imports of manufacturers' materials and the imports and exports of manufactured goods all the available data show a phenomenal increase in our manufacturing industries during the decade 1890-1900.

There was an increase of nearly 100 per cent. in imports of manufacturers' materials; second, an increase of 180 per cent. in the exports of manufactured goods, and third, a decrease of 25 per cent. in the imports of manufactured goods.

EFFECT OF WILSON TARIFF ON MANUFACTURERS AND THEIR EMPLOYEES.

Despite the claim of the supporters of the Wilson law, that their measure would especially benefit manufacturers by giving them free raw material, the importations of raw materials in the years ending June 30, 1895, 1896, 1897, all of which were under the low tariff, averaged less than those of the fiscal year 1893, all of which was under the McKinley protective tariff and most of it under President Harrison. The years ending June 30, 1899 and 1900, under the Dingley law, show a larger importation than that of any year under the Wilson low tariff, the importation of raw material in the year 1900 being 50 per cent. greater than the annual average importation of raw material under the Wilson law, and the share which raw material formed of the total imports was, in the year 1900, 36 per cent., against an average of 26 per cent. during the entire period that the Wilson law was in operation.

The exports of manufactures in the three fiscal years during which the Wilson law was in operation averaged \$230,000,000 per annum, while for the year 1900, as already indicated, they were \$425,000,000.

ANOTHER SIGN OF PROSPERITY.

Exports of manufactures exceeded the imports of manufactures in the fiscal year 1898, both of which were under the Dingley tariff law, while in preceding years imports of manufactures had always exceeded exports of that class of merchandise, the reversed condition being due to the steady reduction of imports and the steady increase of exports of manufactured goods

GROWTH IN MANUFACTURING AS INDICATED BY COAL CONSUMPTION.

The coal production of the United Kingdom in thirty years, during which that country has been under a low tariff, only increased 115,000,000 tons to 226,000,000 tons, or a little less than 100 per cent., while Germany, which adopted a protective tariff about the middle of the period under consideration, has increased her coal output from 36,000,000 tons to 144,000,000 tons—a growth of 300 per cent. France, also a protection country, increased her output from 14,697,686 tons in 1868 to 35,748,644 tons in 1898, an increase of 150 per cent., while the United States, which has been constantly under a protective tariff law during that period (with the exception of three years), increased her output from 31,648,960 tons in 1868 to 258,539,650 tons in 1899—an increase of over 700 per cent. It must be remembered, in addition to this, that the United States has consumed in her factories, on her railways, and among her people practically all of this enormous increase, our exports of coal averaging less than 3 per cent. of our total production, while Great Britain has been for years a large exporter of coal.

EFFECT OF THE DEMOCRATIC LOW TARIFF ON THE COAL INDUSTRY.

The production of coal in 1894, the year in which the low tariff was enacted, fell to 170,000,000 tons as against 182,000,000 in the preceding year, and the value of the product fell from \$208,000,000 in 1893 to \$186,000,000 in 1894, a loss in a single year of \$22,000,000 in this one article in which labor forms so important a part of its value.

In 1891, under protection and the activity of the great industries of the country, the average number of days in which the men in the coal mines of the United States were employed was 223. In 1893, the year in which a low-tariff President and Congress came into power, the number of days in which the miners were employed dropped to 201, and in 1894 dropped again to 178;

while in 1897, the last year of the Wilson tariff, the number was but 179, a reduction of 20 per cent. in the time in which they were employed as compared with 1891. The figures for 1898 show a marked increase in the number of days employed and an increase of 38,000 men as compared with 1893; while it is apparent that the figures for 1899 will, when completed, show a much larger increase, since the product in 1899 was 39,000,000 tons greater than in 1898, and 88,000,000 greater than in 1894, an increase of nearly 50 per cent. in production and 39 per cent. in value of the product.

IRON AND STEEL MANUFACTURE UNDER PROTECTION.

Pig-iron production in the United States has increased from 3,835,191 tons in 1880 to 13,620,703 tons in 1899, which year placed the United States at the head of the iron and steel producing nations of the world. The pig-iron production of 1892 was 9,157,000 tons. In 1893, the year of the inauguration of Democracy and low tariff, it fell to 7,124,000 tons; in 1894 to 6,657,000 tons, and in 1896 was but 8,623,000 tons. The year 1897, in which protection was again adopted, showed an increase to 9,652,680 tons, and in 1899 an increase to 13,620,703 tons. Thus the fall from the last year of President Harrison to 1894, the year in which the low tariff was enacted, was 2,499,622 tons, or 27 per cent., while the increase of 1899 over 1896, the last full year under a low tariff, was 4,997,576 tons, or 57 per cent.

The average annual price of steel rails during the period of protection from 1880 to 1893 fell from \$67.50, in 1880, to \$28.12, in 1893. In 1894, the year in which the low tariff was adopted, there was a fall of \$4 per ton, but the price returned to \$28 in 1896—dropping to \$18.75 in 1897, the year in which the protective tariff was again adopted, \$17.62 in 1898, and returned in 1899 to \$28.12, the figure at which it stood in 1893 and 1896.

COMPARISON WITH FREE-TRADE ENGLAND.

Great Britain, whose fame as a producer of iron and steel is world-wide, has only increased her output from 5,963,515 tons in 1870 to 9,305,319 tons in 1899, an increase of 56 per cent. France under a protective tariff, has increased her output during the same time from 1,178,114 tons to 2,567,388 tons, an increase of 117 per cent., and Russia, also a protection country, has increased her output from 359,531 tons in 1870 to 2,222,469 in 1898, an increase of 520 per cent. Germany, under vigorous protection, has increased her output of pig iron from 1,391,124 tons in 1870 to 8,142,017 tons in 1899, an increase of 485 per cent., while the United States, with a thoroughly protective tariff, increased her output from 1,665,179 tons in 1870 to 13,620,703 tons, in 1899, a gain of 11,956,000 tons, or 718 per cent.

TIN PLATE—HOME MANUFACTURES INCREASED, IMPORTS DECREASED, AND PRICES REDUCED BY PROTECTION.

American importation of tin plate, before the establishment of the protective duty, ranged in the vicinity of 650,000,000 pounds, the amount of money sent annually abroad for this article being over \$20,000,000. The McKinley law, which went into effect October 1, 1890, placed a thoroughly protective duty on tin plate, of which there were no manufactures in this country at that time. By 1892 the production amounted to over 13,000,000 pounds, by 1894 to 139,000,000 pounds, by 1896 to 307,000,000 pounds by 1898 to 681,000,000 pounds, and in 1899 to 791,000,000, or more than was ever imported in a single year except that of 1891, in which there was an excessive importation in order to evade the duties established by the McKinley Act. Meantime importations have fallen until they amounted to but 108,000,000 pounds in 1899, and the amount of money sent abroad for this article was but \$2,613,000, against \$21,222,653 in 1899.

RECENT INCREASE IN PRICE OF TIN PLATE MUCH LESS THAN IN THAT OF THE RAW MATERIAL USED.

The price of tin plate in 1893, the second year of production under the protective tariff, was \$5.04 per box; it fell steadily year by year until it

reached \$3.52 per box in 1896, a reduction of 30 per cent. In 1899 the average price was \$4.51 per box, and on April 20, 1900, \$4.84 per box. This increase from \$3.52 per box in 1896 to \$4.85 in 1900 led to a charge that the increase was an arbitrary one caused by a combination of the tin-plate manufacturers of the country. Straits tin increased from 13.3 cents per pound in New York in 1896 to 31 cents in 1900, the period in which the advance in tin plate occurred, while the price of steel billets increased from \$15.08 per ton in 1897 to \$37 on April 20, 1900, thus showing an increase of more than 125 per cent. on the articles entering into the manufacture of tin plate, while the advance in the price of the finished article was but 38 per cent.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

The number of bales of cotton taken by Northern mills increased from 1,759,000 in 1883 to 2,217,000 in 1889, and by Southern mills from 313,000 in 1883 to 1,415,000 in 1899, making a total increase from 2,072,000 to 3,632,000. Meantime the exportations of manufactures of cotton increased from \$13,721,605 in 1883 to \$23,566,914 in 1899, and imports fell from \$38,036,044 in 1883 to \$32,054,434 in 1899. An important fact as to the effect of the low tariff upon the manufacturing industries is shown by a study of the consumption of cotton by the mills of the United States year by year during that part of the period under consideration. In 1892, the last year under President Harrison, the number of bales taken by the mills of the United States was 2,856,000. In 1893 the number dropped to 2,375,000 and in 1894 to 2,291,000. In 1896 the number was 2,505,000, and in 1898, the first full year under the Dingley protective tariff, it increased to 3,465,000, and in 1899 was 3,632,000, an increase of 60 per cent. in 1899 as compared with 1894. The larger consumption of cotton by mills in the United States of course means a larger employment of labor.

LABOR AND CAPITAL

Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, Shows How Labor Fares Under Large Industrial Corporations.

True to its record for mendacity the Democratic party has raised a hullabaloo on the question of "trusts," and large industrial combinations are characterized as "labor crushers" and "grinding monopolies."

But as is usual with the calamity shrieks of the Democratic party an analysis of the real condition disproves these false assertions and shows conclusively that so far as injury to the worker is concerned, the "trusts," the "labor crushers," and the "grinding monopolies" are a bugaboo.

An investigation recently made by the Department of Labor, the result of which is given in Bulletin No. 29, of July, 1900, demonstrates that not only have the number of employees largely increased and wages advanced, but that the increase in wages paid by combinations for both skilled and unskilled labor was much greater than the increase in private companies; the unskilled laborers receiving an average gain of 19.39 per cent in the combinations as against 16.97 per cent in the private companies; while skilled labor received an average increase of 13.71 per cent

from the "trusts," while only receiving an increase of 7.25 per cent in wages from the private companies.

The following table presents a summary of the reports of 13 industrial combinations, ten of them formed in 1898 or 1899, showing the number and per cent of skilled and unskilled employees under each classified rate of wages before and after the formation of the "trusts":

Rate of wages paid per week.	Skilled Laborers.				Unskilled Laborers.			
	Under uniting companies.		Under com- bination.		Under uniting companies.		Under com- bination.	
	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.	Num- ber.	Per cent.
Under \$5.....	1,477	4.39	1,429	3.55	4,902	11.23	6,959	12.84
\$5 or under \$6.....	2,342	6.96	2,252	5.60	2,720	6.23	2,394	4.42
\$6 or under \$7.....	2,351	6.99	2,118	5.27	5,332	12.21	5,195	9.58
\$7 or under \$8.....	1,256	3.74	1,285	3.20	12,638	28.94	5,389	9.94
\$8 or under \$9....	924	2.75	751	1.87	7,717	17.67	13,477	24.86
\$9 or under \$10....	1,565	4.65	1,514	3.76	7,310	16.74	11,258	20.77
\$10 or under \$15....	14,122	41.98	14,344	35.67	2,971	6.80	9,371	17.28
\$15 or under \$20....	4,839	14.39	8,108	20.16	77	.18	171	.31
\$20 or under \$25....	1,606	4.78	2,807	6.98	2	(a)	.....	.....
\$25 or under \$30....	1,245	3.70	1,077	2.68	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$30 or under \$35....	933	2.77	1,562	3.88	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$35 or under \$40....	92	.27	1,332	3.31	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$40 or under \$45....	694	2.06	281	.70	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$45 or under \$50....	63	.19	970	2.41	.....	.....	.....	.....
\$50 or over.....	128	.38	387	.96	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	33,637	100.00	40,217	100.00	43,669	100.00	54,214	100.00

These figures show a consistent decrease in the number of laborers of the different grades up to \$15.00 per week, while from \$15.00 to \$20.00, and from \$20.00 to \$25.00, the number is practically double when employed by combinations of capital as compared with the number employed at a like rate by the same companies operating independently. The number receiving from \$25.00 to \$30.00 per week decreased slightly, while those paid

from \$30.00 to \$35.00 and from \$35.00 to \$40.00, show for the first a substantial, and for the latter an extraordinary increase.

For unskilled laborers the number receiving less than \$5.00 per week has considerably increased, explained, says the Bulletin, by the fact that "the same combination is now putting out its products in a form which requires a great many low-paid employees for packing, wrapping, and labeling. This tends to reduce the average wages of unskilled laborers."

Next are the figures showing the actual money paid for fourteen combinations. These tell the same story:

AVERAGE ANNUAL WAGES OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED EMPLOYEES OF VARIOUS CLASSES BEFORE AND AFTER THE FORMATION OF THE COMBINATIONS AND THE PER CENT OF INCREASE OR DECREASE, FOR 14 COMBINATIONS.

Marginal Number.	Skilled Laborers.			Unskilled Laborers.		
	Under uniting companies.	Under combination.	Per cent of increase or decrease.	Under uniting companies.	Under combination.	Per cent. of increase or decrease
1	\$609	\$653	+ 7.22	\$428	\$433	+ 1.17
2	661	627	- 5.14	435	413	- 5.06
3	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
4	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
5	623	713	+14.45	350	402	+14.86
6	881	876	- .57	471	496	+ 5.31
7	703	766	+ 8.96	497	534	+ 7.44
8	586	601	+ 2.56	381	405	+ 6.30
9	540	547	+ 1.30	214	217	+ 1.40
10	b439	b524	+19.36	b180	b233	+29.44
11	b355	b409	+15.21	b170	b183	+ 7.65
12	656	821	+25.15	149	275	+84.56
13	b159	b162	+ 1.89	b203	b203	.00
14	647	837	+29.37	404	517	+27.97

(a) Not reported. b Average wages for 6 months.

This table shows, for skilled laborers, an increase in wages by 10 combinations and a decrease by 2, and for unskilled laborers an increase by 11 and a decrease by but 1.

THE FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS THE NUMBER OF SKILLED AND UNSKILLED EMPLOYEES IN 3 PRIVATE COMPANIES PAID EACH CLASSIFIED RATE OF WAGES PER WEEK, 1897 AND 1899.

Rate of wages paid per week.	Skilled Laborers.		Unskilled Laborers.	
	1897	1899	1897	1899
Under \$5			275	375
\$5 or under \$6			116	78
\$6 or under \$7			771	493
\$7 or under \$8			1,981	798
\$8 or under \$9			3,172	3,829
\$9 or under \$10	1,950	3,056	3,641	1,350
\$10 or under \$15	5,097	7,106	515	7,442
\$15 or under \$20	2,638	3,695	128	265
\$20 or under \$25	635	832		
\$25 or under \$30	298	368		
\$30 or under \$35	227	382		
\$35 or under \$40	56	84		
\$40 or under \$45	36	66		
\$45 or under \$50	32	53		
\$50 or over	38	57		
Total	11,007	15,699	10,599	14,630

While an examination of this table shows the same tendency to increased wages and employment, the increase is not nearly so marked as in the cases of the combinations.

These figures, gathered by Mr. Carroll D. Wright, the efficient Commissioner of Labor, who has been at the head of that Bureau through five successive National Administrations, and whose reports are everywhere conceded the highest credence, show beyond cavil that the "trust" monster which the Democratic party has conjured up is, so far at least as the wage-earner is concerned, neither more nor less than a political scarecrow.

I congratulate my countrymen upon the strong national sentiment which finds expression in every part of our common country.—*William McKinley.*

“PARAMOUNT ISSUES”

DEMOCRATS INVENT A NEW ONE EVERY FOUR YEARS
TO SAVE THE ENDANGERED REPUBLIC—
PARALLEL OF 1864 AND 1890.

The “Paramount Issue” is not a new thing with the Democratic party. It is of quadrennial production. The cry of impending danger to the foundations of the Republic has been raised regularly every four years. Each time the assumed cause has been something different from the preceding. Each time the alarm has been proved by the course of events to be false.

As early as 1864, with the successful conclusion of the Civil War not nine months away, the Democracy in national convention declared the war a failure.

They hereby declare, the platform read, that they consider that the administration of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a Government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

“After four years of failure to restore the Union,” this platform of August, 1864, said, “by the experiment of war, during which under the pretense of a military necessity or war-power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities.”

THIS YEAR’S “PARAMOUNT ISSUE.”

Strikingly like this sentiment and this language reads the Kansas City platform defining the “paramount issue” of 1900.

“The burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign,” the platform of Kansas City says.

"We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration," it further declares. "It has involved the Republic in unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of our noblest sons and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government."

The war against Secession in 1864 was "false and un-American."

The war to sustain United States authority among the Filipinos in 1900 is one of "criminal aggression."

DEMOCRACY'S FAVORITE EXPRESSION.

"Paramount issue" is a favorite expression with the Democratic party. Four years ago the party in convention at Chicago recognized that the money question was "paramount to all others."

In 1896 the thing that was "un-American" was the gold standard.

"It is not only un-American but anti-American," the Democratic platform declared, "and it can be fastened upon the United States only by the stifling of that spirit of love and liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776 and won it in the war of the Revolution."

In 1868 the Democratic party threw another paramount issue fit. Its platform, "recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come," nevertheless arraigned the Republican party "for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career."

"Under its repeated assaults" the Democratic platform of 1868 proceeded, "the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution."

MORE "PARAMOUNT ISSUES."

The Republican party did elect its President then and subsequently and the Democratic party survived to discover more "paramount issues."

In 1872 "impartial suffrage" was declared to be one of the "vital principles" of the Democratic party.

The most space in the platform, however, was given to the necessity of civil service reform. The spoils system was the great menace to the Government. This plank is worthy of reproduction. It read:

"The civil service of the government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition and object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican government. We therefore regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour; that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claim to public employment; that the offices of the government

cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage, and that public station become again a post of honor. To this end it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for re-election."

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM PARAMOUNT.

Four years later, in 1876, there was a slight echo of the "paramount issue" of civil service reform when the party in convention declared that government positions should be "held for fidelity in the public employ."

Later when the platform of 1872 regarding re-election of a President had been nullified by two re-nominations and the re-election of Cleveland, the Democratic party solemnly declared "we are opposed to life tenure in the public service." It also declared for such administration as will "afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness." And this position was reaffirmed at Kansas City. From the illustration it appears that the party not only shelves "paramount issues" but occasionally reverses them.

"Centralism" was the "paramount issue" in 1876. Democratic success, it was declared, was the only thing which could save the Union "from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet bag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of hard times."

SOUTHERN ELECTIONS PARAMOUNT.

Centralism continued. It was scarcely referred to in the Democratic platform of 1880, when it was called "centralizationism." Interference with elections in the South had become the new "paramount issue."

"The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States." So the Democratic party virtuously proclaimed in 1880. Again the Republic was in danger, as per the following bill of particulars.

"The existing administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insult the people and imperil their institutions. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of the usurper by billeting villains upon the people."

THE "TARIFF REFORM" PARAMOUNTCY.

In 1884, the year of Democratic success, tariff reform was brought forward. The Democratic platform said:

"We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes, which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and of just reward."

The "paramount issue" was a change and the country got it. This same Democratic platform declared: "We believe in a free ballot and a fair count." To this was added:

"Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious and political."

SUPPRESSING NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

And then began the movement resulting in the adoption of state constitutional amendments in the South to suppress negro suffrage, in the framing of election laws to nullify Republican suffrage, white or black, in Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri.

Tariff reduction was the "paramount issue" in the platform of 1888 and on it the Democratic party went out of power.

In 1892 the "paramount issue" was tariff reform in more pronounced form.

"We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the people for the benefit of the few," the platform declared.

"We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purposes of revenue only."

Then came the "paramount issue" of 16 to 1, and now the "paramount issue" of imperialism.

Of the long list of "paramount issues" a single one has been given trial by the nation. It has been repudiated with an emphasis that has to all appearances shelved it forever.



"A tariff which protects American labor and industry and provides ample revenues has been written in public law."—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

FAT AND LEAN YEARS FOR LABOR.

Prosperity of American Wage-Earners Shown by Official State Investigations.

Prosperity Always Under Protection.

During recent years a number of States, particularly those having considerable manufacturing interests, have published from year to year, through their bureaus of labor statistics, information showing the number of persons employed in leading industries, the total wages paid employees, the value of products, etc.

In every case where these facts have been published for a sufficiently long time, they show a marked difference between the years of Democratic and those of Republican administrations. In the former case a decided falling off was experienced in business activity, number of persons employed, total wages paid, etc., while during the Harrison and McKinley administrations there were increases all along the line.

The most complete statistics are those published by the State of Massachusetts. They show an increase, during each year of Republican adminis-

trations, in the value of product, total wages paid and total persons employed in the leading manufacturing establishments of the State. During the four years from 1888 to 1892 (Harrison's administration) there was a total increase of \$73,941,880 in the value of the product, \$18,244,474 in the total wages paid, and 27,364 in the number of persons employed in the establishments reporting for those years.

Then came the four years of Cleveland's administration with its tariff and other "reforms," and there is quite a different story to tell. From 1892 to 1896 there was a decided decrease in each year but one in each of these items. Subtracting the increase in 1894 from the total decrease during the other three years, there was a net decrease of \$96,916,006 in the value of products; \$4,085,252 in the total wages paid, and 16,687 in the number of persons employed.

The Return of Prosperity.

In 1897 and 1898 came the return of prosperity during McKinley's administration. Once more there were increases all along the line. During these two years there was a total increase of \$45,300,054 in the value of the products, an increase of \$4,219,781 in the total wages paid and of 14,215 in the number of persons employed.

The New York State Labor Bureau shows the total number of persons employed and total wages paid in 66 selected establishments representing the leading industries of the State during each of the nine years from 1891 to 1899. In this report, as in the case of the Massachusetts statistics, the four years of Democratic administration, namely the fiscal years ending May 31, 1894 and 1895, and June 30, 1896 and 1897, stand out in striking contrast with the prosperous years of the McKinley and Dingley tariffs. There was a steady increase during each year of Harrison's and McKinley's administrations, both in the number of persons employed and total wages paid, and a decline in those items during Cleveland's regime. For the year ending June 30, 1899, which was the most prosperous year on record in the United States, the increase in the employment for labor was nearly 70 per cent as contrasted with 1894, the first year of unrestricted free-trade tariff legislation. During the last two years of the Harrison and the first two years of the McKinley administration the men in the 66 New York establishments received \$44,000,000 in wages. During Cleveland's four years they received only \$36,000,000.

Hardly Anybody Idle Last Year.

The New York Labor Bureau report further shows the undoubted prosperity of 1899 in its statistics of unemployment. At the end of December, 1898, 27.2 per cent of the working people in all trades were reported unem-

ployed. At the end of March, 1899, the unemployed amounted to 18.6 per cent. At the end of June it decreased to 10.9 per cent, and at the end of September to 4.7 per cent.

Commenting on this remarkable exhibit, the New York World, a Democratic paper, says: "How much these simple figures mean of prosperity! How much they mean of happiness in the homelives of hundreds of thousands! How much they mean of welfare for the country. What a warning they hold for politicians who would start another 'calamity campaign.'"

But there are still other States to corroborate this interesting statistical story.

Less Work under Democracy.

The State of Pennsylvania in its annual report on industrial statistics for 1898 published a series of tables consisting of comparative statistics for 358 identical establishments, representing 47 industries, for the years 1892 to 1898. These tables show that in the State of Pennsylvania, as in the other two States mentioned, there was a decided decline in business activity as soon as the effects of the Cleveland administration could be felt. During the first year of "tariff reform," there was a decrease of 10.62 per cent in the number of persons employed, 15.48 per cent in the total wages, 5.43 per cent in the average wages paid (which in the following year were still further reduced 10.97 per cent) and 16.11 per cent in the value of the products. This decided decline in business continued during the second and fourth years of Cleveland's administration.

Better Times under McKinley.

In 1897, however, we come to the first year of President McKinley's administration, and although the effects of a Republican administration could not wholly be felt, there was already a turn for the better during that year. Already the number of employees, the aggregate wages paid and the value of product showed a slight increase over the preceding year, which increases became very marked in 1898, being accompanied also by an increase in the average wages of all employees. In 1899 a marked increase was shown in all lines. In the rolled iron and steel industry there was an increase of 30 per cent in the number of men employed, compared with 1896, and 64 per cent in the wages paid; in pig iron 31 per cent increase in men employed and 63 per cent in wages paid; in tin plate works an increase of 140 per cent in men employed, and 182 per cent in wages paid.

The statistics of the Iowa and Wisconsin bureaus of labor likewise show a decided decline in business activity during the four years of Cleveland's administration, followed by a rapid recovery since that time. The Commissioner of Labor of Iowa in a recent communication reports an increase of at

least 5 per cent in 1899 as compared with the preceding year, which also showed a considerable increase over the last year of Cleveland's administration.

Prosperity Among Railroad Employees.

There is yet another and an important source which corroborates the above-mentioned facts, namely, the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The report on "Statistics of Railways," published in 1899 by this Commission, contains a comparative summary of the average daily compensation and the total number of railway employees in the United States for the years ending June 30, 1892, to 1898. These tables show that during the two years ending June 30, 1893, before the effects of the Cleveland administration could be felt, there was a rise in the average wages paid and an increase each year in the number of persons employed in almost every class of railway employees.

During each of the four years following, or the years ending June 30, 1894, 1895, 1896 and 1897, the wages were lower in almost every class, and fewer persons were employed than during the last year of Harrison's administration. In fact, from June 30, 1893, to June 30, 1894, there was a decline of *nearly 100,000* in the number of railway employees.

During 1898 the return of prosperity was apparent all along the line. In almost every occupation there was an increase in average earnings over the preceding years, and the number of railway employees in the United States for the first time exceeded the number during the last year of Harrison's administration.

There were over 50,000 more persons employed during the first year of McKinley's administration than during the last year of Cleveland's administration.

THE REPORT OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION FOR 1899 SHOWS A TOTAL OF 928,924 RAILROAD EMPLOYEES ON JUNE 30, 1899. THIS IS AN INCREASE OF 105,448 DURING THE TWO YEARS OF McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION, AS COMPARED WITH A DECLINE OF 50,126 DURING THAT OF EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

"We have passed from a bond issuing to a bond paying nation; from a nation of borrowers to a nation of lenders; from a deficiency in revenue to a surplus; from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment."—*William McKinley.*

Bryan's Predictions False

As shown by

The Record of Prosperity, Prices and Values

IN view of the fact that Mr. Bryan is starting out with a new series of assertions, coupled with a reiteration of most of his old ones, it is interesting to examine some of those made four years ago and see whether the developments since they were made prove that they were accurate or otherwise. The quotations from his speeches which follow are taken from his own book, "The First Battle," and may therefore be accepted as accurate.

"Prices Certain to Fall Under a Gold Standard."

"If we have the Gold Standard prices are as certain to fall as the stone which is thrown into the air."—*At Newton, Ia., August 8, 1896.*

When Mr. Bryan made this assertion on August 8, 1896, the highest price of wheat in New York was, as shown by the official reports of the Bureau of Statistics, 68 cents per bushel. On June 21, 1900, the highest price of the same grade in the same market, was 92½ cents per bushel.

The highest price of corn on August 8, 1896, was 30½ cents per bushel and on June 21, 1900, 47½ cents per bushel.

Oats at the date of the above statement, were in the same market, 23¼ cents per bushel and on June 21, 1900, 28½ cents per bushel.

Lard, at the date mentioned, was in the New York market, 3½ cents per pound, and on June 21, 1900, 6.9 cents per pound, or practically double.

Mess pork on August 8, 1896, was \$8.75 per barrel, and on June 21, 1900, \$12.50 per barrel.

Beef, family, in the New York markets at the date of Mr. Bryan's nomination, was \$9.00 per barrel, on June 21, 1900, \$12.00 per barrel.

Ohio XX wool on August 8, 1896, the date of the above assertion, was in the New York market, 17 cents per pound, on June 1, 1900, it was 30½ cents per pound.

Silver at the date of Mr. Bryan's above assertion, was in the New York market and the markets of the world, 69.1 cents per ounce, and on June 23, 1900, 60.9 cents per ounce.

Thus it appears that instead of prices being "As certain to fall as the stone which is thrown into the air," the prices of all articles of farm produce have risen, and apparently the only article which has fallen in price is silver.

"Prices Must Fall Under the Scramble for Gold."

"So long as the scramble for gold continues, prices must fall, and a general fall in prices is but another definition for hard times."—*Speech of Acceptance at Madison Square Garden.*

Presumably the "scramble for gold" has continued in view of the fact that countries whose aggregate population is nearly 500,000,000 have adopted the gold standard since this statement was made. Yet, as shown by the opening paragraph of this pamphlet, prices instead of falling, have advanced in every case except that of silver.

Railroad Rates and Falling Prices.

"Railroad rates have not been reduced to keep pace with falling prices. The farmer has thus found it more and more difficult to live. Has he not a just complaint against the Gold Standard?"—*Speech at Madison Square Garden.*

The average annual price of wheat per bushel, as shown by the official reports of the Department of Agriculture, was 94.4 cents in 1870; and in 1899, the latest year for which the annual average can be obtained, was, according to the same authority, 58.4 cents, a fall of 38 per cent.

The official reports of the New York Produce Exchange show that the freight rates on wheat from Chicago to New York by lake and rail and canal averaged 17.11 cents per bushel in 1870, and 6.65 cents in 1899, a fall of 60 per cent. In other articles of farm production the relative fall in freight rates has been equally in proportion to prices.

"The Crusade Against Silver Must Lower the Value of Other Property."

"Any legislation which lessens the world's stock of standard money, increases the exchangeable value of the dollar; therefore the crusade against silver must inevitably raise the purchasing power of money and lower the money value of all other forms of property."—*From Madison Square Garden Speech, accepting nomination.*

What Mr. Bryan terms the "crusade against silver" has continued since 1896. Japan, with 40,000,000 population, has adopted the gold standard, as have also Russia, with 125,000,000 population and India with 300,000,000. Yet, instead of "the money value of all other forms of property" being lowered, there has been a general increase, notably in the United States.

The value of sheep in the United States in 1896, was \$65,167,735 and on January 1, 1900, \$122,665,913, or double the value at the date of Mr. Bryan's announcement, that "the crusade against silver must lower the money value of all other forms of property."

Taking into consideration all farm animals, their value in 1896 was \$1,727,926,084, and on January 1, 1900, \$2,212,756,578, a gain of practically \$500,000,000 in value of the animals on farms during the so-called "crusade against silver."

Failures and the Gold Standard.

"It is only necessary to note the increased number of failures in order to know that a gold standard is ruinous to merchants and manufacturers."—*Speech at Madison Square Garden.*

Dun's Review, from which Mr. Bryan was fond of quoting on that occasion, shows that, in the year in which this utterance was made, the number of failures in the United States was 15,088 and the liabilities, \$226,096,834. In 1899 the number of failures was 9,337 and the amount of liabilities, \$90,879,889, or but 40 per cent. of the liabilities of the year 1896.

Permanent Investments and the Gold Standard.

"Those who hold as permanent investment the stock of railroads and of other enterprises are injured by a gold standard. The rising dollar destroys the earning power of these enterprises without reducing their liabilities and as dividends cannot be paid until salaries and fixed charges have been satisfied, the stockholders must bear the burden."—*Speech at Madison Square Garden.*

The gold standard has continued since this assertion was made. Yet Poor's Manual shows that the dividends paid on railway stocks in 1896 were but \$81,528,154, while they were \$94,937,526 in 1898, an increase of \$13,500,000 over the year in which this assertion was uttered.

The Dollar and the Payment of Debts.

"What shall it profit us if in trying to raise our credit by increasing the purchasing power of our dollar, we destroy our ability to pay the debts already contracted by lowering the purchasing power of the products with which those debts must be paid?"—*Speech at Madison Square Garden.*

The products with which those debts must be paid are the articles of farm production, products of the mine and forest, and labor. The official reports of the Bureau of Statistics show, as indicated in the opening paragraph of this pamphlet, that the values of all classes of farm products increased instead of being lowered.

Official reports to the American Iron & Steel Association show that the selling price of pig iron, a product of the mine, has practically doubled since the year in which this assertion was made, while every workingman knows that the value of labor has greatly advanced since 1896.

As a result, in Mr. Byran's own State, "the payment of debts already contracted" instead of being lowered has been greatly facilitated, the mortgages released in the State of Nebraska, which in 1896 amounted to but \$18,213,382, were \$27,498,070 in 1898, an increase of 50 per cent. in debt payments.

Production of Gold and Silver.

"Gold and silver are different from other commodities in that they are limited in quantity. * * * Because gold and silver are limited both in quantity now in hand and in annual production, it follows that legislation can fix the ratio between them."—*Madison Square Garden Speech.*

In the year in which Mr. Bryan made this assertion, 1896, the gold production of the world was \$202,251,600; in the year 1900; 4 years later, the world's gold production, according to the estimate of the Director of the Mint, will be over \$400,000,000, or double

that of the year 1896; while for the year 1899 it was \$315,000,000, having increased more than 50 per cent. during that time.

The world's silver production in 1896 was 157,061,370 ounces valued at \$203,069,200; and in 1899 it was, according to the latest estimate of the Director of the Mint, 165,000,000 ounces, valued at \$213,000,000.

Thus the production of gold, although "limited both in the quantity now in hand and in annual production," has doubled in the short four years since this assertion was made, while in the half century just ending the gold production of the world has been \$6,596,832,000, against \$3,128,390,000 in the preceding 350 years.

It is largely due to the fact that gold production instead of being "limited" has doubled, trebled and quadrupled in the last few years, that the world is willing to abandon the double, and consequently fluctuating, standard and accept the single metal whose rapid increase in production makes it sufficient for the basis of the world's money.

"No Provision for an Increase of Currency to Keep Pace with Increase of Population."

"Senator Sherman, on June 5, 1890, said that it would require \$42,000,000 increased circulation each year to keep pace with the increase of population. What provision has the Republican party made for the supply of the money that we need? None whatever."—*Speech at Greensboro, N. C.*

At the date of this assertion by Mr. Bryan, August 1, 1896, the money in circulation in the United States was, according to the official reports of the Treasury Department, \$1,514,903,142, of which \$484,587,423 was gold coin and certificates.

On August 1, 1900, just four years after that date, the amount of money in circulation in the United States was \$2,087,353,408, of which \$829,951,517 was gold coin and certificates, showing an increase in circulation under Republican legislation, then on the statute books and recently strengthened, of \$572,450,266 in total circulation and \$345,364,094 in gold alone—or an average increase of \$143,000,000 per annum in total circulation, and of \$86,000,000 in gold coin and certificates.

"No Prosperity Until the Gold Conspiracy is Stopped."

"We honestly believe that there can be no permanent, no general prosperity in this country until we stop the conspiracy of those who would make gold the only standard of the world."—*Speech at Rhinebeck, N. Y., August, 1896.*

In 1896, when this assertion was made, the deposits in savings banks in the United States amounted to \$1,907,156,277. Despite the fact that gold has continued the standard, the "general prosperity" has so developed that, in 1899, the deposits in savings banks were \$2,230,366,954—an increase of \$323,000,000. The above figures are taken from the official reports of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Mills and Mints.

"Some of our opponents tell us that we should open the mills instead of the mints. Of what use are mills unless the people can buy what the mills produce? And how can the mills be operated so long as those who produce the wealth of the country are not able to make enough out of their products to pay taxes and interest? There is no more effective way to destroy the market for the product of the mills than to lower the price of the farmers' crops."—*Speech at Kansas City.*

The mills having been opened, despite Mr. Bryan's insistence that it would be useless, the wheat retained for home consumption by those whose employment was thus increased averaged, in 1899, practically 6 bushels per capita, against 3.88 bushels per capita consumed in the fiscal year 1897, which had just been entered upon when Mr. Bryan made this assertion.

The consumption of raw cotton per capita in the United States in 1899 was 27.14 pounds, against 18.4 pounds in 1896, thus showing that the opening of the mills created a largely increased home market.

The official reports of the Department of Agriculture show that the value of corn, wheat, oats, rye and barley produced in the United States in 1899, when the mills were open everywhere and in many cases running on double time, was \$222,000,000 greater than in 1896 when the mills were closed, while the value of farm animals was nearly \$500,000,000 greater on January 1, 1900, than on January 1, 1896.

Regarding Control of Conventions.

"I venture the assertion that never before in the history of this country have the voters themselves had so much to do with a convention as did the voters of the Democratic party with the convention at Chicago."—*Asheville, N. C. Speech.*

This is in marked contrast with the convention of 1900 in which Mr. Bryan and the silver trust, without any reference to the "consent of the governed," actually and absolutely dominated the convention to the extent of complete dictation as to its declaration of principles.

Political Machines and Political Bosses.

"It is often the case that the party machinery or bosses have more to do with shaping the policy and making the nomination than the voters themselves. I am proud to be the nominee of a Convention which represented no machine and no bosses."—*Speech at Asheville, N. C.*

Comment on the above, in view of the history of the Kansas City convention, is unnecessary.

"The Rising Dollar."

"Every nation which goes to the Gold Standard makes the dollar dearer still, and as the dollar rises in value you must sacrifice more of all the products of toil in order to secure it."—*Speech at Baltimore, September 19, 1896.*

As already shown, nations whose population aggregate nearly 500,000,000, have gone to the gold standard since the above assertion was made, and the fact that labor in every line of industry now commands a higher price than in 1896, shows effectually and completely the inaccuracy of this assertion. As has been already shown, the prices of products of agriculture, mining and of labor have greatly advanced since the above assertion was made, despite the fact that countries whose population aggregates one-third of the population of the world have gone to the gold standard meantime.

The Terrors of the Gold Standard.

"The gold standard means dearer money; dearer money means cheaper property; cheaper property means harder times; harder times means more people out of work; more people out of work means more people destitute; more people destitute means more people desperate, and more people desperate means more crime."—*Speech at Minneapolis.*

Not one of these doleful predictions has been verified, but on the contrary the reverse is true in every case as every citizen and voter in these United States well knows.

The Gold Standard and the Masses.

"The gold standard has never been supported by the masses. It has never received the endorsement of the creators of wealth."—*Speech at Minneapolis.*

In less than sixty days after this assertion was made the gold standard was endorsed and supported by a larger number of votes than ever before cast for any proposition in the United States, the plurality of votes cast against Mr. Bryan and his silver cause being greater than in any preceding election.

Abandoning the Farm for the City.

"There is another reason why the people have gone into the city and left the farm. It is because your legislation has been causing the foreclosure of mortgages upon the farms. ***I cannot understand how a man living upon a farm can be deluded with the idea that the gold standard has anything but misery and suffering for him."—*Speech at Monmouth, Ill.*

The gold standard has remained in operation since this assertion, yet the condition of the farmers has been, in the four years since that time, vastly improved, as shown by the value of farm products already quoted; while the speed with which the mortgages complained of have been paid off is illustrated by the figures for Mr. Bryan's own State which show an increase of 50 per cent. for the State of Nebraska alone, in the value of mortgages released in 1898 as compared with 1896.

"They Cannot Find the Gold to Serve as the Foundation."

"Our opponents are trying to construct a commercial fabric resting upon gold when they cannot find the gold to serve as the foundation for the fabric."—*Chicago Speech to Business Men.*

When this assertion was made the gold coin and gold certificates in circulation in the United States amounted to but \$484,887,423, while on August 1, 1900 the amount had increased to \$829,951,517. On the other hand the gold production of the world has during the short four years since the above assertion was made, amounted to over a billion dollars, or nearly as much as in the century from 1750 to 1850.

Bimetallism and Business Failures.

"Bimetallism appeals to the business men because business failures everywhere testify to the fact that the merchant cannot sell when the people are not able to buy."—*Speech at Ottumwa, Iowa.*

The record of business failures at the date of this assertion and in subsequent years has already been quoted above. The figures show a reduction in number from 15,088 in 1896, to 9,337 in 1899, and in liabilities from \$226,096,834 in 1896 to \$90,879,889 in 1899, and all of this without bimetallism.

Republican National Platform, 1900.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, makes these declarations:

Republican Promises of Four Years Ago Redeemed.

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, entrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed and the National credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligations. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

The War with Spain.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of National aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action. Its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship. To ten millions of the human race there was given a "new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

President McKinley's Administration Endorsed.

We endorse the administration of William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

Democracy Always a Menace.

In asking the American people to endorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and in its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

For Sound Money and Against Free Silver.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

Monopolies Condemned.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition and secure the rights of producer, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

Protection to American Labor.

We renew our faith in the policy of Protection to American labor. In that policy our industries have been established, diversified and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better conditions of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

Restriction of Immigration Favored.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction on the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor and an effective system of labor insurance.

American Shipping Needed.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

For Liberal Pension Laws.

The Nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

Civil Service Commended.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the Civil Service. The administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as practicable to their inhabitants.

Against Race Discrimination.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary, and should be condemned.

For Good Roads.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the Legislatures of the several States.

Rural Free Delivery.

We favor the extension of the Rural Free Delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

To Reclaim Arid Lands.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

Statehood for Territories.

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.

The Dingley Tariff a Success.

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded two per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

For an Isthmian Canal.

We favor the construction, ownership, control and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

Department of Commerce and Industry.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries in the charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. The United States Consular system should be re-organized under the supervision of this new department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the Nation's increasing trade.

Protection for American Citizens.

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

Our Women as Nurses.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

Our Foreign Policy.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safeguarded.

Hawaiian Annexation,

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

The Hague Peace Conference.

We commend the part taken by our Government in the Peace Conference at the Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of the Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

Results of the War with Spain.

In accepting by the Treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our victories in the Spanish War, the President and the Senate won the undoubted approval of the American people. No other course was possible than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the Western Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples.

The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

Freedom for Cuba.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party upon its history; and upon this declaration of principles and policies confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS,

Chairman.

We have passed from fear to confidence; from enforced idleness to profitable employment.

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

THE CHOP-HOUSE OR THE SOUP-HOUSE?

The Increase of Employment of Union Labor, and the Resultant
Increase in Wages Under President McKinley's
Administration.

For years the Democratic party has posed as the "workingman's friend." For years—for decades—no promise has been too absurd, no pretense too ridiculous, no assertion of fidelity to the interests of labor too extravagant to be made by that party.

Through every channel year after year the Democratic party has endeavored to array the wage earners as a class against their employers, promising, with an air of the utmost sincerity, indefinite legislation "in the interests of the workingmen." How those promises have been kept can best be ascertained by comparing the condition of the workingmen under a Democratic administration with their condition under the Republican administrations preceding and following.

As is well known to every man who depends upon a daily wage, the most important thing to the workingman is regular employment.

EMPLOYMENT OF MEMBERS.

Here are the figures showing the relative percentage of employment of members of the national and international labor unions for 1897, the year President McKinley was inaugurated, compared with 1898 and 1899, after the country had realized that the awful depression of the Cleveland administration was at an end:

Membership of Labor Organizations Employed in 1897, 1898 and 1899, from Official Reports of the Unions.

Crafts.	Employment of total membership.			Crafts.	Employment of total membership.		
	1897.	1898.	1899.		1897.	1898.	1899.
	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.		Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.
Agents.....	100	100	100	Iron, steel, and tin workers....	80	85	100
Bricklayers and stone masons	70	75	95	Longshoremen.....	100	100	100
Broom makers.....	50	50	95	Leather workers.....	100	100	100
Barbers.....	70	80	90	Meat cutters and butchers.....			50
Bicycle workers.....	90	90	95	Musicians.....			30
Boiler makers and iron-ship builders.....	50	65	95	Metal workers.....			90
Brickmakers.....	50	75	100	Machinists.....	70	75	100
Blacksmiths.....	80	81	98	Mine workers.....	60	80	98
Brewery workers.....	90	92	95	Oil and gas well workers.....			99
Bakers.....	80	80	90	Potters.....			100
Bookbinders.....	70	75	100	Steel and copper plate printers	95	95	98
Boot and shoe workers.....	50	75	95	Paper makers.....	80	90	100
Conductors (railroad).....	90	95	98	Printers.....	70	80	98
Coopers.....	95	95	95	Pattern makers.....	70	85	100
Curtain (lace) operators.....	90	95	98	Stonecutters.....	50	66	95
Core makers.....	40	65	97	Spinners (cotton mule).....	90	100	100
Carpenters.....	70	75	90	Stove mounters.....			75
Cigar makers.....	80	85	95	Stage employees.....	75	85	100
Engineers (locomotive).....	75	88	95	Street railway employees.....	75	75	90
Engineers (coal-hoisting).....		75	96	Seamen.....	70	80	100
Electrical workers.....	100	100	100	Tailors.....	60	75	95
Engineers (stationary).....		90	95	Tin-plate workers.....			80
Firemen (stationary).....			96	Telegraphers.....	90	95	98
Firemen (locomotive).....	90	95	98	Tile layers.....			75
Glass-bottle blowers.....	100	100	100	Railroad laborers.....	70	80	95
Glass workers.....		90	90	Textile workers.....	85	Strike.	100
Garment workers.....	50	60	85	Tobacco workers.....	60	75	95
Gold beaters.....			100	Upholsterers.....	50	70	90
Horseshoers.....	75	75	75	Weavers (elastic gore).....			97
Hatters.....	75	75	75	Wood carvers.....	55	70	85
Iron molders.....	70	80	90	Wood workers.....	50	80	98
				Average.....	56.4	69.1	92.7

Agents are employed mostly on commission. Their entire membership are always employed, though not always earning wages. Their pay depends entirely on their sales.

Reference to the table of increase of membership of trade unions will show that those reporting practically the full membership employed in 1897 have experienced a phenomenal increase in membership since that year, clearly demonstrating that McKinley prosperity has reached them. Thus the bicycle workers, practically a new trade, increased 50 per cent in 1899; the electrical workers, whose field is expanding more rapidly than perhaps any other, increased the membership of their union 40 per cent in 1899; the longshoremen show an increase of 30 per cent for 1897, 30 per cent for 1898, and 50 per cent for 1899; while the leather workers added to their membership 30 per cent in 1897, 75 per cent in 1898, and 100 per cent in 1899.

These figures, gathered on May 1, 1900, show that where 56 men were employed in 1897, there were 92 engaged in profitable labor in 1899; where 44 men in these various trades out of every hundred endured enforced idleness in 1897, less than 8 men out of the hundred were unemployed this year.

THE SAFETY OF LABOR.

For purposes of self-protection every union man knows that his greatest safety lies in a thorough organization of his trade. Here are a few figures showing the increase in membership of trade unions during Mr. McKinley's administration over their membership during the Democratic times of 1893 to 1896:

Increase in Membership of Trade Unions, 1897, 1898 and 1899, as reported by Organizations.

Crafts.	Membership increase.			Crafts.	Membership increase.		
	1897.	1898.	1899.		1897.	1898.	1899.
	Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.		Per ct.	Per ct.	Per ct.
Agents.....	10	10	40	Iron molders.....	10	15	25
Bricklayers and stone masons.....	20	40	50	Iron, steel and tin workers.....	10	20	60
Broom makers.....			700	Longshoremen.....	30	30	50
Barbers.....	10	10	60	Leather workers.....	30	75	100
Bicycle makers.....	10	10	£0	Meat cutters and butcher workmen.....	New	100	200
Boiler makers and iron-ship builders.....			75	Musicians.....	80	4	16
Brick makers.....		10	25	Metal workers.....		30	100
Blacksmiths.....	Deor'se	5	700	Machinists.....	10	25	80
Brewery workers.....	30	40	45	Miners.....	40	100	300
Bakers and confectioners.....		8	35	Potters.....	20	30	200
Bookbinders.....		20	75	Steel and copper plate printers.....	10	7	10
Boot and shoe workers.....		15	40	Plumbers, gas and steamfitters.....	5	10	40
Conductors (railroad).....	10	15	25	Paper makers.....	15	25	30
Coopers.....	75	75	80	Printers.....	15	20	40
Curtain operatives (lace).....		38	12	Pattern makers.....		40	300
Core makers.....	6	14	27	Stonocutters.....			10
Carriage and wagon makers.....			40	Spinners (cotton mule).....			8
Clerks (retail).....		100	200	Stone mounters.....		25	25
Carpenters.....	10	25	50	Stage employees.....	50	25	25
Cigar makers.....	10	20	40	Street-railway employees.....	5	10	18
Engineers (locomotive).....	10	15	30	Seamen.....	20	25	60
Engineers (coal-hoisting).....			300	Tailors.....		5	15
Electrical workers.....			40	Tin-plate workers.....			70
Engineers (stationary).....		20	30	Telegraphers.....		10	25
Firemen (stationary).....		New	200	Tile layers.....			25
Firemen (locomotive).....	11	13	13	Trackmen (railroad).....	10	15	25
Glass-bottle blowers.....	3	5	3	Textile workers.....		10	25
Glass workers.....			19	Tobacco workers.....	15	40	60
Garment workers.....	5	10	25	Upholsterers.....		12	30
Gold beaters.....		New	Doabl'd	Waiters, cooks, bartenders.....		New	200
Horseshoers.....	10	10	25	Wood carvers.....	5	15	50
Hatters.....			25	Wood workers.....	15	40	70

Following logically upon the steady employment of the full membership of the labor unions and their rapid increase of membership has come the increase in wages to such an extent that the conditions of 1892 have again been reached in almost every trade, while many have even gone beyond that year of prosperity. Never in the history of the world has labor been better paid, better organized, or working under more favorable conditions than during the administration of President McKinley.

SHOULD LOOK BACK FOUR YEARS.

When invited to exchange this condition of prosperity, which wage-earners now enjoy, for the theories of Mr. Bryan and his followers, the workers should look back four short years to the time of the last Democratic administration. Many of the labor organizations of the country found it necessary to establish a relief fund for their out-of-work members during those dark days when the mills were closed, the mines flooded, the factories shut down, and thousands of honest men tramped from State to State in search of employment which could not be found.

SHOWING OF THE CIGAR MAKERS.

Eloquent testimony is to be found in the official statement of the secretary of the Cigar Makers International Union, the only union publishing a report on this subject. In 1890 the Cigar Makers' Union established a per-

manent out-of-work fund. This fund is safe-guarded by the most stringent regulations and is never drawn upon except the member has exhausted every means to obtain employment, and then only for such brief time as will enable him to seek work in another locality. Here is the official statement of the disbursement of that fund since its institution in 1890:

Out-of-Work Benefits Paid by Cigar Makers International Union from 1890 to 1899, by years.

Year.	Amount.
1890.....	\$ 22,760.50
1891.....	21,223.50
1892.....	17,460.75
1893.....	89,462.75
1894.....	174,517.25
1895.....	166,377.25
1896.....	175,767.25
1897.....	117,471.40
1898.....	70,197.70
1899.....	38,037.00

An analysis of these figures shows that in 1893, the first year of the Democratic administration of Mr. Cleveland, and before the blight of the party's policy had fully obscured the period of prosperity which preceded it, **the amount expended by this organization for this purpose was over 45 per cent greater than during the last three years of President Harrison's administration combined.**

In 1894, after the effect of the Wilson bill and other results of Democratic maladministration had been felt, the expenditures for this relief reached a sum equal to almost **THREE TIMES** the sum necessary to meet the total requirements of the last three years of President Harrison's administration.

WORSE CONDITIONS PREVAILED.

These figures only represent the pittance paid by the Cigar Makers' Union to its members who were utterly unable to find employment, and who were in need. They take no heed of those who were intermittently employed, or who had laid by something for a rainy day. And if this condition prevailed among the membership of that union, one of the best organized in the world, the one with more benevolent and charitable features than any other, what was the condition of the workingman without a union, or whose union did not have such benevolent features?

The answer can be read in the history of the public charities, of the church aid societies, of the fraternal aid societies, and of the Soup Houses, Free Bread and Free Clothing establishments in every city of importance in this country inaugurated during those four years of Democratic misery and distress.

Does the American wage-earner want to return to the old Soup House period of a Democratic administration, or is he more content with the Chop House period of Republican prosperity under the administration of President McKinley?

PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY

===== *VERSUS* =====

FREE TRADE AND ADVERSITY.

=====

**Analysis of the Workings of Low and Protective Tariffs Respectively, since 1790; Detailed Analysis of Workings of McKinley, Wilson, and Ding-
ley Tariffs and Their Effect Upon FOUR
GREAT CLASSES of our Popula-
tion: The Farmer, the Work-
ingman, the Manufacturer
and the Business Man.**

=====

Results, not theories, are what the voter—be he farmer, toiler in the factory, manufacturer, or business man—wants.

Tariffs and Commerce.

During the fifty-nine years of low tariff there were but ten years in which the exports were as great as the imports, and during the entire fifty-nine years of the operation of low tariffs the net excess of imports over exports was \$515,000,000. A study of the commerce of the protective tariff years shows that exports exceeded imports in twenty-seven of the fifty-two protective years, and that the net excess of exports over imports during that time was two and a half billion dollars.

To put it in a single sentence, low tariffs, in fifty-nine years of operation, show a net excess of imports of \$515,000,000, and protective tariffs, in fifty-two years of operation, show a net excess of exports of \$2,500,000,000. Thus the protective tariffs of fifty-two years have paid the commercial debts of the fifty-nine years of low tariffs, amounting to half a billion dollars, and, in addition, placed two billion dollars to the credit of our export trade.

Excess of Exports During the McKinley Administration.

Another striking example of the growth of our export trade under protective tariff is found in the fact that the excess of exports over imports in the first three years of President McKinley's term, from March 1, 1897, to March 1, 1900, was nearly four times as much as the entire excess of exports over imports from 1790 to the date of his inauguration, March 4, 1897, the accurate figures being:

Tariffs and Revenue.

Excess of exports over imports from 1790 to March 1, 1897\$ 383,028,497
Excess of exports over imports from March 1, 1897, to March 1, 1900 1,483,537,049

All protective-tariff years, with the exception of those in which expenditures were abnormally heavy on account of war, show a surplus revenue, while twenty-four of the fifty-eight low-tariff years show a deficit, only three of that number being at all affected by wars. Practically every protective-tariff year except those in which war conditions caused abnormal expenditures, shows a surplus, and it was under protection and Republican rule that the enormous interest-bearing debt of the United States was reduced from \$2,221,000,000, at the end of the war (1865), to \$585,000,000, when a Democratic President and low-tariff Congress took control of the Government; and before Democratic rule and low tariff had ceased to exist, the interest-bearing debt had increased to \$847,365,000.

Effect of High and Low Tariffs Upon General Business Conditions.

It is practicable to consider the condition of the textile industries at the middle of the century, and by decennial periods thereafter, and thus determine the condition which they had reached under the almost constant low tariff which prevailed prior to 1850 and the growth during that further low-tariff period from 1850 to 1860, and to compare those conditions and growths with the protective period which has been constant since 1860, with the single three years' interruption from August 28, 1894, to July 24, 1897.

The value of the products of the four great groups of the wool, cotton, and silk manufacturing establishments, dyeing and finishing, amounted in 1850, after the long period of low tariff, to only \$128,000,000 and the number of employees to only 146,897. During the ten years of uninterrupted low tariff from 1850 to 1860 the value of the products had only reached \$214,000,000 in 1860, an increase of \$86,000,000, and the number of employees had increased to 194,000, an increase of 48,000. The wages paid in these four industries in 1860, the last year under low tariff, amounted to but \$40,000,000.

In the next decade, under protection, the number of employees had increased to 275,000, with a growth of more than 100 per cent in wages and of 42 per cent in number of employees. At the next decennial census, that of 1890, the number of employees was 384,000, an increase of more than 100,000; wages were \$105,000,000, an increase of nearly \$20,000,000, and the value of products, \$532,000,000, or more than double those of the last year under low tariff.

By 1890, still another decade of constant protection, the wages paid had increased to \$175,000,000, an increase of \$70,000,000 paid to labor, while the number of employees had increased to 511,000 and the value of products had increased to \$722,000,000, or three and a third times that of the year 1860, which terminated the long low-tariff period.

Business Failures Under Three Tariffs.

According to *Dun's Review* the number of failures in the calendar year 1892, the last year under President Harrison, was 10,344; in 1893, the first year under a Democratic President, was 15,242, an increase of practically 50 per cent; and in 1896, the last year of Democratic rule, was again 15,088. The amount of liabilities in 1892, the last year under President Harrison was \$114,000,000, and the amount in 1893, the first Democratic year, was \$346,000,000, or more than three times as much as in the last Republican year; and that of 1896, the last Democratic and low-tariff year, was \$226,000,000, while in 1897, the first year under President McKinley, the liabilities dropped to but \$90,000,000, or about one-fourth those of 1893, and the total number of failures was but 9,733, against more than 15,000 in the last year of Democracy.

Business Activity Under Three Tariffs.

Clearing-house returns of the United States amounted to \$60,000,000,000 in 1892, the last Republican year of President Harrison's administration, and had dropped to \$45,000,000,000 in 1894, the year in which the low-tariff law was enacted, and were less than \$52,000,000,000 in 1896; while in 1898, the first full year under the Dingley tariff they were \$65,000,000,000, and in 1899 were within a fraction of \$89,000,000,000, or practically double those of the year in which the Wilson low-tariff law was enacted.

Freight Carried on Railways.

The freight carried on the railroads of the United States, shows in 1894, the year in which the low-tariff law was enacted, a drop of 83,000,000 tons, or more than 10 per cent of the entire business as compared with the year in which President Cleveland was inaugurated; while in 1898, under McKinley and the Dingley law, there was an increase of 124,000,000 tons as compared with 1897, the year in which the Wilson low-tariff act was repealed, and an increase of 230,000,000 tons over the year in which the Wilson law was enacted. Meantime the net earnings dropped from an average of \$2,000 per mile during several preceding years to \$1,800 per mile during the entire low-tariff period, and in 1898 again passed the \$2,000 per mile line, being for that year \$2,111 as the average earnings per mile of the railroads of the United States.

Earnings of Railway Employees.

The number of men employed by railways fell in 1894, the year of the enactment of the Wilson law, nearly 100,000 below the number employed in 1893, while the earnings also showed a marked decrease. In 1898, the first full year under the Dingley tariff, the number of employees was, in round terms, 100,000 greater than in 1894, and the amount paid in wages \$50,000,000 greater than in 1895, while the year 1899 showed an increase of 149,000 employees over 1894 and \$75,000,000 increase in the wages paid, as compared with 1894 or 1895.

Business by Telegraph.

Telegraph messages sent over the lines of the Western Union Telegraph Company dropped from 66,000,000 in 1893, the year of the inauguration of a Democratic and low-tariff President and Congress, to 58,000,000 in 1894, the year in which the Dingley law was enacted, and during the entire low-tariff period from 1894 to 1897 the number remained stationary, at 58,000,000, increasing in 1898, however, to more than 62,000,000.

Decrease of Mortgages.

In the single State of Nebraska, the value of mortgages filed in 1897, the first year under President McKinley, and the year in which the protective-tariff law was enacted, amounted to but \$15,630,721, against \$31,690,054 during the year in which the low-tariff law was enacted. The value of the mortgages released in 1898, the first full year under the protective tariff, was \$27,498,070 against \$18,213,382 in 1896, the year of Mr. Bryan's nomination.

Patents, Land Sales, and Homestead Entries.

The money received from the disposal of public lands by the General Land Office fell from more than \$4,000,000 in 1892 and 1893 to \$1,847,000 in 1896, and \$1,596,000 in the fiscal year 1897, all of which was under the low tariff, while in 1898, the first fiscal year under the Dingley tariff, they had increased to \$2,144,000, and in 1899 to \$2,594,000.

Final homestead entries made at the General Land Office, show that the total number in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, practically all of which was under President Harrison, was 24,204, and the number of acres granted, 3,477,231. In the fiscal year 1894 the number fell to 20,544, and in 1896 to 20,099, with a total number of acres of 2,790,242, increasing to 22,281 in number and an acreage of 3,095,017 in the fiscal year 1898.

The Postal Barometer of Business.

The Postmaster-General in his recent annual report said:

"The course of the postal revenues furnishes an unerring barometer of the business conditions of the country."

He then quotes the receipts, expenditures, and deficits of the Post-Office Department from 1893 to 1899, showing that the receipts in 1894, notwithstanding the steady growth in population, actually fell below those of the fiscal year 1893, practically all of which was under President Harrison. During the entire Democratic and low-tariff period the growth in receipts was but very small, the total receipts in the year ending June 30, 1893, being \$75,896,933, and in the year ending June 30, 1897, \$82,665,462, an increase in the four years of less than \$7,000,000, while in the two years from June 30, 1897, to June 30, 1899, the increase was more than \$12,000,000, the receipts for the fiscal year 1899 being \$95,021,384. The deficit of the Department, which, in the fiscal year 1893, practically the last year under President Harrison, was \$5,177,171, amounted, in the year ending June 30, 1897, all of which was under the low tariff, to \$11,411,779, and dropped again under protection and the business activity which accompanied it to \$6,610,776 in the year 1899.

Bank Deposits.

Aggregate deposits in all classes of banks in the United States on or about June 30 in each year from 1892 to 1899 show that the deposits in national banks fell from \$1,771,000,000 in 1892, in President Harrison's term, to \$1,574,000,000 in 1893, a reduction of \$200,000,000, and that in the last year of the Democratic term they were but \$1,686,000,000 increasing to \$1,768,000,000 in 1897, \$2,078,000,000 in 1898, and \$2,605,000,000 in 1899—an increase of more than a billion dollars in 1899 as compared with 1893.

State banks also show an equally remarkable record, their total deposits in 1899 being almost double those of 1894. Loan and trust companies show in 1899 deposits amounting to \$835,000,000, against \$471,000,000 in 1894. Savings banks show a reduction of \$31,000,000 in their deposits in 1894 as compared with June 30, 1893, while those of June 30, 1899, were \$305,000,000 greater than for June 30, 1894. Taking the record of all classes of banks—national, state, loan and trust companies, savings banks and private banks—the total deposits on June 30, 1899, were \$6,853,381,000, against \$4,667,930,328 in 1894, the year of the enactment of the Wilson law, an increase of more than \$2,000,000,000, or almost 50 per cent, and practically all of this increase occurred after the election of President McKinley and a protective-tariff Congress.

Money in Circulation Under Low and Protective Tariffs.

The per capita money in circulation in 1892, the last year under President Harrison, was \$24.44. By 1896 it had dropped to \$21.10. In spite of the prediction of the campaign of that year that it could not increase without the free and unlimited coinage of silver and the retention of a low tariff, it has, under McKinley, the protective tariff, and the gold standard, increased to \$26.50 per capita on July 1, 1900, an increase of 25 per cent in the per capita circulation, of 25 per cent in the total money in circulation, and of 64 per cent in the gold and gold certificates on July 1, 1896, the date of Mr. Bryan's nomination, being \$497,000,000, and on July 1, 1900, \$815,474,460, while the total money on July 1, 1896, was \$1,506,434,966, and on July 1, 1900, \$2,062,425,496—and all without the "free and unlimited coinage of silver."

Our domestic trade must be won back and our idle working people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade so precipitately cut off by adverse national legislation, re-opened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products.—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

THE PROSPECT OF LABOR.

Protection and sound currency have brought increased employment, increased earnings, and increased activity to our workingmen and their organizations.

Prosperity of a nation is illustrated by the condition of its wage-earners. If the laborer in any country is receiving good wages with steady employment, that country can not be anything but prosperous. That the United States has been prosperous during the past three years is shown by the growth of the labor organizations in this country.

While there is interest in the growth of corporations, it is in place to point out that the American Federation of Labor has also expanded at a surprising rate during the last three years. While capital has been concentrating its power, labor has been doing the same. This means that labor is amply protected and is flourishing under this Republican administration. Founded in 1886, the American Federation of Labor has conducted its business publicly, with dignity and with success. Today it employs twelve paid organizers, besides 470 volunteer organizers, who work in Canada as well as in the United States. The following tabulated statement of the membership shows the condition of the different organizations named on the first day of January, 1900:

American Federation of Labor.

Enrollment reported January 1, 1900.....	1,004,000
Gained since January 1, 1900.....	304,000
Local charters issued in 1900.....	1,500
International and national unions now enrolled.....	73
With state unions, 11; city trades councils, 184.....	145

Record of 1899.

Membership gained.....	225,000
International and national unions added.....	9
Union labels authorized.....	29
Strikes won.....	425
Strikes lost.....	48
Strikes compromised.....	39
Charters issued in 1899 (reported).....	2,264
Charters issued in 1899 (not reported).....	600

Brotherhood Railway Organizations.

	Membership.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.....	34,000
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.....	26,000
Brotherhood of Railway Conductors.....	27,000
Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.....	25,000

More Charters Issued.

Not only has this big American consolidation, or federation, of labor issued a large number of charters, but its affiliated organizations have been equally prosperous, as will be seen from the following table, giving the number of charters issued by the different crafts for the year ending April 1, 1900:

Craft.	Charters issued.	Craft.	Charters issued.
Miners.....	308	Wood workers.....	40
Butchers.....	23	Wood carvers.....	15
Brewers.....	25	Coopers.....	20
Cigar makers.....	20	Trunk makers.....	3
Tobacco workers.....	17	Carriage and wagon makers.....	10
Tailors.....	37	Broom makers.....	28
Garment workers.....	22	Musicians.....	12
Shoe workers.....	24	Bottle blowers.....	17
Leather workers.....	20	Window glass flatteners.....	12
Granite cutters.....	12	Textile workers.....	12
Tile layers.....	7	Printers.....	61
Painters.....	60	Printing pressmen.....	40
Steam fitters.....	3	Telegraphers.....	14
Blacksmiths.....	32	Steam engineers.....	9
Machinists.....	59	Coal-hoisting engineers.....	4
Iron molders.....	50	Stationary firemen.....	24
Iron, steel and tin workers.....	50	Street railway employees.....	25
Boiler makers.....	40	Team drivers.....	78
Electrical workers.....	20	Longshoremen.....	49
Sheet metal workers.....	31	Commercial agents.....	11
Turners.....	27	Retail clerks.....	63
Bicycle makers.....	10	Stage employees.....	18
Metal polishers.....	12	Barbers.....	52
Stove mounters.....	12	Hotel and restaurant employes.....	13
Pattern makers.....	15		

Nearly every national or international organization of labor has been increasing its membership, and the past three years have been those of greatest success for the consolidation of labor interests.

President Gompers on Labor Conditions in 1893, 1897 and 1899.

1893.

Since August of this year we have been in the greatest industrial depression this country has ever experienced. It is no exaggeration to say that more than 3,000,000 of our fellow-toilers throughout the country are without employment and have been so since the time named. This lamentable industrial condition is attributed by many to various causes, and it seems to me that the accurate statement of them here is both requisite and appropriate, so that we may be better enabled to so frame our legislation that it may tend to a proper solution of the problem dependent upon the wage-workers for solution.

Never in the history of the world has so large a number of people vainly sought for an opportunity to earn a livelihood and contribute to the support of their fellows. In a society where such abnormal conditions prevail there must of necessity be something wrong at the basic foundation.

1897.

That terrible period for the wage-earners of this country which began in 1893 and which has left behind it such a record of horror, hunger and misery practically ended with the dawn of the year 1897. Wages had been steadily forced down from 1893 till toward the end of 1895, and it was variously estimated that between two million and two and a half million wage-earners were unemployed.

It is agreed by all that the wage-earners are the principal consumers of American products, and it necessarily follows that a reduction in wages involves a diminution in the power of consumption, and consequently a proportionate decrease in production, and, naturally, also in the force of labor required for the production. A reduction of wages, therefore, results in an increase in the army of the unemployed, and any circumstances or combination of circumstances that will check reductions in wages, and hence the diminution of consumption by the masses, is a humane act, based on the soundest laws of economics and of progress.

1899.

The revival of industry, which we have witnessed within the past year is one for general congratulation, and it should be our purpose to endeavor to prolong this era of more general employment and industrial activity. In this effort no power is so potent as organized labor, if we but follow a right and practical course.

It is beyond question that the wages of the organized workers have been increased, and in many instances the hours of labor either reduced or at least maintained.

The report which your officers are enabled to submit to this convention, so far as the growth and progress of our movement during the past year are concerned, is of a most gratifying character. At last we are realizing some of the fruits of the years of unceasing sacrifice, devotion and uninterrupted work of our fellow-unionists.

A Democrat's Acknowledgement.

The first of the above quotations by Samuel Gompers is taken from page 11 of the Proceedings of the American Federation of Labor Convention, held on December 11, 1893, during the last Democratic administration of our national affairs.

The second statement, that of 1897, is taken from a signed article by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, published in New York on January 1, 1898.

The third quotation is from the report of President Gompers at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Detroit on December 11, 1899. It is a standing memorial to the benefits derived by American labor under a Republican administration and Republican laws that are designed to protect our wage-earners and enable them to secure the highest possible rate of wages in return for the labor which they have to sell.

It is but right to state here that Mr. Samuel Gompers, the president of the American Federation of Labor, is now, and always has been, an uncompromising Democrat. His frank and unsolicited testimony to the better conditions of labor under a Republican administration should, therefore, have some influence with our Democratic friends. His words speak volumes for Republican policy and for Republican administration. They show clearly, and without the possibility of a doubt, that this administration has made hives of industry out of the Democratic haunts of idleness that were created under the Democratic administration of President Cleveland, when both the House of Representatives and the United States Senate were under control of the Democratic party.

Labor and Prosperity.

How different are the conditions today among our wage-earning population from those that existed during the last Democratic administration. Contrast the earnings of our people now under the Republican protective tariff with those paid during the operation of the Wilson free-trade bill of the Democratic party. Wages have steadily advanced under the present Republican administration. Organized labor has seen its opportunity to increase its share in the distribution of the general prosperity by the circulation of a larger amount of wages.

The workingman of today who does his own thinking has had the proof presented to him that it is to his best interests to stand by the platform and principles of the Republican party. The American wage-earner wants the present good times and prosperity to continue indefinitely, and he will not vote this good thing away for any bubble of promises, which only means a disturbance of their industrial conditions, with less work, lower wages, idleness, soup-houses, free bread, and the poorhouse.

American Wage-Earners Have Fared Well.

Wages paid in the United States are from two to four times greater than the wages paid to the corresponding class of labor in the free-trade countries of the world. The purchasing power of a dollar in America is also correspondingly greater. Admitted that rents and the price of native products may be cheaper in foreign countries than they are here this difference is nothing like the wide disparity in the amount of wages earned. Moreover, the conditions of living must be considered, as well as the nominal cost. Cheap rents and cheap prices mean inferior accommodations and poorer living. To the average worker in foreign countries, most of the comforts and conveniences that are in common use by the American wage-earner are positive luxuries. The American workman and his family are the best educated, the best dressed, the best housed, and in every way the best situated workers in the world. The American wage-earner is always the most skillful workman. His duties and responsibilities are privileges possessed by no other laborers, and to his intelligence and achievements are largely due the fact that these United States are today the envy of the civilized world.

In order to learn from the executive officers of the national and international labor unions of the United States the exact condition of business in this country, they were asked, early in the year 1900: "In your opinion, are the prospects favorable for continued and steady employment?" Some of their replies received are as follows:

Reports From Labor Unions on Employment of Their Members and Prospect of Continued Employment.

Chas. Sidener, president American Agents' Association: Yes. Our members are all employed. The only question is how much they can sell.

Thos. O'Dea, secretary Bricklayers' and Stonemasons' International Union: Yes. At no time in the history of this country has so much building been done.

W. J. Gilthorpe, secretary Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders: Yes. Our increase in employment is 150 per cent over 1897.

Charles Hank, secretary National Brick Makers' Alliance: Yes. Everybody working who wants to work.

Robert Kerr, secretary International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths: Yes. Demand at present is greater than the supply.

F. H. Harzbecker, secretary Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union: Yes. In our trade the slightest change is noticeable. Nearly the full membership now employed.

International Brotherhood of Book Binders: Cannot supply the demand for competent workers.

Horace Eaton, secretary Boot and Shoe Makers' Union: Never so prosperous as now.

W. J. Maxwell, secretary Order of Railway Conductors: There is a very small percentage, as far as we know of, who are not employed if it is their desire to work. We further feel that the prospects are very favorable for continued steady employment.

John Paulson, secretary Lace Curtain Operatives: Yes. Very favorable indeed.

Max Morris, secretary Retail Clerks' International Protective Association: Yes. Our efforts are directed toward shortening the hours of labor, and aim to abolish Sunday labor.

Wm. Launer, secretary Glass Bottle Blowers: Yes. The outlook for the future in the glass blowing trade is very bright.

John Kunzler, president Glass Workers: We have no reason to believe that our members will not be steadily employed for another year at least.

E. J. Denney, secretary Iron Molders' National Union of America: Within the last twelve months have secured an increase in wages and many concessions favorable to our members, all of whom have been generally employed.

Chas. L. Conine, secretary Leather Workers on Horse Goods: Yes. Our organization is increasing in membership and all members working.

T. J. Duffy, secretary Potters' National Union: Yes, judging from present conditions.

W. J. Spencer, secretary United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers: Yes. If we can enforce our conditions concerning apprentices, we will have steady employment.

George Godsoe, secretary Paper Makers' International Union: They are. Indications point very favorably toward steady employment.

James F. McHugh, secretary Stone Cutters' National Union: Yes, for a few years.

Thos. O'Donnell, secretary Cotton Mule Spinners' National Union: Yes. Prospects are good for this year, as our manufactures are contracted for several months ahead.

H. B. Perham, secretary Order of Railway Telegraphers: As far as I know, there are very few telegraphers out of employment. Prospects are favorable for continued and steady employment for the telegraphers.

Yes:

Barbers,	Locomotive firemen,	Stove mounters,
Cigar makers,	Iron, steel and tin workers,	Theatrical stage employees,
Coopers,	Oil and gas well workers.	Seamen,
Hoisting engineers,	Longshoremen,	Tailors,
Brewery workers,	Machinists,	Trunk makers,
Electrical workers,	Mine workers,	Railroad laborers,
Steam engineers (stationary),	Steel and copper plate workers	Textile workers,
Firemen (stationary),	Printers of all languages,	Waiters, cooks and bartenders.
Locomotive engineers,	Pattern makers,	Woodworkers.

In Two Short Years.

Within a couple of short years, by the wise administration of the Republican party, the Democratic haunts of idleness have been turned into hives of industry. Owing to the density of the smoke that is pouring from the chimney tops of their factory furnaces it is impossible to see the gloom that is predicted by the Democratic party.

Side by side with this record of the resumption of work is that of the increase of wages, ranging from 5 to 40 per cent, and the most gratifying fact in this matter of higher wages is that it has been voluntary to a large extent on the part of the employers. The following table is compiled from the reports of national and international unions, made in April, 1900, showing the per cent of increase in wages of fifty-nine different trades or crafts in the years 1897, 1898, and 1899:

Increase of Wages in 1897 and 1899, as Reported by Labor Organizations.

Crafts.	Wage Increase		
	1897. Per cent.	1898. Per cent.	1899. Per cent.
Agents.....	5	10	20
Bricklayers and stone masons.....	10	12	25
Broom makers.....	..	..	10
Bicycle workers.....	..	10	20
Boiler makers and iron shipbuilders.....	..	10	25
Brickmakers.....	..	..	10
Blacksmiths.....	..	..	10
Brewery workmen.....	..	10	15
Bakers.....	..	..	15
Bookbinders.....	5	10	25
Boot and shoe workers.....	..	5	15
Conductors (railroad).....	Very substantial increase		
Coopers.....	3	4	10
Curtain (lace) operators.....	..	..	15
Core makers.....	8	12	25
Carpenters.....	5	8	15
Cigar makers.....	..	6	10
Engineers (locomotive).....	Small	12	30
Engineers (coal-hoisting).....	..	10	50
Electrical workers.....	..	25	25
Engineers (stationary).....	..	20	30
Firemen (stationary).....	..	..	15
Firemen (locomotive).....	..	..	10
Glass bottle blowers.....	..	..	8
Glass workers.....	..	..	3
Horseshoers.....	10	10	10
Iron molders.....	..	..	10
Iron, steel and tin workers.....	5	8	17
Longshoremen.....	10	5	15
Leather workers.....	15	15	15
Meat cutters and butcher workmen.....	..	..	25

	1897.	1898.	1899.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Metal workers.....	..	..	10
Machinists.....	10	15	40
Mine workers.....	12	26	40
Potters.....	12 ½	..	..
Plumbers, gas and steam fitters.....	..	..	5
Paper makers.....	..	..	10
Printers.....	..	10	30
Pattern makers.....	5	15	30
Stonecutters.....	..	..	5
Spinners (cotton mule).....	..	..	22
Stove mounters.....	..	5	10
Stage employees.....	25	200	300
Street railway employees.....	..	5-10	12
Seamen.....	5	12	33
Tailors.....	..	..	10
Tin plate workers.....	..	..	15
Trunk makers.....	..	10	15
Tile layers.....	..	..	10
Railroad laborers.....	5	7	10
Textile workers.....	..	..	12 ½
Tobacco workers.....	..	8	15
Upholsterers.....	3	10	20
Waiters and cooks.....	5	10	10
Wood carvers.....	..	5	7 ½
Wood workers.....	5	8	15

"Lest We Forget"—A Few Facts About 1893-1896 Which Workingmen Should Remember in 1900.

The voters of the United States are about to be called upon to determine which party shall control the affairs of the government during the next four years. It seems scarcely possible that the terrible experiences of free trade, coupled with a threat of free silver, should be forgotten, but as this seems to be the only assumption upon which their votes can again be asked for those dangerous propositions, a few extracts are here presented from that generally accepted and always accurate authority, the American Cyclopaedia, on the conditions which existed during the Democratic period 1893-1896, in which the actual experiment of free trade was made, and coupled with its closing years the threat of free silver.

Business and Industrial Record, 1893-1895.

[From Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia, 1893, 1894 and 1895.]

July 18, 1893: Denver, Colo.; four banks close their doors and there are runs on other financial institutions.

July 19: More banks close their doors.

July 20: Kansas; fight between strikers and nonunion miners at Weir City.

July 22: Two bank failures in Milwaukee and runs on banks in many other places.

July 24: More bank failures in the West.

July 26: New York; two stock exchange firms fail.

July 27: Ten banks suspend, most of them Northwestern. Other business failures reported.

July 28: More failures and suspensions, including nine banks in the West and one in Kentucky.

August 1: Collapse of the Chicago provision deal. Many failures of commission houses. Great excitement in the board of trade.

August 8: The Chemical Bank, one of the strongest in the country, is unable to fill its weekly orders for small currency.

August: Madison Square Bank suspends.

August 17: Much excitement on east side New York among Hebrew laborers. Police called out.

August 22: Encounter between anarchists and socialists averted by police in New York.

August 23: Meeting of anarchists broken up by police.

January 15, 1894: Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle announces his intention to issue bonds.

August 30: Kansas coal miners' strike ended with nothing gained.

January 17: The Secretary of the Treasury offers a \$50,000,000 loan for public subscription, according to his announced intentions.

January 24: Strike in Ohio of 10,000 miners.

January 27: A mob of foreign miners destroy property at Brantville, Pa., and elsewhere.

February 16: Many New York silk factories close on account of strike.

February 18: In Ohio all the mines of the Massillon district closed by strike.

February 20: In Boston a riotous assemblage of unemployed workmen dispersed by police.

March 2: Six thousand miners in Jackson County, Ohio, out of employment.

Paterson, N. J.: General strike among the silk weavers.

March 3: In West Virginia striking miners burn the railroad bridge and commit other lawless acts.

March 13: At Paterson, N. J., riotous proceedings on the part of the striking silk weavers.

March 17: In Colorado Governor Waite orders State troops to Cripple Creek to suppress mining troubles.

March 20: In Boston a large body of unemployed workingmen march to the State House and demand employment.

March 24: A movement inaugurated in various parts of the Northern States, known as the Army of the Commonwealth, Coxeyites, etc., proposing marching to Washington and demanding help at the hands of Congress.

March 31: Coxeyites are a source of terror to certain Western towns upon which they quarter themselves.

April 1: In South Carolina a large force of State militia is dispatched to the scene of the whisky war in Darlington and Florence.

In Ohio, a mob of strikers at East Liverpool become riotous and several persons are injured.

April 2: In Chicago 5,000 plumbers, painters, etc., go on a strike.

At Connellsville, Pa., 5,000 coke workers strike.

April 3: In South Carolina the governor assumes control of the police and declares martial law in all the cities of the State.

April 4: In Pennsylvania 6 men killed and 1 wounded in coke riots.

April 13: General strike for higher wages on Great Northern Railway.

In Alabama: The general council of United Mine Workers orders a strike affecting 8,000 men.

April 16: Strike on the Great Northern spreads to the Northern Pacific.

April 20: In Omaha a mob seizes a train of box cars and attempts to deport Kelly's industrial army, but the army refuses to go.

April 21: About 150,000 miners stop work in sympathy with the coke strikers of Pennsylvania.

April 28: Arrival of a division of the Coxey army at Washington.

A division of the Coxeyites arrested at Mount Sterling for holding up a railway train.

United States troops ordered to assist the civil authorities in the far West.

On the Great Northern Railroad system the Knights of Labor are called out on strike.

April 29: Kelly's army, 1,200 strong, at Des Moines.

April 30: Strike of 2,000 painters in Chicago.

May 1: Attempted demonstrations of Coxey's army on the steps of the Capitol. Leaders arrested.

May 2: In Ohio a mob of Italians and Poles attack the iron mills, but the riot is subdued by the police.

May 4: Further bloodshed in the coke regions of Pennsylvania; killed and wounded on both sides.

May 9: Kelly's army sails from Des Moines on flatboats.

May 10: Several deputy marshals and citizens shot in a conflict with Coxeyites.

May 11: Two thousand Pullman car employees strike at Chicago for last year's wages.

May 12: The captured Coxey army is removed to Leavenworth, where there is a strong garrison of regulars.

May 13: Arrest of a commonweal army by United States Marshal at Greenriver, Wyoming.

May 19: Several hundred employees of the Government Printing office dismissed.

May 19: Considerable detachments of commonweal armies are suffering from cold and hunger in the neighborhood of Cincinnati.

May 25: In Ohio more conflict between striking miners and deputy sheriffs.

May 26: In Pennsylvania the governor goes to the coke regions to use his personal influence toward allaying the disturbances.

In Colorado the governor orders out the militia to suppress riotous miners at Cripple Creek.

May 27: In Illinois the governor orders troops to Minonk, where a mob has taken possession of a railway train.

May 30: In Pennsylvania the governor issues a warning to coke rioters.

In Ohio: Governor McKinley orders out the militia to prevent interference with coal trains.

At Washington: The commonweal armies hold a public parade in the streets.

June 1: At St. Louis 1,000 carpenters strike.

General Kelly and his industrial army leave the city.

June 4: At Washington destitution among the commonwealers.

June 5: Militia ordered out to quell striking miners.

In Idaho a number of commonwealers sentenced to imprisonment for train stealing.

June 7: In Ohio trains move under the protection of the militia.

Kelly and his commonwealers abandon their boats at Cairo and resume their march on Washington.

June 9: Nineteen commonwealers sentenced to jail for various offenses.

June 10: Coal strikers in Pennsylvania killed and wounded in an encounter with sheriffs at Lemont.

State troops on both sides of Ohio River harassed by strikers.

June 11: Continued destruction of railroad property in Ohio and Alabama.

June 17: The Indiana miners continue to strike. Striking miners in Ohio, Pennsylvania and West Virginia decide to return to work.

Twenty-three commonwealers in Illinois sent to jail for train stealing.

June 18: Wisconsin General Cantwell's industrial army captures a train and rides 200 miles.

At Leavenworth 121 commonwealers sentenced and sent to various county jails.

June 20: On the Gogebic range, Mich., 2,000 miners go on a strike.

June 21: Governor of Pennsylvania orders out troops to suppress disorders in Jefferson County.

In Illinois: Twenty-five strikers indicted by grand jury.

June 25: In St. Louis and Ludlow, Ky., about 500 employees strike work from Pullman Car Company.

June 26: Boycott against Pullman cars goes into effect.

June 27: The Pullman boycott extends to all roads that run to Chicago.

Industrial army disturbances are thus far reported in 14 States and 2 Territories.

June 28: The railway strike spreads so as to include nearly all the great railroads between the Mississippi and the Pacific.

July 30: The month closes with a most threatening state of affairs in the West and the Northwest; violence continues to increase at all the strike centers.

July 1: The Federal Government takes active steps to protect mails in transit through the region of disturbance.

July 2: United States courts at Chicago issue a general order against strikers, and United States troops are called out.

July 3: Strikers block the operations of all railways from Chicago westward. Regulars and state troops in strong force ordered to the scene of action.

July 5: Great destruction of property by rioters at Chicago.
 Encounters with militia at Sioux City, Iowa, and Asbury Park, N. J.
 July 6: Hundreds of cars burned by rioters in Chicago. Governor Altgeld protests against the intervention of United States troops:
 July 7: State troops fire on mob at Chicago.
 United States regulars assume control of the Northern Pacific and Union Pacific railroads.
 July 8: Regulars disperse mob at Hammond, Ind., 1 killed and 4 wounded:
 July 10: Debs and other labor leaders arrested at Chicago, but released on bail.
 General call upon all Knights of Labor to strike:
 Regulars start for Sacramento, Cal., which has been for several days under mob rule.
 July 11: About 15,000 workingmen strike at Chicago.
 Strikers wreck a train at Sacramento, Cal., killing the engineer and 3 soldiers and injuring others.
 July 13: Regulars fire upon a mob at Sacramento.
 A detachment of Kelly's industrial army captures a train in Ohio.
 July 15: Strikers wreck a freight train at Indianapolis.
 July 17: Debs and other leaders sent to jail by Federal court.
 August 10: Two companies of State militia ordered to South Omaha to restrain packing-house strikers.
 August 11: An industrial army at Rosslyn, Va., dispersed by State troops.
 August 13: Adoption of the amended Wilson tariff bill by both houses of Congress.
 August 23: Lockout of 25,000 mill operatives at Fall River, Mass.
 September 15: Strike of 38,000 mill operatives at Fall River, Mass.
 September 20: A general strike of garment workers in Boston ordered.
 September 24: Strike of 3,000 shirt makers in New York.
 October 23: Residents of Indian Territory ask the Government to detail troops for the protection of private property.
 Resumption of strike among the textile workers at Fall River, Mass.
 November 13: Secretary of the Treasury Carlisle issues a call for another loan of \$50,000,000 on 5 per cent ten-year bonds.
 January 19, 1895: Brooklyn troops disperse mob at bayonet's point.
 January 20: Many conflicts, some of them fatal, between troops and riotous strikers.
 January 25: The Nebraska legislature appropriates \$50,000 for seed for distressed farmers.
 January 27: In Ohio an encounter takes place between glassworkers and troops called out to preserve order.
 February 21: A strike of the building trades of New York begins.
 February 24: Strike among New York electrical workers becomes serious.
 March 12: A labor and race riot occurs on the levees at New Orleans, with six negroes killed and an officer of a British steamship wounded.
 April 9: Extended strike of coat makers in Cincinnati and vicinity.
 April 10: A number of rioters arrested during the trolley strike are sent to the penitentiary.
 April 19: Strike of St. Louis garment makers.
 April 30: Strike of Baltimore garment-makers' union.
 May 1: Strike of 10,000 West Virginia coal miners.
 May 3: West Virginia Federal court issues an injunction against striking miners for interference with United States mails.
 May 4: Joint conference of Ohio miners and operators at Columbus; about 24,000 miners now on strike.
 May 19: The Pennsylvania miners decide to continue their strike.
 May 22: General strike in the Chicago brick yards.
 May 25: Two men taken from jail at Danville, Ill., and lynched because mob determined that Governor Altgeld should never have a chance to pardon them.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE TRUE FRIEND OF THE LABORING MAN.

From its earliest history the Democratic party has opposed his best interests and from its earliest history the Republican party has advocated principles favorable to his best interests. The Democracy favored and voted for an attempt to destroy the Union in behalf of a system which was most disadvantageous to labor—human slavery. For many years that party by its legislation in support of human slavery placed the labor of many millions of slaves in direct competition with the labor element of the country, and would have continued it to the present day but for the Republican party.

In the matter of protection versus free trade the Republican party has been distinctly the friend of the laboring man and the Democracy arrayed against his best interests. It is not necessary to go into elaborate discussions of this subject. The record of the past few years and comparison of present conditions with those under the low tariff of four years ago are sufficient evidence of the friendship of the Republican system of protection for the laboring man and the hostility to the laboring interests of the free-trade system under which the sufferings of the working people of the United States occurred but a few years ago.

In the matter of free homes, the record of the two parties is equally distinct and clear. The Republican party originated the homestead laws, fought for them, met with Democratic opposition, and then with a veto by a Democratic president, Buchanan, but were finally successful, and under that system free homes have been given to many millions of people, the latest step in that line being the free homes act passed by the Fifty-sixth Congress.

Protection in the Porto Rican Act.

The latest evidence of Republican friendship for the laboring man and of Democratic hostility to his interests is found in the legislation of last winter on the Porto Rican act. The Republican party saw the necessity of inaugurating such legislation as would clearly assert the right to control the relations between the United States and the Philippines and thus protect the workingman of the United States from the cheap labor of those islands; while the Democrats insisted upon absolute free trade between the United States and all island territory of this character, which plan, had they been successful, would have brought the cheap labor of the Philippines directly in competition with the labor of the United States.



The Democratic Ice Trust.

An Example of Democratic Pretense and Practice on the Trust Question—Also Some Other Facts of Record Relative to the Real Attitude of Democratic Leaders on the Trust Question.

The platform of the Democratic party adopted at their Presidential convention in Kansas City declares "an unceasing warfare in nation, State and city against private monopoly in every form." This portion of the document is written in expressive language by a master hand, probably that of Augustus Van Wyck, the New York member of the Platform Committee, who is an expert in the subject of "monopolies and trusts." He is one of the largest stockholders in what is popularly known as the Tammany Ice Trust, which the leading Democratic newspapers of New York City recently described as "A conspiracy to coin fever and thirst into dividends."

The Ice Trust was organized to control the supply and fix the price to the consumers in the great city of New York of one of the prime necessities of life. It was organized by Democratic politicians, many of whom are officeholders whose official authority could be and has been used to promote its prosperity and swell its profits. Immense as were the financial resources of this unlawful monopoly it could not expect to control every source of supply. Both Divine Providence and human science forbade that, but it could virtually prevent the necessary of life from reaching several millions of consumers except through the channels it provided and on the terms it demanded.

Wholesale Democratic Plunder.

This was easily done through the connivance of Democratic officials who controlled the dock privileges of the great city, two of whom were dock commissioners and another the Mayor. This having been accomplished the Trust advanced the price of ice which cost it one dollar to one dollar and fifty cents a ton in its delivery wagons, to three and four dollars a ton to its wholesale customers and sixty cents the 100 pounds, or at the rate of twelve dollars a ton (double the price of coal), to small consumers. At the same time it proclaimed that thereafter no sales of ice in "five-cent pieces" would be made, thus virtually depriving of this prime necessity of life all persons who were too poor to buy more than five cents' worth at one time and all who were not able to indulge in the luxury of refrigerators or ice chests, the two classes together numbering several hundred thousand persons in the great city which this Democratic Trust holds by the throat. Later, the Trust was compelled by force of public opinion to make a partial concession to its poorer customers, which it did with an insult by

compelling them to show that they were actually too poor to buy more than a half-dime's worth of ice at a time.

All these things were done this year by this Democratic Trust, while ice was furnished to consumers in Savannah, Georgia, at the rate of 5 cents for 50 pounds.

Democratic Officials the Stockholders.

Who compose this monopoly? Among its stockholders were the following Democratic officeholders and politicians, a few of whom may have disposed of their stock on account of the exposure of the infamies of the organization:

Robert A. Van Wyck, Mayor—10,175 shares.

Augustus Van Wyck, brother of Mayor, Democratic candidate for Governor, 1898; New York member Kansas City Platform Committee—7,000 shares.

J. Sergeant Cram, Dock Commissioner.

Charles F. Murphy, Dock Commissioner.

John Whalen, Corporation Counsel, Delegate to Kansas City Convention.

H. S. Kearny, Commissioner Public Buildings, Lighting and Supplies.

George V. Brawer, Park Commissioner, Brooklyn.

Randolph Guggenheimer, President of Council.

Joseph E. Newberger, Judge General Sessions.

Martin T. McMahon, Judge General Sessions.

Rufus B. Cowing, Judge General Sessions.

Among the other members of the judiciary either of the Court of General Sessions or of the Supreme Court whose names were found on the register of stockholders were the following Democratic Judges: George C. Barrett, George L. Ingraham, James Fitzgerald, H. A. Gildersleeve, Edgar L. Fursman and Edward Patterson.

Democratic "Bosses" in the Trust.

But more illustrious names than theirs are to follow. Richard Croker, the Democratic "Boss," who led the New York delegation in the Kansas City Convention and deputed Augustus Van Wyck to act as a member of the Platform Committee, is down for one thousand shares, and the names of several members of his family also appear on the list of stockholders, indicating that his presents to them do not all consist of "bull pups" at \$4,000 apiece. John F. Carroll, the deputy boss, who acts in Croker's absence, and who was also one of the delegates to the Kansas City Convention, is down for 10,250 shares. A good deal of ice is brought from the rivers of Maine, which were visited by Mayor Van Wyck and John F. Carroll some weeks ago, with an eye to business, and on the list of stockholders of the Ice Trust it was not surprising to find the illustrious name of Arthur Sewall, of Bath, who was one of the tails to Bryan's kite four years ago. The names of two Democratic ex-mayors of New York—Hugh J. Grant and Thomas F. Gilroy—were found on the same list.

National Democratic Chairman Jones a Friend of Trusts.

To return to the Kansas City Convention and its platform. It was truly appropriate that the latter should be presented to the Convention by Senator J. K. Jones, of Arkansas, and that it should be received on behalf of the Convention by its permanent Chairman, Representative James D. Richardson, of Tennessee. The former was the Chairman of the Platform Committee and is the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He is also a member of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, and in that capacity he took an influential

part in framing what is sometimes known as the "Sugar Trust Tariff" of 1894. It may be remembered that the butler—it was his housemaid—of Senator McPherson, of New Jersey, having become possessed of some advance information about the sugar rates of that tariff (his or her employer being one of Senator Jones' colleagues of the Finance Committee), bought some Sugar Trust stock and turned a comfortable penny by the transaction.

Senator Jones next distinguished himself as a foe of the Sugar Trust a few months ago, when the Porto Rican Relief bill was under consideration in the Senate. It was proposed to use the money collected as duties on Porto Rican products which had been brought into the United States for the benefit of the island. That did not strike Senator Jones favorably and he offered an amendment providing that the money should be returned to those from whom it had been collected. If his amendment had been adopted nearly \$1,200,000 would have been paid out of the National Treasury into the treasury of the Sugar Trust instead of being used for the benefit of Porto Rico. But the Republican Senate did not adopt the amendment offered by Senator Jones, who was one of the framers of the Kansas City Platform, and is the Chairman of the Bryan National Campaign Committee.

Congressional Democratic Chairman Richardson Also a Friend of Trusts.

Representative Richardson, permanent Chairman of the Kansas City Convention and Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, also distinguished himself in the last session of Congress by his sturdy opposition (?) to "trusts and monopolies." He offered a series of joint resolutions aimed against them. One of these, which provided for the abolition of the duties on all sugar and molasses produced in Cuba and Porto Rico and brought into the United States, was referred to the Ways and Means Committee, of which he is a member. This was House Joint Resolution No. 181, Fifty-sixth Congress, First Session. After consideration by the Committee it was moved that the resolution be reported back to the House with an adverse recommendation. On this motion, Mr. Richardson, the leader of the Democratic minority in the House, voted in the negative. From the adverse report of the Committee it appears that if the joint resolution should become law the sugar consumers of the United States would derive no benefit whatever from it, but *that the Sugar Trust would be better off by the sum of fourteen million dollars a year more*, and that the sugar growers of the United States would be deprived of a large measure of the protection necessary to the maintenance and growth of that important domestic industry.

Mr. Bryan as a Friend of Trusts.

Perhaps the most striking example, however, of persistent support of trusts by men who are constantly professing hostility to them is the course of Mr. Bryan with reference to that greatest combination of this character known to the United States, the Silver Trust. If there are any two subjects upon which Mr. Bryan has been frequently heard from in the past four years it is "political bossism" and "the Trust question." Yet if the reports from Lincoln and Kansas City during the early days of the Democratic Convention of 1900 are true—and they have not been denied by Mr. Bryan or his friends—he on that occasion performed the *most remarkable feat of political bossism ever known to history and performed it in the interest of the greatest trust known to the United States, the Silver Trust*, which is made up largely of alien owners of our great silver mines.

It is well known that a majority of the convention and a majority of the Committee on Platform was opposed to a distinct declaration in favor of the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, preferring to "sneak" the silver question in by the equally effective but more delusive method of a general reaffirmation of the Chicago Platform of 1896. When Mr. Bryan heard of this, it is asserted (and not denied) that he sent word that unless a distinct declaration in favor of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at 16 to 1 were inserted he would take the first train for Kansas City, enter the convention as a substitute for some Nebraska delegate, and lead the fight for a distinct declaration of this kind, and that *if it were not inserted in the platform in specific terms he would refuse a nomination on the platform or by the party.*

Aided by an Imperial Prince.

The result is known: the Platform Committee, by the aid of the vote of the princely delegate from Hawaii, put into the platform a specific declaration in favor of free coinage at 16 to 1, and the Convention, at the demand of the greatest Political Boss, controlled by the greatest of trusts, calmly swallowed it. If there is any doubt about what is the "paramount issue" of the platform there can be none as to the paramount issue in the mind and intent of Mr. Bryan, as the representative of the Silver Trust.

On this question of his relations to the Silver Trust the following statement, published July 11, 1896, by his now ardent supporter, the Chicago Chronicle, will be accepted as authoritative:

"The proprietors of the Big Bonanzas have found it profitable to keep a large number of orators, lecturers and other spokesmen on the road. Among the men who have been thus employed and carried on the pay-roll of the Big Bonanzas for a number of years is Wm. J. Bryan of Nebraska. A paid agent of and spokesman for the silver combine, he has not since his retirement from Congress had any other visible means of support. The richest men in the world, the proprietors of the Big Bonanzas, hire orators like Bryan exactly as other wealthy men hire fiddlers, and value them about as highly. Silver orators, like fiddlers, come in at the back doors of the Big Bonanzas and eat at the servants' table. *Since he holds that relationship to the Big Bonanzas, Wm. J. Bryan's nomination by their order, and as a result of the free use of their money, becomes an insult to the American people of no small proportions.*"

COLORED AMERICANS.

JOHN R. LYNCH'S APPEAL TO THEM.

"The Paramount Issue is the Protection of Their Own Rights."

**Ignored by the Democratic Platform — Public Declarations of Democratic Leaders,
Negro Suffrage Must be "Removed from the Body Politic" — The
False Cry of "Negro Domination" — Colored Voters
in the North Warned.**

My attention has been previously called, says John R. Lynch, Ex-Congressman from Mississippi, and now Paymaster in the U. S. V. at Santiago, to expressions from certain colored men who seem to be dissatisfied with the position of the Republican party in general and the present administration in particular, with reference to certain questions now before the public in which the colored race is vitally interested. Some of these expressions are from sources which deserve respectful consideration. They are made by men, who, I am sure, are not actuated by sordid motives or selfish considerations. Some of them have gone so far as to express the opinion that the condition of the race would be improved, at least in certain localities, if the colored vote would divide. These men are honest but mistaken. They are laboring under an erroneous impression, which, if possible, should be removed.

The principal objection urged against the Republican party by certain colored men is that it has not been sufficiently outspoken in denunciation and condemnation of lawlessness and violence and in the efforts now being made by the Democratic party to abrogate and nullify the 15th. Amendment. Every intelligent person knows that the present administration has done all that can be done under the Constitution and laws to prevent these crimes and to punish those who commit them. There are many persons, white and colored, of more than ordinary intelligence, who honestly believe that a national administration can, if it will, protect every person in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property. But those who understand our system of government know better. Under the Constitution and laws of the United States, as construed by the Supreme Court, the protection of the individual in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property comes under the police regulations of the state and that if the state can not or will not afford this protection the individual is without a remedy. This is one of the defects in our governmental system which I hope will some day be remedied. The fact has been demonstrated that the general government can not even protect a foreign subject against domestic violence in any one of the states of the American Union. That the United States government can protect any one of its citizens against violence abroad but can not protect any one of them against domestic violence when committed in any one of the states may seem strange, but it is true just the same.

CRIMES AND OUTRAGES NOT TO BE ENDORSED.

Is it reasonable to suppose that the colored voters will now endorse and approve of the crimes that some of them blame the present administration for not being able to prevent? Some colored men do

not seem to realize the fact that this is what they will be doing if they vote the Democratic ticket. I have seen a suggestion from at least one colored man for whose opinions I have great respect, that if the colored man, especially in the South, would vote the Democratic ticket, they would no doubt receive more consideration and better treatment. I assume that this suggestion was thoughtfully made and at a time when the subject had been carefully considered. Of course no colored man who is not devoid of manhood and self-respect can act upon such a suggestion. It would mean that the helpless victim should kiss the rod that smites him with the hope that he who holds it may temper the blows with mercy. It would mean a confession on the part of the colored men that they are not entitled to a voice in the government under which they live and by which they are taxed. It would be a declaration on their part that they are here by sufferance and not by law—that they are allowed to remain upon American soil as a matter of favor and not as a matter of right.

THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE FOR COLORED VOTERS.

I do not mean to say that all colored men are in accord with the Republican Party upon all public questions. Colored men are not unlike white men. There are differences among them just as there are among white men. There are some colored men, no doubt, who are in accord with Mr. Bryan and the Democratic party, especially upon such questions as expansion, the finances and the tariff. These colored men would, I am sure, vote in accordance with their views on these questions if conditions were such that they could afford to make any one of them the paramount issue. But a moment's consideration will show that this is not possible. It is no doubt true that there are many men who are not in perfect accord with the party to which they belong and for whose candidates they vote. The course usually pursued by intelligent men who are thus situated is to select some one important question or issue that they consider to be paramount to all others, and act with the party with which they find themselves in accord on that issue. This was clearly and intelligently expressed in a letter written by Hon. Carl Schurz in 1899. It was not Mr. Schurz's conclusions, but his process of reasoning that impressed me favorably. In 1896 he considered the financial question to be the paramount issue, and, finding himself in accord with the Republican party on that issue, he acted in that campaign with the Republican party. In 1900 he believes the question of expansion should be the paramount issue, and finding himself in accord with the Democratic party on that issue, he acts in this campaign with the Democratic party. It will be seen, of course, that what must necessarily be the paramount issue with the colored voters is a subordinate one with Mr. Schurz. Senator Hoar, on the other hand, who is in accord with Mr. Schurz and the Democratic party on the question of expansion, does not consider expansion to be the paramount issue. The following sentence from a speech delivered by him in the Senate expresses his views upon that question: "I am not ready to take the administration of this country from the party which for fifty years has been wrong but once, and commit it to the party which for fifty years has never once been right." The paramount issue with the colored Americans must be the protection of their own rights, which are being assailed by the Democratic party. So long as the Democratic party maintains its present attitude towards the colored Americans, the colored voters can not afford to make any other than the protection of their own rights a paramount issue. I cannot see, therefore, how any colored man can afford to act with the Democratic Party, although some of them may be in harmony with it on subordinate questions and issues.

To find out the attitude of the Democratic party on the suffrage question we are obliged to look elsewhere than in their last national platform. In that document that important question is entirely ignored. But Senator Morgan of Alabama, who is one of the ablest Democrats in the Senate, and whose authority to represent and speak for his party will hardly be questioned, has recently defined the position of the Democratic party on that issue in language that can not be misunderstood. Speaking with reference to Negro suffrage, he used the following language: "It is a thorn in the flesh and will irritate and rankle until it is removed from the body politic." This is not only the opinion of Senator Morgan, it is the position of the Democratic party. The Republican party, on the other hand, in its last national platform, emphatically declared that it was the plain purpose of the 15th. Amendment to the Federal Constitution to prevent distinction on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise, and that the devices of state governments, whether by statutory or constitutional enactments to defeat this purpose are revolutionary and should be condemned. On this important question the issue is thus clearly joined between the two great parties.

SENATOR MORGAN'S BOLD AVOWAL.

Those who believe this should be the paramount question or issue, and are in accord with the Democratic party, as defined by Senator Morgan, will vote the Democratic ticket. Those who are in accord with the Republican party as defined in the last national platform of that party, and the record and utterances of its candidates, will vote the Republican ticket. On this issue I cannot see how there can be any division among colored voters. A party that will deny justice to a part of its own people can not safely be depended upon to accord justice to any other people. At any rate, so far as the colored American is concerned, he must act upon the principle that charity begins at home.

COLORED VOTE NOT DANGEROUS.

The assertion that the colored vote is dangerous and is a menace to good government is the reverse of true. On the contrary they are among the most conservative and reliable voters in the country. They are always on the side of law and order. They are opposed to mob law and violence. They are on the side of the business interests of the country. They are in favor of a good government and an honest administration. They believe in a sound and stable currency. They are thoroughly American, and therefore favor protection to American interests, American capital and American labor. They are opposed to the principles and doctrines of the Populists and all the other issues that are calculated to disorganize society, disarrange business or impair the credit of the government; and yet it is contended by some that this vote is dangerous and that it should be suppressed in the interest of good government and honest administration, especially in the South. It is a fact that cannot be truthfully denied that the so-called intelligent white vote of the South, in the interest of which it is contended the colored vote of that section should be suppressed, has been and is now, the principal support of those dangerous and mischievous doctrines and isms that are calculated to disturb the business interests of the country, if not destroy the credit of the government. These unwise and dangerous doctrines and principles are so strong with that class of voters that they have virtually changed the Democratic party into a Populist party. But I believe it is nothing more than fair to the Southern Democrats to say

that their position upon these questions, in my opinion, is one of expediency and not of conviction. They would be with Mr. Cleveland and against Mr. Bryan now, if they believed party success would thereby be assured.

DANGER TO NORTHERN COLORED VOTERS.

I am aware of the fact that there are some colored men in the North, East and West who contend that, whatever may happen to the colored man of the South, *they* at least are free from danger of disfranchisement. Their arguments are the same as that made by some sound money Democrats, who contend that, in consequence of Republican legislation the country would be in no danger of financial disaster even if Bryan should be elected. This is the same argument that was made by many persons in 1892 with reference to the tariff. I heard many protectionists assert that the tariff was no longer an issue, and therefore should not be discussed, because it had been settled by the passage of the McKinley bill. Of course they came to a different conclusion after the election was over, but it was then too late to prevent the disorder which came over the country as a result of that election. Colored men of the North, East and West who flatter themselves that they are free from danger because the Republican party is strong enough in those sections to save them from the fate that has overtaken the colored men of the South, forget that under a government like ours, public opinion is an important factor in shaping the policy and controlling the action of party organizations. Party managers, as a rule, are not anxious to have the organization they represent champion a cause they know to be unpopular. It is the present purpose of the leaders of the Democratic party to create a sentiment in the country that will be antagonistic to the colored man as a voter. They are trying to convince Republican leaders that the Republican party would be stronger without the colored man as an ally than it is with him. If the Republican party could be induced to take the same position towards the colored race as that now occupied by the Democratic party, is there an intelligent person who entertains a doubt as to what the result would be? The 15th. Amendment would be repealed inside of two years, and the colored men of the North East and West would find themselves in the same helpless position as the colored men in the South. In fact it would not be necessary to wait until the Amendment is repealed. All that would be necessary would be to pass laws or amend state constitutions in such a way as will, in effect, nullify and abrogate the 15th. Amendment, just as has been done in Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina.

The attitude of the Republican party towards the colored race is all that has prevented this from being done in other sections of the country. The colored man's only safety is in the Republican party. If it has not done all it could have done and should have done for the colored race, it has done all that has been done. It found the colored man a slave; it made him a free man. It found him a chattel; it made him a soldier. It found him a serf; it made him a citizen. It found him a vassal; it made him a man. It found him a dependent menial; it made him an independent sovereign. The work of the Republican party, as the champion and defender of equal civil and political rights, is one of the brightest and most brilliant pages in the history of that grand and magnificent organization. The colored American can not do better than to remain true and loyal to the party of liberty, justice and equal rights for all American citizens under the law.

OUR COLORED CITIZENS.

How They Have Been Officially Recognized Both in War and Peace by the Republican Party.

Persistent attempts have been made to create dissatisfaction among the colored population of the country by misrepresenting the intentions of the Republican party touching the treatment of the inhabitants of the Philippines and Porto Rico on one hand, and by depreciating its attitude toward the American negro on the other. Both the history of the party in the past and the course of its actions at the present time expose the falsity of these charges.

Prior to the accession of the Republican party to power a race of 4,000,000 souls had suffered the wrongs and cruelties of human slavery, with no redress either in the courts, in Congress, or at the bar of public opinion. In all the years from 1619, when the first cargo of slaves was landed at Jamestown, Va., to 1856, when the Republican party had its birth, both organic and statutory law formed an impassable bar to negro hopes and ambitions. But with the birth of that party a marked change occurred.

It is unnecessary to recount the causes which led up to the war of the rebellion. As a result of that war, under the leadership of a Republican President, supported by a Republican Congress, 4,000,000 negroes were emancipated from slavery, invested with citizenship, and made an integral part of this great republic, to share in its glories and opportunities, bound only by the limitations of individual capacity and worth.

Unwilling, however, to rest the security of the negro's rights upon mere legislative enactment, the Republican party, through the co-operation of Republican States, gave to negro citizenship the supreme sanction of constitutional guaranty.

It was only then that the Declaration of Independence, now so ostentatiously quoted by the Democracy as the embodiment of their party principles, but for which nearly 100 years had been ignored and repudiated by their party practices, first became the true expression of our national policy.

PREPARING THEM FOR CITIZENSHIP.

Following this change in the political status of the colored population came a period of preparation for citizenship. Thousands of northern men and women, schooled under the tutelage of Republican environment, in the works of philanthropy and justice, dedicated their money, their time, and even their lives to the education and elevation of those emancipated millions. Hence the colored school and the colored church under the guidance of white philanthropists spring into existence, only to be followed by similar institutions organized and controlled by colored citizens. But this leaven of intelligence could never have been imparted to the black masses of the South but for the opportunities first opened as a direct result of Republican principles and policies.

No more striking contrast as to the attitude of the two great parties touching their adherence to the principle that "all men are created equal" can be made than the course of events North and South during the past quarter of a century.

In the North, where Republicanism is strongest, colored citizens, although a minority of the population, are given participation in the control of municipalities, counties and States, and are frequently elected to public office in these respective units of our governmental system.

In the South, the stronghold of Democracy, the colored citizen is being systematically disfranchised and barred from effective participation in the conduct of public affairs, and each year witnesses a narrowing of his political and civil rights.

PARTICIPATING IN OFFICIAL LIFE.

Proceeding upon the recognition of the equality of all men before the law, it has been the uniform practice of the Republican party in State and Nation to co-operate with the negro in his desire to become a useful citizen.

Thus his participation in official life has increased with the intelligence of the race, until today the number of colored citizens in the service of the Government exceeds both in number and importance of positions occupied that of any previous administration. According to reliable sources of information, there were in 1899 the following Government positions occupied by colored citizens:

COLORED CITIZENS IN SERVICE OF GOVERNMENT.

	No. of positions.	Salaries.
Army	*15,050	\$4,751,072
Post Office Department	34	24,680
Interior Department	200	271,000
Printing Office	168	117,600
District of Columbia	75	55,260
Consular Service	11	25,000
State Department (estimated)	25	20,000
Navy Department	25	20,000
War Department	40	30,000
Treasury Department	210	200,000
Agricultural and Executive Departments	30	25,000
Total	15,868	\$5,538,612

*Including 266 colored officers, by far the largest in the history of the country.

In addition to this list may be added the Federal appointments given to colored men by which the aggregate of salaries is vastly increased. The following list shows the names and positions of the more eminent colored appointees of President McKinley:

- J. W. Lyons, Register of the Treasury.
- H. A. Rucker, collector of internal revenue, Atlanta, Ga.
- J. H. Deveaux, collector of customs, Savannah, Ga.
- C. C. Wimbish, collector of port, Atlanta, Ga.
- I. J. McCottrie, collector of port, Georgetown, S. C.
- R. R. Wright, paymaster in Army.
- Rev. C. T. Walker, chaplain in Army.
- Dr. George C. Stoney, surgeon in Army.
- E. R. Belcher, deputy collector customs, Brunswick, Ga.
- M. P. Morton, postmaster, Athens, Ga.
- I. H. Lofton, postmaster, Hogansville, Ga.
- J. T. Jackson, postmaster, Darien, Ga.

Mrs. E. L. Bamfield, postmistress, Beaufort, S. C.
 Dr. A. M. Curtis, surgeon in chief, Freedmen's Hospital.
 Rev. B. W. Arnett, Jr., chaplain in Army.
 John R. Lynch, paymaster in Army.
 James Hill, register of lands, Jackson, Miss.
 Frank P. Brinson, postmaster, Duncansville, Miss.
 Thomas Keys, postmaster, Ocean Springs, Miss.
 H. P. Cheatham, recorder of deeds, District of Columbia.
 John C. Dancy, collector of port, Wilmington, N. C.
 Dr. J. E. Shepard, Internal-Revenue Service, North Carolina.
 Rev. O. L. W. Smith, minister to Liberia.
 John T. Williams, consul, Sierra Leone, Africa.
 Mrs. S. E. Jones, postmistress, Bladen County, N. C.
 Colin Anthony, postmaster, Scotland Neck, N. C.
 Joseph E. Lee, collector of internal revenue, Florida.
 D. N. Pappy, collector of port, St. Augustine, Fla.
 Dr. L. W. Livingston, consul, Cape Haitien, Haiti.
 W. F. Powell, minister to Haiti.
 Robert Pelham, special Indian agent.
 J. C. Leftwich, receiver of public money, Montgomery, Ala.
 H. V. Cashin, receiver of public money, Huntsville, Ala.
 R. A. Parker, Internal-Revenue Service, Alabama.
 Dr. A. M. Brown, surgeon in Army.
 Rev. I. Dawson, postmaster, Eutaw, Ala.
 M. W. Gibbs, consul, Tamatave, Madagascar.
 J. E. Bush, receiver of public money, Little Rock, Ark.
 Fred Havis, postmaster, Pine Bluff, Ark.
 M. B. Van Horn, consul, St. Thomas, Danish West Indies.
 Dr. George H. Jackson, consul, La Rochelle, France.
 John P. Green, superintendent of stamp division, Postoffice Dept.
 C. L. Maxwell, consul, Santo Domingo.
 W. T. Anderson, a Regular Army chaplain.
 H. Y. Arnett, comparer, office of recorder of deeds District of Columbia.
 E. P. McCabe, Oklahoma.
 N. T. Velar, postmaster, Brinton, Pa.
 J. H. Jackson, postmaster, Pennsylvania.
 J. N. Ruffin, consul, Asuncion, Paraguay.
 Gen. Robert Smalls, collector of port, Beaufort, S. C.
 F. J. Baker, postmaster, Lake City, S. C.
 J. E. Wilson, postmaster, Florence, S. C.
 T. C. Walker, collector of port, Tappahannock, Va.
 R. T. Greener, consul, Vladivostock, Russia.
 Dr. H. W. Furniss, consul, Bahia, Brazil.
 W. A. Gaines, Internal-Revenue Service, Kentucky.
 Dr. J. O. Holmes, pension examiner, Kentucky.
 J. R. Spurgeon, secretary legation, Liberia.
 Henry Demas, naval officer, New Orleans, La.
 James Lewis, surveyor-general, Louisiana.
 Mrs. V. E. Bahn, postmistress, Madisonville, La.
 E. L. Simon, postmaster, South Atlanta, Ga.

COLORED MEN IN SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

When hostilities broke out between the United States and Spain in 1898, President McKinley did not hesitate to call upon valiant colored men to assist in maintaining national honor and defending the country's flag. Several volunteer regiments were organized at once and were officered by some of the brightest men of the race.

WAS GIVEN A MAN'S CHANCE.

In this struggle the negro was given a man's chance, and a lion's share of the glory is his. In Cuba the negro soldiers distinguished themselves by signal bravery and daring, the charge at San Juan Hill

being a lasting monument to their valor and courage. As a result of this memorable battle many were promoted from the ranks to executive positions. Those who were not assigned to duty in Cuba served their country by discharging important guard and picket duty. At the close of the war with Spain the bulk of the regiments, white and black, were mustered out. The negro troops of the regular army, comprising the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry, remained in the service.

TWO NEW REGIMENTS ORGANIZED.

Appreciating the superior services of the negro troops in the recent war with Spain, President McKinley decided to increase the number of negro regiments in the regular or standing army, and on the 8th of September, 1899, issued an order for the organization of two new regiments of infantry, to be composed of colored men. The Democrats protested against this action, but to no avail. Two regiments were called for. The regiments have been designated as the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Volunteer Infantry and were organized respectively at Fort Thomas, Ky., and Jefferson Barracks, Mo.

Thus the war with Spain, in addition to its primary object, served a two-fold purpose. It emphasized the policy of the Republican party in according to the colored citizen places of honor in war as well as in peace; and the black soldier in that war, by his intrepidity and daring, by his patriotism and valor, proved to the world that citizenship had not been unworthily bestowed.

In face of the foregoing facts, the colored voter, the anti-imperialist and others doubtful of the wisdom of continuing the control of the present administration, may well be asked whether or not the rights of the American negro at home and the destinies of the inhabitants of those islands now belonging to the United States are not safer with the Republican party than with the Democracy, which for years has been the instrument of human slavery, as it is now in the South that of human degradation.

DISFRANCHISEMENT.

The New Plan of Cutting Out the Colored Vote Under Color of Law in the South—What Tillman Says.

When certain persons fall out, honest men get their dues, but it does not appear just why a conflict over a matter of parliamentary privilege between Senator Morgan of Alabama and Senator Tillman of South Carolina should prompt the latter to make an explicit statement on the floor of the Senate as to the suppression of the negro vote in the South. We have only to deal with the fact. Whether it was simply a delight in displaying more courage than other senators from the South, or the desire to flaunt the wrongs against the ballot more defiantly in the face of the North, may be disputed, but Senator Tillman arrayed them and avowed them as no man from the South has done before. By a strange turn this same senator who, on February 24, set forth and gloried in the disfranchisement of the negroes in the South, was selected to read the platform to the Kansas City convention in July, and did so, rolling sonorously over his tongue the phrases as to the "consent of the governed," etc.

ALLOWED THE NEGROES ONE DISTRICT, THEN TOOK IT AWAY.

Said Mr. Tillman in the Senate:

"The attack of the Senator from Colorado was that the vote in my State was suppressed, and he read figures from the Congressional Directory going to show that the vote in the last State election for congressmen was some 28,000 for seven congressmen. The same would apply to the State of Alabama; to almost every other Southern State similarly situated to mine. It applies to Mississippi. It was not new.

"In that connection I will show now and here why the vote in South Carolina is so small at the legal election in November. Under our new constitution, in which the suffrage is based on an educational qualification, enlarged to illiterates by the payment of taxes on \$300, we have about 114,000 registered voters. In other words, a man who can read and write or pays taxes on \$300 worth of property is allowed to vote. There are in the State some fourteen or fifteen thousand colored voters registered. Of the balance of the vote, white, 97 per cent is Democratic.

"The total registered vote is 114,000 or 115,000. I say 97 per cent of the white vote is Democratic. At our Democratic primaries, protected by law for the nomination of the party candidates, held in the summer, at least 90 per cent of that vote turns out, and there is great interest and excitement, as some of you have heard in the papers in the campaigns in which I have been interested down there for governor and senator. There is no lethargy there in politics, there being as much politics to the square mile as in any other State in the Union. But there has been no organized Republican party in the State since 1884. The Republicans do not hold any State convention; they do not nominate any candidates for governor and other State officers. In one congressional district they did so up to the period when the last constitution was inaugurated, in 1895, in what is known as the black district, where we strung the negroes together for the purpose of giving them one district, and then we turned around and took it away from them, having the usual greed of the Anglo-Saxon and his unwillingness to allow the colored race to dominate him or have any influence in government.

"Well, with no candidates opposing our Democratic nominees at the legal elections in November, being merely a ratification of the primary elections or nomination in August, what object is there for men to turn out and vote? They simply do not do it. Therefore three or four thousand or four or five thousand in a congressional district go to the polls in November and ratify the action of the party in August.

THE GOVERNING CLASS.

Later on Mr. Tillman went on to give this description of the proposed government in Hawaii:

"The lower legislative branch of the government is to be elected by those who can read and write; and as to the Senate, by those who have \$1,000, and to be voted for by nobody who has not a thousand dollars. Therefore, the wealthy classes in the territory are to control its destinies, the "governing classes," as some senator said the other day—a new phrase in America, by the way—"the governing classes!"

MR. HOAR: Just as you have a governing race.

MR. TILLMAN: We have a governing race just as you would have

in Massachusetts if you had 750,000 negroes and only 500,000 white men. [Laughter.] I do not deny, and never have denied, that the white people in South Carolina control the State and intend to continue the control of it. We have a God-given right to control it; and when our civilization was in jeopardy we rose and took the control, as I said a while ago.

AN OPEN AND ABSOLUTE ADMISSION.

Toward the close of Senator Tillman's speech the following colloquy occurred:

MR. CLARK of Wyoming: Will the Senator from South Carolina declare on this floor today that every method has not been used, and is not now being used, to disfranchise the colored people of the South?

MR. TILLMAN: *I know* nothing about other States; but I acknowledge openly and boldly in the sight of God that we did our level best to keep every negro in our State from voting. [Laughter.]

THE SOUTH CAROLINA PLAN.

Formerly in South Carolina the tissue ballot method prevailed, but after the split in the Democrats and the rise of the Tillman faction, a new method was required, since there was danger that one element might try to beat the other by bidding for the colored vote. Hence the resort to the plan for

DISFRANCHISEMENT BY LAW.

The South Carolina plan of negro disfranchisement is the most brutal of any in the Southern States, and is without any recommendation whatever. The negro is disfranchised by a simple act of the Legislature passed in March, 1896, providing for a complete new registration of the State, to be completed by January, 1898. After that date an educational or property qualification went into operation, and no voter is allowed to register, and therefore to vote, unless he can read or pays taxes on \$300 of property. Two serious objections exist to this provision from the point of view of the whites: First, that while illiterate whites coming of age before 1898 can vote, those coming of age afterward are shut out; secondly, that the act being a mere legislative provision, is subject to amendment or repeal in case a hostile Legislature should, by any accident, be elected.

"ONE GRAND STEAL, AND THEN TURN HONEST."

The South Carolina Registration Act provided that between March, 1896, and January, 1898, special boards of registration created in every county should make up a permanent roll of voters, which roll is to continue to 1908. On that roll these boards were to place the names of all voters who could read, and such others (illiterates) as "can understand and explain any section of the Constitution of the State when read to them." In other words, the South Carolina Legislature adopted the "understanding clause" of the Mississippi Constitution, to be applied, however, not permanently, but only to the preparation of this roll of voters. The law seems somewhat fair on its face, but no pretense of fairness or honesty was made in its application.

"We will have one grand steal and then turn honest," was the watchword. The boards of registration were made to understand that the Legislature had deputed to them the work of preparing a roll of voters that would include every white man in South Carolina, illiterate or

literate, and shut out all the negroes. All white applicants were passed by the registration boards, being asked questions about the Constitution that no man of the rudest intelligence could fail to understand, while the questions propounded to the few negro applicants for registration were such as to shut them out.

THE LOUISIANA PLAN.

So in Louisiana the movement toward "a legal and constitutional disfranchisement" as a substitute for fraud, which began in 1892, has been completed, although not without great difficulty. A statement of the plan will show how much legality and constitutionality there is in it. It has been denounced as a fraud and an insult to the intelligence of the people by nearly every Democratic paper in the State, but was adopted as the only plan which would exclude all the negroes and yet let in the illiterate and penniless whites. It was similarly denounced by the two United States Senators, McEnery and Caffery, who announced that they had consulted Democratic Senators Turpie of Indiana, Lindsay of Kentucky, Vest of Missouri, Berry of Arkansas, Walthall of Mississippi, Turley of Tennessee, Pettus of Alabama, McLaurin of South Carolina, and in the House, Judge Culberson of Texas, all of whom agreed that the Louisiana suffrage article could not stand "judicial inquiry."

"The system finally adopted," says the *New York Sun*, "extends the suffrage to those who can read or write, or who pay taxes on \$300 of property. Section 5, the objectionable feature of the article and whose constitutionality is unquestionable, excepts from the educational qualification "any male person who on January 1, 1867, or at any date prior thereto, was entitled to vote under the Constitution or statutes of any State in the United States wherein he resided, and all sons and grandsons of such persons, and all persons naturalized prior to January 1, 1898." This is the hereditary clause by which voters can claim the franchise because of their descent from those who were voters at any time. As suffrage was given to the negroes in 1868, they are shut out by this clause, whereas very nearly all the whites are admitted to suffrage.

THE ROLL AN ABSURDITY.

The permanent roll of Louisiana is thus a mockery and an absurdity. It is impossible to tell how many illiterate whites are registered under section 5 because their fathers or grandfathers were voters, for the permanent roll contains as many, if not more, educated than illiterate voters. But even including the educated voters improperly borne on this list, it contains only a few thousand names. Not half of these are illiterates, and in many parishes there are none at all registered. Not 10 per cent of the illiterate whites have cared to avail themselves of section 5.

The population of Louisiana in 1890 was 1,118,587, and, according to the accepted ratio of one in five, the State should have had 223,000 votes. It actually cast 102,046 votes in 1896. South Carolina, with a population of 1,151,149 and not less than 200,000 lawful voters, cast 68,907. At this rate, when the other Southern States adopt the new scheme of "legal disfranchisement," as they seem determined to do, the voteless men in that section cannot fall much short of a million. Yet the echoes are awakened with clamor over "the consent of the governed" in the Philippines.

THE NEGRO DISFRANCHISED

THE FIRST STEP INTO A NEW SLAVERY



SENATOR TILLMAN IN CONGRESS—“We do our best to keep every negro in our State from voting”.

PROSPERITY FOR FARMERS

How It Has Been Brought About By the Republican Policy of Protection.

The farmer has shared with the business man, the manufacturer and his workmen, the railways and their employees, and the various classes of our citizens, in the general prosperity following the return to the tariff policy of protection. His markets have increased both at home and abroad, and with this increase have come advanced prices for what he sells and advanced value of that which he retains. Not only do the figures of exports show a marked increase in his receipts from abroad, but in the home market, by far the most important to the farmer, prices have advanced, consumption and demand increased, and with these has come prosperity to this greatest class of producers.

On all farm products the rate of duty was reduced by the Wilson tariff, and in most cases that of the McKinley tariff was restored by the Dingley tariff. This increase has had its effect in checking the importation of manufactured articles of farm production, and thus has saved to the farmers a share of the home market.

DECREASED IMPORTATION OF FARM PRODUCTS.

There was a marked decrease in the importation of farm products immediately following the repeal of the Wilson law, which occurred in July, 1897, the imports of the year ending June 30, 1897, having thus come entirely under the Wilson Act. The total imports of agricultural products, as classified by the Department of Agriculture, were in the fiscal year 1897, \$400,871,468; in 1898, under the Dingley law, they dropped to \$314,291,796, and in 1899 were \$355,514,881. This gives an average reduction of over \$60,000,000 a year in agricultural imports in 1898 and 1899 as compared with 1897.

A LESSON FROM EGGS.

Many single instances might be cited to show the reduction in individual classes of articles, but as a single example will be all that is required for this purpose, the comparatively unimportant item of eggs is selected. Figures of the Bureau of Statistics show that prior to the enactment of the McKinley law, which placed a duty upon eggs entering into the United States from abroad, the value of the importations ranged from two million to two and a half million dollars per annum, being in the fiscal year 1899 \$2,418,926 and in the year 1890 \$2,074,912. Immediately following the enactment of that law the importations fell greatly, and in the year 1894, the last year of the McKinley law, amounted to only \$199,536, or but 10 per cent of the average in the years preceding its enactment.

The Wilson law, however, reduced the duty on eggs from 5 cents to 3 cents per dozen, and in 1895, the first year of its operation, the importations increased to \$324,133 in value, following the general depression in 1896-1897. The Dingley law restored the rate of duty to 5 cents per dozen, and in 1898 the value of importations again dropped to \$8,078, and in

the fiscal year of 1900 averaged about \$1,700 per month, or a trifle above \$20,000 per year, as against an average of over \$2,000,000 per annum before a duty was placed against this article of foreign production. This clearly shows that protection keeps the home market for the American farmer.

THE HOME MARKET UNDER PROTECTION.

It is in the improvement of the home market, however, that the farmer's chief benefit from protection is found. With general prosperity in manufacturing, in mining, in transportation, and in all lines of business, the consumption among all classes of consumers is increased. But with the decreased activity, silent mills and factories, employees on half pay or without earnings, the decrease in consumption is very great and the farmer thus becomes the chief sufferer.

Prior to the election of 1892, and the depression which immediately followed it, the amount of wheat retained for consumption in the United States was about 6 bushels per capita. On some occasions it exceeded that figure, being in 1883 and 1885 more than 6½ bushels per capita, and seldom falling below 5½ bushels. In the year 1893, however, during the depression which immediately followed the election of a Democratic President and a free-trade Congress, the per capita wheat consumption fell to 4.85 bushels, in 1894 to 3.41 bushels, and in 1897 was 3.88 bushels. Immediately following the repeal of the Wilson tariff there was a marked increase in the per capita consumption, and in 1899 it had again about reached its normal figure, being for that year 5.95 bushels per capita.

Another example may be found in the amount of cotton retained for consumption under protective and low tariffs, respectively. In the years 1891 and 1892 the amount of domestic cotton retained for consumption was, respectively, 22 and 24 pounds per capita, while in 1893 it fell to 17 pounds per capita. In 1894 it was 16 pounds and in 1896 and 1897, 18½ pounds, increasing, however, in 1898, under protection, to 25.2 pounds, and in 1899 to 27.1 pounds, or 50 per cent more than the average during the entire Democratic free-trade term from 1893 to 1897.

SHEEP AND WOOL VALUES REDUCED.

Take the single item of wool. The Wilson law gave the country in the item of wool an example of the effect of genuine Simon Pure Democratic free trade. It was to the free-trade mind the one redeeming feature of that act whose feeble attempt at retaining a shadow of protection was denounced as an evidence of "party perfidy and dishonor." Under that act importations of foreign wool, which had never but once reached so much as 150,000,000 pounds, were in its very first year more than 200,000,000 pounds, and in its closing year exceeded 350,000,000 pounds. As a consequence, wool fell nearly 50 per cent in value, the October price of washed clothing Ohio fleece wool, medium, dropping from 33 cents per pound in 1892 to 19 cents in 1896, but increasing to 29 cents in 1897, immediately following the restoration of the protective tariff under the Dingley law, and to 33.5 cents in the month of October, 1899.

Foreign wool, which, under protective tariffs, formed from 16 to 33 per cent of the domestic consumption, increased to 40 per cent in 1895, 46 per cent in 1896, and 57 per cent in 1897. As a consequence of this increased importation of foreign wools and the accompanying reduction of nearly one-half in price, the number and value of sheep on farms was greatly reduced. The number of sheep on farms in 1893 was 47,273,553, and their value \$125,909,264. By 1896 the number had fallen to 38,298,783, and the value to \$65,167,735, the actual value having thus been reduced about one-half, meaning a loss in sheep alone of nearly \$60,000,000 to the farmer, while the annual loss in his wool clip during that time was correspondingly great.

The value of the foreign wool imported prior to 1893 had not for many years reached so much as \$20,000,000; but in 1895 it had exceeded \$25,000,000; in 1896 exceeded \$32,000,000, and in 1897, the last year of the existence of the Wilson law, was \$53,243,191 while imports of woollen goods, which in 1892 amounted to \$35,000,000, were in 1896 \$53,000,000, and in the fiscal year 1897 \$49,000,000.

VALUE OF FARM ANIMALS RESTORED BY PROTECTION.

The value of horses on farms fell from more than \$1,007,000,000 on January 1, 1892, to \$500,000,000 in 1896 and \$452,000,000 on January 1, 1897, a loss of \$555,000,000 in this one item during five years.

In mules the value fell from \$175,000,000 in 1892 to \$92,000,000 in 1897; swine, from \$241,000,000 in 1892 to \$166,000,000 in 1897, and of all farm animals the value fell from \$2,461,755,698 on January 1, 1892, to \$1,655,414,612 on January 1, 1897, a loss of \$806,341,086, while the figures for January 1, 1900, show that the two-billion-dollar line has again been crossed by the

restoration of values accompanying the Dingley protective tariff and the prosperity which it brought to the farmer by increased home consumption as well as increased foreign markets.

The American Agriculturist, a well-known publication, in a recent number, says that the live stock of the country in 1900 is worth \$700,000,000 more than it was during the years of depression under the low-tariff act.

VALUE OF CROPS RESTORED BY PROTECTION.

Nor is it in farm animals alone, however, that the farmer was the loser under low tariff, or the gainer again under protection. The value of the corn crop in the United States fell from \$642,000,000 in 1892 to \$491,000,000 in 1896; that of wheat from \$513,000,000 in 1891 to \$225,000,000 in 1894 and \$237,000,000 in 1895, returning to \$428,000,000 in 1897; oats fell in value from \$209,000,000 in 1892 to \$132,000,000 in 1896; rye, from \$15,000,000 in 1892 to less than \$10,000,000 in 1896; barley, from \$45,000,000 in 1891 to \$22,000,000 in 1896; tobacco from \$47,000,000 in 1892 to \$27,000,000 in 1895; cotton, from \$326,000,000 in 1892 to \$260,000,000 in 1896; and potatoes, from \$103,000,000 in 1892 to \$72,000,000 in 1896. In all these cases the figures for later years show a marked increase in values over those under the Wilson Act.

TESTIMONY OF AN AGRICULTURAL AUTHORITY.

On this general question of the value of crops the American Agriculturist says that—

"The value of staple crops in 1899 was valued at \$400,000,000 more than under the low-tariff depression, and other crops aggregated an increase of more than \$200,000,000 in value, or 25 per cent gain, as compared with the period of depression, including 1894, 1895, and 1896."

One other feature of the improved condition of the farmer is pointed out by the American Agriculturist, and this relates to the value of agricultural real estate which, it says, has more than recovered in value and is now worth \$1,220,000,000 more than it was a single year ago, when the percentage of farms occupied by owners is now larger than ever before, while the number of farms under mortgage has materially decreased. The amount of mortgages on farms occupied by their owners is estimated at about \$300,000,000 less than at the beginning of the decade. "Mortgages," it says, "now average only about 27 per cent of the value of the farms they are on, the rate of interest has declined, and the great bulk of mortgages now in force were incurred to buy the farm or to improve it."

RELATIVE FALL IN PRICES OF ARTICLES OF FARM PRODUCTION AND FARM CONSUMPTION, 1870 TO 1899—FARMERS HAVE BEEN GAINERS—A LESS REDUCTION IN PRICES OF ARTICLES PRODUCED THAN IN ARTICLES REQUIRED FOR CONSUMPTION.

The prices of articles consumed on the farm have fallen with greater rapidity than those of the articles produced on the farm. Wheat, for instance, fell from an average price of 94.4 cents per bushel in 1870 to 58.4 cents in 1899, a decline of 37 per cent, while sugar, one of the most important classes of articles purchased by farmers for consumption, fell from 13.2 cents per pound in 1871 to 4.9 cents in 1899, a decrease of 63 per cent. Corn fell from 49.4 cents per bushel in 1870 to 30.2 cents in 1899, a decrease of 39 per cent., while sheetings fell from 14½ cents per yard in 1870 to 5.2 cents in 1899, a reduction of 64 per cent. Oats fell from 39 cents in 1870 to 25 cents in 1899, a reduction of 36 per cent., while drillings fell from 14.9 cents in 1870 to 5.1 cents per yard in 1899, a decrease of 65 per cent.

Horses show a fall in average farm price from \$81.38 per head in 1870 to \$37.40 in 1899, a decline of 54 per cent., while mineral oil shows a fall from \$30.50 per barrel in 1870 to an average of \$5.80 in 1899, a reduction of 80 per cent. in cost. Sheep show an average price per head in 1870 of \$2.29 and a fall to \$1.58 in 1895 under the low tariff, but a return to \$2.75 in 1899, the average value of sheep being higher in 1899 than in any year since 1875. Swine show a fall in the average value on the farm of from \$7.03 per head in 1870 to \$4.40 in 1899, a reduction of 37 per cent., while fine salt shows a fall of from \$2.15 per barrel in 1870 to 65 cents per barrel in 1899, a reduction of 70 per cent.

Milch cows show a fall of from \$39.12 per head, average farm price, in 1870 to \$27.66 in 1899, a fall of 29 per cent., while the average wholesale price of shoes (men's brogans) is quoted at \$1.50 per pair in 1870 and 93 cents in 1899, a fall of 38 per cent. Potatoes show an average farm price of 72 cents per bushel in 1870 and 43.4 cents per bushel in 1899, a fall of 40 per cent., while bags show an average price of 36.2 cents each in 1870 and 14.3

cents in 1899, a drop of 60 per cent. Hay shows a fall from \$13.82 per ton, the average farm price in 1870, to \$7.27 in 1899, a fall of 48 per cent., while scythes are quoted at \$12 per dozen in 1870 and \$3.74 in 1899, a reduction in price of 69 per cent. Cotton shows an average farm price in 1871 of 16.9 cents, but in 1872 it was 22.1 cents. Comparing 1899, when the price was 6.88 cents, with 1872, the higher of the two former years under consideration, the fall in price is 69 per cent., while cotton tickings have declined in price from 28.6 cents per yard in 1870 to 7 cents per yard in 1899, a fall of 75½ per cent.

FREIGHT RATES DECLINED MORE THAN FARM PRICES.

One further fact of interest to the farmers is that freight rates have fallen with greater rapidity than prices of farm production. The average rate by all rail in 1870 was 33.3 cents per bushel, and in 1899 11.1 cents, a fall of 66 2-3 per cent.; while the rate from Buffalo to New York by canal fell from 11.2 cents per bushel in 1870 to 3 cents per bushel in 1899, a reduction of 73 per cent. On freight rates from the Pacific coast to New York the rates on canned goods in carload lots show a fall of from \$3.66 per hundredweight in 1870 to 76 cents per hundredweight in 1897, a reduction of 80 per cent.

Freight rates on live cattle from Chicago to New York fell from 55 cents per 100 pounds in 1880 to 25 cents in 1899; hogs, from 43 cents to 25 cents; sheep, from 65 cents to 25 cents, and dressed beef, from 88 cents to 40 cents, while refrigerator car rates on dressed hogs fell from 59 cents in 1887 to 40 cents in 1899.

PROSPERITY AND THE SILVER QUESTION.

The facts cited, showing prosperity in every branch of industry, have an important relation to the silver question, which formed so prominent a feature of the campaign of 1896 and which the Democratic leaders promise to again urge in the campaign of 1900. Mr. Bryan said in 1896 that the cause of the depression which then existed in every industry was not the tariff, but the lack of sufficient currency, and that this could only be supplied by the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. The country rejected free coinage and adopted a protective tariff, and the prosperity which has come both in increased business and increased currency fully disproves the Democratic claim that the depression which then existed was due to the necessity for the free coinage of silver, and at the same time sustains the claim of Republicans that it was due to the low tariff then existing.

"No blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity, and none will be."
—William McKinley.

PENSIONS AND PENSIONERS.

Republican Party Always Liberal and Generous to the Brave Defenders of Our Country.

DEMOCRATS REDUCED PENSIONS.

The Pension Bureau, under Republican Administrations, is liberal and generous to the brave defenders of our country.

The Republican party is the devoted and consistent friend of the soldier and his dependents.

It has enacted beneficent and liberal pension laws. The present system of pensions, which has been built up under Republican Administrations, is the best in the world, and embraces within its provisions not only the soldier or sailor who contracted his disabilities in the service, but grants relief to nearly 500,000 survivors of the civil war, who are now incapacitated from earning a support through causes which have arisen since the war.

DEMOCRATS HAVE OPPOSED PENSION LAWS.

The Democratic party has been the relentless enemy of the ex-Union soldier and has stubbornly fought every effort to enact liberal pension laws.

A careful examination of the Congressional Record on fourteen important pension measures introduced since the civil war, and voted on by Congress, reveals the following total votes:

Democrats for the bills.....	417
Democrats against the bills.....	648
Republicans for the bills.....	1 068
Republicans against the bills.....	None

A Democratic President, Grover Cleveland, during his two Administrations, vetoed 524 pension bills. Presidents Lincoln, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison and McKinley never refused their signature to a single pension bill.

President Grant withheld his signature only five times during his Administration.

DEMOCRATS DROPPED PENSIONERS.

The last Democratic Administration constituted a Board of Revision in the Pension Bureau to revise the allowance of pensions under President Harrison's administration. During the two years of the existence of this Board, 8,694 pensioners were dropped from the rolls, and 23,702 pensions were reduced.

A large portion of these pensioners have been restored to the rolls under the Administration of President McKinley.

Since 1866 the total payments for army and navy pensions have been \$2,389,910,974, and the magnitude of the pension roll, both as to the number of beneficiaries and the amount paid, has excited the wonder and admiration of the world.

A Republican government is always generous in many ways in providing for the wants of the soldier.

First. The most liberal pension system that the world ever saw for those who were wounded or otherwise disabled in the service, and their widows and children and dependent parents and sisters and brothers.

Second. If the soldier lost a limb in the service, or, as the result of his service, in line of duty, the law provides that he shall be furnished, in addition to his pension, an artificial limb free of cost (every three years), or commutation therefor, and transportation from his home to such place as he shall select the artificial limb and return.

Third. A pension for all who served ninety days and who are now incapacitated for earning a support, and suitable provision for the widows and children and dependent parents.

Fourth. Preference in appointments to places of trust and profit, and preferences for retention in all civil service positions.

Fifth. National Homes, located at convenient and healthy points in different parts of the country, where all the comforts of a home are provided free of all expense, including comfortable quarters, clothing, medical attendance, free library and amusements of different kinds, the Government providing free transportation to the Homes, and continuing payments of pensions while a member of the Home, and increasing same as disabilities increase.

STATE HOMES FOR SOLDIERS AND FAMILIES.

Sixth. State Homes (29 in number) kept up by the different States, and similar in their purpose to the National Homes, the sum of \$100 being annually paid by the General Government to such Homes for each inmate. Many of these State Homes also provide for the wives and families of the inmates, so that they need not be separated while they are members of the Home.

Seventh. Soldiers' orphan schools, established by the different States, providing for the maintenance and education of soldiers' orphans until they attain the age of 16 years.

Eighth. There has been, in addition to all this, granted for various military services, as provided by law, over 70,000,000 acres of land, known as bounty land.

ACT OF JUNE 27, 1890.

This beneficent law was passed by a Republican Congress, was approved by a Republican President, and has been so liberally administered by two Republican Administrations that there are now 420,912 soldiers and sailors, and 130,266 widows receiving its benefits who would not be entitled under the general pension laws. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1899, the sum of \$64,321,460.77 was paid to the pensioners under this act, being nearly one-half of the entire amount disbursed on account of pensions. The total amount paid to pensioners under the act of 1890 since its enactment is more than \$500,000,000.

ACT OF MAY 9, 1900.

While this large number of beneficiaries take pension under the act of 1890, it was found that the terms of the law debarred many meritorious claimants from sharing in its benefits, and therefore an act was passed May 9, 1900, popularly known as the "Grand Army bill," amending the act of June 27, 1890, so as to bring within its provisions all meritorious claimants requiring some measure of relief from the Government on account of disability or dependency.

It is expected that under the operations of this act many thousands of names will be added to the pension rolls, and the Commissioner of Pensions is now actively engaged in making preparations looking to the prompt settlement of all claims that may be filed under its provisions.

PENSIONING SOLDIERS' WIDOWS.

Section 3 of this act liberalizes the provisions for pensioning soldiers' widows. The law of June 27, 1890, provided that the widow must be "without other means of support than her daily labor" to give her a pensionable status. The Secretary of the Interior held that unless the widow's other means of support exceeded what her pension would be (\$96) she might be deemed to be without other means of support than her daily labor. The act of May 9, 1900, section 3, provides that if the soldier's widow's net income does not exceed \$250, she shall be pensionable. This act will be the means of placing upon the pension rolls,

According to the estimates of Bureau officials, from 35,000 to 40,000 soldiers' widows—a generous increase of about \$3,500,000 annually to these most deserving representatives of the nation's defenders.

It is a well-known fact that President McKinley in his message to Congress recommended this legislation; that it was recommended by the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Pensions.

ACT OF APRIL 18, 1900.

This is an act passed by Congress repealing the provisions of section 4716, Revised Statutes, so far as the same may be applicable to the claims for pension of dependent parents of soldiers, sailors, and marines who served in the army or navy during the war with Spain.

This law gives title to pension in cases where its beneficiaries aided and abetted the late rebellion and who furnished sons for the army or navy during the war with Spain who died or may hereafter die as a result of said service.

ACT OF APRIL 23, 1900.

This law, which was enacted by the present Congress, makes provision for granting an increase of pension to certain survivors of the war with Mexico who may become totally disabled and destitute.

This legislation will reach a very meritorious class of pensioners who have heretofore been debarred from applying for increase, notwithstanding that they may have become totally disabled for the performance of any manual labor.

The number of unsettled claims on file in the Pension Bureau June 30, 1897, was 578,099; the number on file June 30, 1898, was 635,059, and the number remaining on hand June 30, 1899, was 477,239. It will be remembered that with the advent of this Administration many thousands of new claims of all kinds were filed in the Pension Bureau, the number of original claims filed during the years 1897, 1898 and 1899 alone aggregating 126,136. The total number of all applications received during the fiscal year of 1899 was 164,881, while for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898, the number was 218,489.

SETTLING ALL NEW CLAIMS.

Notwithstanding this avalanche of new claims, which was added to the half million claims pending when Commissioner Evans assumed charge of the Bureau, the work of settling claims has been prosecuted with such diligence that at the end of the fiscal year of 1899 only 477,239 unsettled claims remained in the pending files of the Bureau, and only 172,197 of these were original claims, the balance being claims for increase or additional allowance.

The number of claims pending on June 1, 1900, was 434,613, and 158,847 of these were original claims.

In fact, the work of the Bureau is now so nearly current that original claims can be settled as fast as they are completed by the claimants furnishing the necessary evidence.

CLAIMS THROUGH THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

This result has been accomplished notwithstanding the fact that about 20,000 additional claims were filed last year on account of service in the war with Spain.

During the years 1897, 1898 and 1899 nearly 140,000 original pensions were granted, while for the three years preceding 1897, viz., 1894, 1895 and 1896, only 118,644 of the same class were allowed.

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, 40,637 new pensions were allowed, and 4,352, who had been previously dropped, were restored to the rolls.

On June 30, 1897, there were 976,014 pensioners on the rolls of the different agencies, while on June 30, 1899, the number was 991,519, showing a net increase since 1897 of 15,505.

The increase in the number of pensioners has grown steadily from year to year, the maximum number being in 1898, viz., 993,714. In 1894 the number was 969,544.

Since the close of the fiscal year 1894 there have been dropped from the rolls:

On account of death.....	185,572
Other causes, remarriage, etc.....	70,000
Total	255,572

contains nearly 1,000,000 names.

The amount paid for pensions during 1893, the last year of the Harrison Administration, was \$156,806,537.94.

DEMOCRATS REDUCED THE PENSIONS.

During the following year (1894), which was the first year of the Democratic Administration, the amount paid for pensions dropped to \$139,986,626.17, being a reduction in one year of \$16,819,911.87.

During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, the Pension Bureau issued 105,567 certificates, and the payments for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1900, on account of pensions amounted to nearly \$140,000,000.

The annual value of the pension roll as it stood on June 30, 1899, was \$131,619,961, and the average annual value of each pension was \$132.74. The annual value of the roll is greater now than it ever was before.

NAMES RESTORED BY REPUBLICANS.

Since April 1, 1897, over 16,000 names of pensioners, who had been previously dropped for various causes, have been restored to the rolls, and these persons are now receiving pensions amounting to \$2,100,000 annually.

This work is still in progress, the Commissioner having directed the restoration of 4,352 names during the fiscal year of 1900.

In 1878 President Garfield predicted that the pension roll, which then aggregated \$26,786,000, and embraced 232,137 pensioners, was at its maximum, but it has been steadily growing, until now the number of pensioners is nearly a million, and the amount necessary to pay the same is in excess of \$140,000,000 a year.

Great Britain is a mighty nation in war and maintains a large standing army in time of peace.

Its pension roll contains the names of 80,070 officers and enlisted men, and the amount paid to them annually is \$8,922,237.

AMOUNT PAID FOR PENSION DURING 1899.

The payments on account of pensions during the year ending June 30, 1899, were \$138,253,922.

The total payments on account of pensions during President Grant's first term were \$116,136,275; during his second term, \$114,395,357; during President Hayes's term, \$145,322,489.

It will be noted that the payments for the one year (1899) were far in excess of the entire amount paid during the first or second Administrations of President Grant, and almost as much as was paid during the entire four years of President Hayes's Administration.

CONTRAST WITH CLEVELAND'S TERM.

In the matter of allowances of original pensions it may be stated that during the first year of President McKinley's Administration there were allowed 52,684 original pensions. During the first year of President Cleveland's second Administration there were allowed only 39,085.

During the entire four years of President Grant's second Administration there were allowed only 42,917 original pensions.

RATES OF PENSION.

The rates of pension paid under the act of June 27, 1890, range from \$6 per month (minimum) to \$12 per month (maximum).

Total disability for manual labor under the general law is rated at \$30 per month. The same degree of disability entitles to \$12 per month under the act of June 27, 1890.

Under the general law (disability of service origin) 46,583 soldiers receive \$12 per month, 21,970 receive \$24 per month, and 15,498 receive \$30 per month.

Under the act of June 27, 1890, (disability not of service origin) 160,406 soldiers receive the maximum rate (\$12 per month), 26,540 receive \$10 per month, 128,143 receive \$8 per month, and 105,787 receive \$6 per month.

This shows that there are more persons pensioned at the maximum rate than at any other rate under the act of 1890, and that the number receiving the rate for total disability under that act is more than ten times the number receiving pension for total disability of service origin. These figures show that the ratings of the Pension Bureau in claims allowed under the act of 1890 are very liberal indeed.

Democratic Expansion.

From the date of Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana
the Democratic Administrations have
always been ones of Expansion

The Democratic Party asks by what authority the national administration transferred the allegiance of the Filipinos from Spain to the United States, and by what law it governs them without their consent.

The answer is by authority of American history and American law—history made by the Democratic party, and law passed by a Democratic Congress.

A more unfortunate question for the Democrats could not have been asked by the most evil genius of their party. Its answer exposes their ignorance of political history, shows the hypocrisy of their pretensions and their present position on the subject of expansion to be contradicted by the most venerated examples of their party.

Jefferson an Expansionist.

Their first and greatest President made his administration famous and glorious by acquiring foreign territory and holding and governing it without asking the consent of the inhabitants thereof. By a treaty made on the 30th of April, 1803, between the United States and France, Mr. Jefferson purchased the territory of Louisiana from Napoleon, who had negotiated for its purchase from Spain.

Spain Entered a Protest.

On learning that Napoleon had sold the territory to the United States, Spain protested against its occupancy by our government, on the grounds that France had not complied with the conditions of sale, had never taken possession of the territory, and had agreed to always retain the title in herself, and therefore could not sell to us, and formally notified our government

not to attempt to take possession thereof. This attitude on the part of Spain caused Jefferson to convene Congress in extra session on the 17th of October, 1803, on which day he transmitted to that body his message, stating that "the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana have on certain conditions been transferred to the United States, by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last." The message also set forth the terms and conditions of the purchase.

The price paid was \$11,250,000, and the assumption by the United States of claims due American citizens from France amounting to \$3,750,000, making the total purchase price paid by the United States \$15,000,000.

Senate Ratified the Treaty.

Under the provisions of the treaty the vessels of Spain and France were to have access to the ports of Louisiana for a period of twelve years on the same terms as American ships, but this right was not to be given the ships of any other nation. The territory was to be admitted as a state into the Federal Union according to the provisions of the Constitution. Three days after receiving the message of the President the Senate ratified the treaty by a vote of twenty-four to seven. In the House the vote on ratifying the treaty was ninety to twenty-five.

Doubtless it was the defiant spirit of Spain, as manifested in her protest and notice, which influenced Congress to act so quickly and emphatically, for on the 31st day of October—fourteen days after receiving the President's message—an act was passed declaring "that the President of the United States is authorized to take possession of and occupy the territory ceded by France to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of April, last, between the two nations; that he may for that purpose, and in order to maintain in the said territory the authority of the United States, employ any part of the army and navy of the United States which he may deem necessary."

Raised the Stars and Stripes.

In pursuance of the power conferred by this statute, the American authorities on the 20th of December following—eight months after the signing of the treaty and less than sixty days after the passage of the act aforesaid—by raising the stars and stripes at New Orleans, formally took possession of the entire territory, which embraced an area of more than six hundred and seventy millions of acres, and more than a million square miles, and from which twelve great States, reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to British Columbia, have been taken and are now members of the Federal Union.

Without Consent of the Governed.

As the emblem of American liberty and progress floated for the first time over new and acquired territory as the result of the policy of American expansion, thus early established, who stopped to ask for the consent of the governed?

Who consulted the inhabitants of this hitherto foreign domain to ascertain *their* willingness to have their allegiance transferred to the United States? Not Mr. Jefferson. Not a Democratic Congress.

The author of the famous expression in the Declaration of Independence, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," was the first American President to acquire and govern territory without asking the consent of the governed, and, as the inhabitants of such

acquired territory said, "without permitting *them* any agency in the events which annexed their country to the United States.

The Democratic party must abandon Jefferson or they must abandon their present position on the subject of expansion. History is against them; precedent is them: Jefferson is against them.

There Were "Anti-Imperialists" Then.

Soon after Jefferson took possession of the territory of Louisiana, duly appointed and authorized representatives of its inhabitants presented to the Senate of the United States an able and formal remonstrance against the political system adopted by Congress for their government.

Protesting against the form of government which had been provided for them, the remonstrance said:

"A single magistrate, vested with civil and military, with executive and judiciary powers, upon whose laws we have had no check, over whose acts we had no control, and from whose decrees there is no appeal; the sudden suspension of all those forms to which we had been accustomed; the total want of any permanent system to replace them; the introduction of a new language into the administration of justice; the perplexing necessity of using an interpreter for every communication with the officers placed over us; the involuntary errors, of necessity committed by judges uncertain by what code they are to decide, wavering between the civil and the common law, between the forms of the French, Spanish, and American jurisprudence, and with the best intentions unable to expound laws of which they are ignorant, or to acquire them in a language they do not understand. These were not slight inconveniences, nor was this state of things calculated to give favorable impression or realize the hopes we entertained; but we submitted with resignation, because we thought it the effect of necessity; we submitted with patience, though its duration was longer than we had been taught to expect; we submitted even with cheerfulness, while we supposed your honorable body was employed in reducing this chaos to order, and calling a system of harmony from the depth of this confused, discordant mass. But we cannot conceal, we ought not to dissemble, that the first project presented for the Government of this country tended to lessen the enthusiasm which, until that period had been universal, and to fix our attention on present evils, while it rendered us less sanguine as to the future."

Remonstrance Against Our Occupation?

After quoting some of the laws passed by Congress for their government and which were obnoxious to their people, the remonstrance continues, "This is the summary of our constitution; this is so far the accomplishment of a treaty engagement to 'incorporate us into the Union and admit us to all the rights, advantages, and immunities of American citizens.' And this is the promise performed, which was made by our first magistrate in your name, 'that you would receive us as brothers, and hasten to extend to us a participation in those invaluable rights which had formed the basis of your unexampled prosperity.'"

"Ignorant as we have been represented of our natural rights, shall we be called on to show that this Government is inconsistent with every principle of civil liberty?"

"Uninformed as we are supposed to be of our acquired rights, is it necessary for us to demonstrate that this act does not 'incorporate us into

the Union,' that it vests us with none of the 'rights,' gives us no advantages, and deprives us of all the 'immunities' of American citizens." * * *

"A governor is to be placed over us whom we have not chosen, whom we do not even know, who may be ignorant of our language, uninformed of our institutions, and who may have no connection with our country, or interest in its welfare." * * *

"Taxation without representation, an obligation to obey laws without any voice in their formation, the undue influence of the executive upon legislative proceedings, and a dependent judiciary, formed, we believe, very prominent articles in the list of grievances complained of by the United States, at the commencement of their glorious contest for freedom. The opposition to them, even by force, was deemed meritorious and patriotic, and the rights on which that opposition was founded were termed fundamental, indefeasible, self-evident, and eternal. * * * These were the sentiments of your predecessors, were they wrong? Were the patriots who composed your councils mistaken in their political principles? No, they were not wrong!"

"Are truths, then, so well founded, so universally acknowledged, inapplicable only to us. Do political axioms on the Atlantic become problems when transferred to the shores of the Mississippi? or are the unfortunate inhabitants of these regions the only people who are excluded from those equal rights acknowledged in your Declaration of Independence, repeated in the different State constitutions, and ratified by that of which we claim to be a member?"

Protested Against Jefferson.

After enumerating additional reasons for protesting against the conduct of Mr. Jefferson's administration, the remonstrance continues, "We may then again become the victims of false information, of hasty remark, of prejudiced opinion; we may then again be told that we are incapable of managing our own concerns, that the period of emancipation is not yet arrived, and that *when, in the school of slavery, we have learned how to be free, our rights shall be restored.*" * * * "Without any vote in the election of our Legislature, without any check upon our executive, without any one incident of self-government, what valuable 'privilege' of citizenship is allowed us, what 'right' do we enjoy, of what 'immunity' can we boast, except, indeed, the degrading exemption from the cares of legislation, and the burden of public affairs."

This able and dignified remonstrance was followed on the 4th of January, 1805, by "a remonstrance and petition of the representatives elected by the freemen of their respective districts in the District of Louisiana," and addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, protesting against the act of March 25, 1804, erecting Louisiana into two territories and providing for the government thereof. The remonstrance and petition say:

"While we were indulging fond expectations, unmixed with distrust or fear, the act of the last session of your honorable Houses came to our knowledge, and snatched from our eager grasp the anticipated good. The dictates of a foreign government! an incalculable accession of savage hordes to be vomited on our borders! an entire privation of some of the dearest rights enjoyed by freemen! These are the leading features of that political system which you have devised for us; for those very men who in a solemn treaty

you had stipulated to call and treat as fellow-citizens; yet the American colors are hoisted in our garrisons, this far-famed signal of liberty to all, to us alone exhibits a gloomy appearance, and make us more sensible of the immeasurable interval between us and political happiness. May we not long be doomed, like the prisoners of Venice, to read the word *liberty* on the walls of prisons."

Protection By Indians.

Referring to the protection which the act provided for the lives and property of the inhabitants of the territory, the remonstrance says, "Had the United States bound themselves to exterminate from the face of the earth every inhabitant of Louisiana, your petitioners do not conceive, that they could have taken a more effectual step towards the fulfillment of the engagement, than the measures contemplated by the Fifteenth Section of the law, respecting the District of Louisiana. But by the treaty with the French Republic, the United States have engaged to maintain and protect us in the free enjoyment of our liberty and property. Great God! a colony of Indians to maintain and protect us in our liberties and properties. * * * In the meantime, depredations and assassinations by the Indians have already begun. * * * What a time have your honorable Houses chosen for the exchange in contemplation! A plan, wearing the most threatening aspect to our lives and properties—a plan not only alarming in its immediate effects, but pregnant with evils of a most dangerous nature in its remote consequences.

The remonstrance concludes: "Your petitioners have thus gone through the painful, yet they conceive indispensable task of remonstrating against grievances, in compliance with the duty they owed to their country, to themselves and to posterity. * * But let your honorable Houses remember that your petitioners feel themselves injured, deeply injured. Could they tamely submit, could they even represent with more moderation in such a case, you yourselves would not consider them worthy to be admitted into a portion of the inheritance of the heroes who fought and bled for the independence of America."

Jefferson Disregarded Cry of "Imperialism."

Notwithstanding these protests, as dignified and eloquent as were ever written, from a people who believed their natural and political liberties were disregarded and trampled upon, Jefferson and Congress passed them unheeded, and governed the territory of Louisiana by laws more harsh and severe than any that have since been enacted by the American Congress.

Less than thirty years after he wrote the Declaration of Independence, which glowed with the warmth and fire of personal and national liberty, Jefferson was pressing to the verge of civil and political desperation more than ninety thousand people (including slaves) who had been separated from their original sovereignty and annexed as citizens to the United States without being consulted and who were governed by men unfamiliar with their language, customs and laws.

There can be no doubt that if there had been armed resistance to the occupancy of the territory by the United States on the part of the inhabitants, or of Spain, Jefferson would have met and overcome it by military force, for in addition to the troops which were at New Orleans when the flag was raised, he had concentrated large bodies of soldiers at other points ready for action in case of necessity, in pursuance of the authority conferred upon him by the act of October 31, 1803.

Our First Foreign Territory.

This was the first time our government acquired foreign territory, and the acquisition constituted an epoch in our political history. The situation required wisdom and statesmanship, but Jefferson met the emergency of the hour by adopting and executing a policy which he thought the welfare of his country demanded and which he hoped the future of his country would justify.

His judgment was wise and his predictions and hopes correct.

The acquisition of this territory was not the result of war. It did not come by right of conquest or international conflict as a reward to the conqueror. It was a plain purchase, a bargain and sale entered into between two sovereign nations. Jefferson saw that foreign ownership of the territory in question and the consequent control of the Mississippi would stand as barriers in the pathway of our national progress and that the acquisition of this territory by the United States would be of inestimable benefit to our young republic. In such a moment he did not hesitate to act.

No Constitutional Authority Argument.

It was argued by the few who opposed the policy of annexation that there was no *constitutional* authority for such a course, but in the face of all objections—the same then as now—Jefferson paid the price and took the title without consulting any other nation or the inhabitants of the territory. Nothing in all his administration reflects so much to his credit and resulted so beneficially to the future prosperity of his country as securing the vast area of territory known as the Louisiana purchase.

Every generation since the annexation has seen the wisdom of his course and rejoices in its success. Not to have acquired Louisiana then might have been fatal to our national growth, and instead of an empire stretching to the Pacific Ocean, we might have been limited in our western boundary by the line of the Mississippi. When he acquired the Louisiana territory Jefferson touched the world as he never had before, and paved the way for American progress, civilization and supremacy in a domain vaster in area than most of the nations of the world. Why should his example in the acquisition of national territory now be ignored for the first time? And why should those who worship Jefferson as the god of Democracy, denounce in 1900 what they approved of his doing in 1803?

Other Democratic "Imperialists."

THE FLORIDAS.—The example of Jefferson in annexing Louisiana was followed by many of his successors in the Presidential office. In 1819 President Monroe secured the Floridas by a treaty with Spain, and thereby added nearly seventy thousand square miles to our domain at a cost of \$5,000,000.

TEXAS.—The Republic of Texas secured its independence from Mexico in 1836 and in the following year made an effort to be annexed to the United States, but the attempt failed. Another effort was made in 1844, which was also unsuccessful, but the movement for annexation met with popular favor and formed a leading issue in the Presidential campaign of 1844, the democratic candidate, Mr. Polk, being strongly in favor of it and his election was regarded as evidence that the public mind approved of the plan. In 1845 a joint resolution providing for the admission of Texas as a state in the Federal Union passed both Houses of Congress and the annexation was secured. The controlling spirit in the plan for annexation was John C. Calhoun, who was Secretary of State in President Tyler's cabinet. When speaking on the subject as a member of the Senate in 1847, two years after the annexation, he said, "I selected the resolution of the House * * * because I clearly saw that it was the only certain mode by which annexation could be effected."

Congress Added 370,000 Square Miles.

It was the first time that territory had been annexed to the United States except by international treaty, and it had always been considered that annexation could be accomplished in no other way. But by the passage of a simple resolution Congress added an area of more than three hundred and seventy thousand square miles to the United States. A foreign republic had

been admitted into membership into the Union as a State without passing through the experience of a territory or sustaining any former relationship to our government.

Such an act had never occurred before and has never occurred since. It was the most extreme position on the subject of annexation ever taken by any American statesman or any political party, but it was planned and carried out by the leaders of Democracy and was a policy in direct conflict with their recent party declaration.

The Democrats must abandon their party history or their party platform.

As to the resolution admitting a foreign government as a member of our Federal Union passed Congress, who stopped to ask about the constitutionality of such an act? Not President Tyler, not President Monroe, not John C. Calhoun, not a Democratic Congress. Where then was the doctrine of the strict construction of the constitution Calhoun had contended for in the Senate with such masterful ability? It had been abandoned by that crafty statesman and his followers, and under his dictation a foreign government has been made a State in the American Union by a simple resolution of a Democratic American Congress.

Other Territories Acquired.

CALIFORNIA AND OTHER STATES.—By the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, between the United States and Mexico, in 1848, at the close of the Mexican war, the United States acquired an area of territory of more than five hundred thousand square miles, from which the States of California, Colorado and Utah, and parts of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona have been formed.

GADSDEN PURCHASE.—The treaty of 1848 between Mexico and the United States, so far as it concerned a portion of the boundary line having been differently construed by the two countries, threatened to result in international complications, but through the efforts of General James Gadsden, the American Minister to Mexico in 1853, was amicably settled by treaty between the two governments, which resulted in the United States purchasing from Mexico an area of territory embracing about forty-five thousand square miles and which now constitutes the southern portion of Arizona and New Mexico.

"Consent of the Governed" not Considered by Democrats.

These five annexations, beginning with that of Louisiana Territory in 1803 and ending with the Gadsden annexation in 1853, all occurred while every branch of the Federal Government was in control of the Democratic party. Louisiana was acquired under Jefferson; the Floridas under Monroe; Texas under Tyler, through the machinations of Calhoun; California, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, part of New Mexico and Arizona under Polk, and the territory covered by the Gadsden purchase under Pierce. In a period of just fifty years that party added to our national domain by annexation more than two million one hundred and ninety-eight thousand square miles of territory, embracing an area of more than one billion four hundred and thirty-seven million acres.

AT NO TIME DURING THE PENDENCY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH RESULTED IN THESE ANNEXATIONS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TEXAS, WAS IT SUGGESTED BY ANY ONE ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES THAT THE CONSENT OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE CEDED TERRITORY SHOULD BE SECURED IN BEHALF OF THE ANNEXATION. EXCEPT AS ABOVE STATED, IN EACH INSTANCE ANNEXATION WAS THE RESULT OF INTERNATIONAL TREATY, AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES DO NOT STOP TO ASK THE CONSENT OF THE INHABITANTS WHO MAY RESIDE IN THE CEDED TERRITORY, THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS MAY BE CONSUMMATED.

With this history of national annexation before them, and of which they may be justly proud, why does the Democratic party now oppose a policy similar in so many respects to the one they so long advocated. and because of which they gained so much party prestige?

Because they want to elect their candidate for President and to secure the offices that control the administration of this country. That is the only reason.

EXPANSION MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.

DEMOCRATIC
EXPANSION,
1805-11-19.

Without "Consent of the governed."
(Area 184,760,960 acres.)

DEMOCRATIC
EXPANSION,
1803.

Without "Consent of the governed."
(Area 565,166,080 acres.)

FORCIBLE
DEMOCRATIC
EXPANSION.

1843.
Without "Consent of the governed."
(Area 334,443,520 acres.)

DEMOCRATIC
EXPANSION, 1853.

Without "Consent
of the governed."
Area 29,142,400 acres.

DEMOCRATIC EXPANSION,
1835-1845.
(Area 242,235,840 acres)

ORIGINAL
THIRTEEN
STATES.

(Area 521,652,000 acres.)

FORCIBLE DEMOCRATIC EXPANSION, 1816-19.
Without
"Consent of the governed."
Area 44,639,000 acres.

Control demanded
by DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1850,
without regard to "Consent of governed."

**"THE WORLD'S MARKETS HAVE BEEN OPENED TO
AMERICAN PRODUCTS."—William McKinley.**

American Industrial Expansion.

**WE HAVE OUTSTRIPPED THE OLD WORLD AND HAVE
THE GREATEST MARKETS IN OUR GRASP.**

SHALL WE BANK OUR FIRES?

**Vast Foreign Trade is Possible—of Highest Importance to Farmers and
Wage-Earners—Events Have Ruled Us and it is for
Us to Rule the Results.**

[BY THE HON. CHARLES EMORY SMITH, POSTMASTER-GENERAL.]

The great overmastering fact in the material development of the world during the past quarter of a century is the marvelous industrial expansion of the United States. Our country had long been foremost among nations in agricultural products. Whether cotton or wheat or corn was king, in any case we held the scepter. Our great domain, our fertile soil and our varied climate gave us the unrivaled mastery.

But in everything outside of the earth's rich bounty the young Republic had yet its commanding place to make. Thirty years ago we were only at the threshold of our wonderful material growth. We had just emerged from the struggle and sacrifices and burdens of a long civil war, and had just entered upon the promise and the fruits of a regenerated Union and a peaceful development. We had achieved our political independence, but our economic independence was yet to be secured. Our manufactures were to be built up, our mines to be opened, our railroads to be constructed. We applied a true American policy, directed to the defence and advancement of American interests, and under its banner we proceeded to the great work of internal upbuilding.



HAVE OUTSTRIPPED THE OLD WORLD.

The result is the mightiest industrial expansion the world has ever seen. This is the miracle-working age of steam and electricity. Under the potent application of these magic forces the whole civilized world has been bounding forward with astonishing strides. The great nations of the Old World had a long start in the race. They possessed accumulated capital and established industries and fixed markets. And yet, notwithstanding these advantages, they have been far outstripped by the puissant young Republic of the New World.

Among the industrial powers of the earth we now stand pre-eminent and unrivaled. We have gained a manufacturing supremacy which is altogether unapproached. We first aimed at the full control of our home market, which is the best of all markets, and when we had made ourselves its uncontested masters, when we produced enough and more than enough to supply its requirements, we were compelled to take the outward look. The moment our manufactured exports exceeded our manufactured imports that moment we passed beyond the possession of our domestic field to the demand for foreign markets. It showed that at length we had a surplus which must find its outlet. The pregnant hour when our exports of manufactures passed our imports came in 1898, and in the striking march of events that are not ruled by any mere chance, that very year witnessed the war with Spain which, as its unexpected and unavoidable result brought us the great opportunity of commercial outlet for which the princes of business had already begun to look, but which the keenest vision had never foreseen.

MORAL DUTY PARAMOUNT.

The first and paramount obligation connected with the war is the moral duty growing out of it. Above all other considerations are the moral responsibilities of our new position. We owe a duty to our American character and honor. We owe a duty to the new peoples who have come under our flag. We must above all things be true to the principles of liberty and justice and right. These obligations have been and will be thoroughly considered, but it does not fall within my present purpose to discuss them. Recognizing the moral duty as supreme, I do not hesitate to say that President

McKinley has made it his guiding rule in dealing with all the transcendent questions which have grown out of our new possessions.

But when we have met the highest requirement of the moral standard, there is no code of ethics and no rule of statesmanship which excludes consideration of the commercial interests involved in our public policy. It is the obligation of the Government first of all to be right; it is also its obligation to promote the advantage and welfare of its own people; and when the two fully coincide and harmonize, when the moral mandate and the material interest completely blend, the policy is doubly wise and the duty doubly commanding. Such is our present position. We should be recreant to our American manhood if we did not bravely fulfill the mission of humanity and civilization which the war has bequeathed to us. We should be strangely blind to our American interests if we did not recognize the requirements of our phenomenal industrial expansion and see the marvelous opportunity of commercial expansion thus made necessary which is opened before us.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC SUPERIORITY.

Let me ask your attention to our remarkable position of economic superiority and to the imperative demands which grow out of it. Familiar as we are with the legend of our national growth, we do not realize its stupendous proportions until we analyze and measure it by comparison. In 1870 the annual value of our manufactures was \$3,700,000,000; now it is about \$12,000,000,000. For half a century England had been the workshop of the world, and we had only just begun. Still we had got such a start that in 1870 the manufactures of the United States just about equaled those of Great Britain. But since then our growth has been so prodigious that now our manufactures amount to two and a half times the total volume of British manufactures, and equal those of Great Britain, Germany and France put together.⁴ The increase in the annual American product within thirty years has been double the combined increase of those three great nations of Europe. In other words, if you match the United States against Great Britain, Germany and France together, our manufactures are now equal to all theirs and are growing twice as fast. . We are manufacturing nearly two-thirds as

much as all Europe, with its 380,000,000 people, and more than one-third of all that is manufactured in the world.

If you take the whole range of industries, including agriculture, mining, transportation and even commerce, wherein alone we are behind, the proportions stand about the same. The aggregate value of all American industries is more than double that of Great Britain, three times that of France and two and a half times that of Germany. It is one-half that of all Europe combined. With this enormous industrial expansion the national wealth of the United States grows proportionately. In 1860 our aggregate wealth was but little more than half that of Great Britain, less than half that of France, and only about half that of the nations that made up the German Empire. Now it is a third greater than Great Britain's, double Germany's and nearly double that of France. Within forty years the United States has gained over 67,000 millions in wealth, while Great Britain, France and Germany together have gained less than 60,000 millions.

NATIONAL EARNINGS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The figures of our national earnings dazzle the imagination. Last year we earned about 14,500 million dollars, of which more than one-half was the wages of labor. The earnings of labor in the United States to-day are greater than the combined earnings of capital and labor together in Great Britain. Labor was never as well rewarded as in this prosperous year. As compared with the years 1893, 1894 and 1895, the average earnings of labor now are in the ratio of 127 to 81. That is, they are nearly 60 per cent. greater than they were five years ago. The whole country is striding forward by leaps and bounds. The twenty million dollars granted to Spain in connection with the Philippines was paid by what the country earns in half a day. The nation's earnings in a single year like the present are equivalent to more than one-half its entire accumulated wealth in 1870; that is, to more than one-half of all that it had saved and put into all forms of property during the first eighty years of its existence as a nation.

If we did not spend more freely than other peoples, if we did not maintain a higher general standard of comfort, education and good living, our savings would be stupendous. But, on the other hand, under such limita-

tions we should not have such power of earning. As it is, our annual gain is two thousand million dollars, and every succeeding working day sees the United States over \$6,000,000 better off than it was the day before. We have multiplied our capital more than threefold since 1870, and to its present vast proportions we shall in the next ten years add as much as the entire capital of the nation was in 1870. With this rapid and tremendous expansion of capital and of the product of labor, is there to be no expansion of its opportunity and its outlets?

When we pass from these broad outlines to the particular factors, the astonishing growth and the superior position of the United States are emphasized. Iron and steel are everywhere recognized as the basic fabrics and the surest index of industrial power. Fifteen years ago the United States made only half as much pig iron as Great Britain, and only a little more than Germany. Within that short period our gain has been equal to the combined gain of the two great iron nations of Europe; we now make 50 per cent. more than either, and we have leaped so far to the front that we make more than one-third of all the iron that is made in the world. The same thing is true of steel. Last year we produced twice as much steel as Great Britain, though fifteen years ago our product was less than hers; and while Germany has outstripped Great Britain, we are 60 per cent. ahead of Germany. We make half as much steel as all other nations put together.

AMERICA COMMANDS THE FUTURE.

Not only do we hold the present mastery, but we command the future because we possess the elements of continued industrial supremacy. Our unused resources are even more remarkable and significant than our present achievements. Coal and iron ore are the raw material and the foundation of iron and steel production. The coal fields of Great Britain embrace 9,300 square miles, and those of Germany 3,000 square miles. But how mighty seem the potentialities of the United States when we remember that our total coal area covers 200,000 square miles, and that even when we limit it to the quantity of coal which enters into the manufacture of iron, it still reaches the stupendous figures of more than 70,000 square miles, or 20,000 square miles more than the entire area of England! Our coal production has rap-

idly advanced until we now mine as much as Great Britain and nearly one-third of all that is mined in the world. Great Britain exports 40,000,000 tons, or one-fifth of her entire product, while we consume practically all of ours and export only 4,000,000 tons. As our illimitable fields are opened and foreign fields are reduced, our capability of supplying the world will become more and more marked. Even now we are reading in the public press of the coal famine in Europe, and of the great demand for American coal.

The facts as to iron ore are much the same. Great Britain used about 18,000,000 tons in 1898, but she had to import one-third of it, or 6,000,000 tons. On the other hand, the United States produced 19,000,000 tons, and used all of it within her borders. In the lake regions we have a wealth of ore beds which are practically inexhaustible, and which, with our boundless coal fields, assure our increasing and enduring supremacy as an industrial power. We have not yet gained the same lead in textiles. But, though we began fifty years ago with a valued product only one-seventh of Great Britain's, only one-fifth of France's and only one-half of Germany's, we have now caught up to Great Britain and nearly equal France and Germany combined. Our predominance will become as signal in this field as in metals. English authorities point out the fact that there is a serious depreciation in cotton mills at Manchester, that no new capital enters the trade and that employment is decreasing. But in South Carolina alone twenty-six new cotton mills have been established within the past year, many more being doubled in capacity, while in the whole South 5,000,000 spindles have been set up, standing for an investment of \$125,000,000. Much of this new development springs from the new opportunity in the East, for which alone 1,000,000 spindles have been added.

AMERICAN GENIUS AND INVENTION.

Nor does American superiority end here. When England was rising to her industrial leadership she had the advantage of new mechanical forces. The continent was paralyzed and prostrate for a quarter of a century under the blight of the Napoleonic wars. While thus free from all competitive rivalry England, through the skill of her Watts and Arkwrights and Stephenson, applied new mechanical power to the productive processes and

became the unchallenged workshop of the world. It was estimated at that time that one pair of hands in England, with these efficient agencies, had the productive energy and value of ten pairs of hands on the continent. The United States has a similar, though less signal advantage now. American genius and invention and adaptability have given our industries a completeness and perfection of mechanical equipment which greatly multiply their productive power. A single broad fact demonstrates the superiority. In Europe 45,000,000 operatives and artisans were employed in 1895 in producing the annual aggregate of manufactured articles valued at seventeen thousand million dollars, or \$380 apiece. In the United States at the same time 6,000,000 operatives produced goods worth ten thousand millions, or about \$1,666 apiece, or more than four times as much as an operative in Europe.

This superior equipment and producing power, man for man, explains why we can pay higher wages and still compete with the nations of the Old World on their own ground and in their own markets. It is the secret of the comfort of American labor, the key of American enterprise, and the talisman of American expansion. It explains why, within a few months, American shops have placed a goodly number of locomotives on English railways. It explains why we are sending American machinery to Sheffield and Birmingham, and why our rails are found in Manchuria and Siberia, in India and Africa. The antiquity which enshrines the Pyramids looks down through forty centuries on the American electric road that carries the troops of visitors to their base, and the mystery of the silent Sphinx must now well-nigh yield its secret in wonder at the new riddle of the youngest civilization and people peacefully invading and conquering the oldest. The British Government needed a great steel bridge nearly a quarter of a mile long, across the Abbarra for Kitchener, and needed it at once; the British manufacturers required seven months to build it; American constructors asked seven weeks, and Philadelphia sent the bridge. This superior alertness, adaptability and equipment distinguish general American enterprise. It has a plant which beats the world, and it must find the market for its product.

THE UNITED STATES IS INDEPENDENT.

And even all these striking facts do not tell the whole story of American advantage. England is dependent on the outside world for her food supply and her raw material. In less degree the same thing is true of France and Germany. The United States, on the other hand, is the one country that supplies its own food and raw material, the one great nation that sells more than it buys, the one world power that is completely independent and wholly self-sustaining. We are great both in land and in industry. Our agriculture and manufactures work together for the common welfare. A century ago Malthus pointed out the irresistible strength of such a combination. He said: "According to general principles it will finally answer to most landed nations both to manufacture for themselves and to conduct their own commerce. That raw cotton should be shipped in America, carried some thousands of miles to another country, there to be manufactured and shipped again for the American market, is a state of things that cannot be permanent. A purely commercial state must always be undersold and driven out of the market by those who possess the advantage of land." That prediction, so far as it relates to American manufacturing growth, has been splendidly verified. It remains to be seen whether the prophecy shall not also be realized that this great landed and manufacturing nation shall "conduct its own commerce." That is a vital question for American statesmanship and the American people; the time and the opportunity have come, and if we are true to ourselves we shall gain the triple crown of agricultural, industrial and commercial supremacy.

CONDITIONS THAT CONFRONT US.

But if we are to gain that prize, if we are even to hold our present ascendancy, we must fully understand the conditions which confront us. We have seen that the growth of the United States in manufactures has been phenomenal; that its industrial product is now equal to that of the three great industrial nations of Europe combined; that it is one-half the product of all the rest of the world put together and is growing twice as fast; that we are immeasurably ahead of all rivals in raw materials and resources for future development: and that, with our superior appliances, we far excel

them in producing power man for man. Since 1870, while our population has doubled, our manufactures have quadrupled. Our producing capacity is up to and beyond the measure of our consuming ability and is increasing faster. Though we are foremost in industrial growth, yet all the great nations have been advancing rapidly, and it is estimated that, under the application of modern forces and of improved machinery, the producing capacity of the world is such that, if operated to its full extent ten hours a day, enough would be produced in six months to supply the world's demand for a year. Just now, with the great revival of business following the depression and the depletion which went on from 1893 to 1897, the production may not outrun the demand. But it is the part of prudence to deal with broad and lasting conditions, and to prepare to-day for the requirements of to-morrow.

What, then, are we to do? Are we to restrict production? Are we to run mill and factory on reduced time, with the necessary sequences of lower wages, smaller profits and wide discontent? Or are we to provide for this enormous and expanding output by supplementing our own vast, but unequal measure of consumption with new outlets and new markets? Under this stress and in this rivalry the other great nations are struggling for empire and making opportunities for trade. They are eagerly extending their colonial dependencies in order to make new regions tributary to their commerce. England has raised her flag over 16,000,000 square miles of domain, with more than 300,000,000 people; France holds 2,500,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 50,000,000, and Germany has secured 1,600,000 square miles, with more than 7,000,000 inhabitants.

THE OPEN DOOR IN CHINA.

The United States has no need to engage in this territorial rivalry with the object of commercial opportunity. We have made an opportunity larger than all these in securing the open door in China. There we find the greatest potential new market in the world. There we find a population of three to four hundred millions who are just breaking away from their old barriers and coming into the sphere of the world's trade. The annual imports of China are less than fifty cents a head. When Japan entered upon her new career her imports did not exceed that small ratio, but within a few years and

under her new impulse they have increased to six dollars a head. Let China advance in the same proportion and her imports will rise to \$1,500,000,000 a year—more than the United States now sends to all the nations of the world. Give us an equal chance and a merchant marine, and we shall secure a large share of that coming traffic. The open door gives us an equal chance; the merchant marine should become a great feature of our public policy, and every other advantage we already have. We are nearest China; we hold the other coast of the Pacific; we have secured natural stations on the way across, and that great ocean is our legitimate highway of commerce.

Our exports to China and Japan have increased 256 per cent. in the last ten years. The largest part of that increase has come within the last three years. The movement thus inaugurated can, with care and wise direction, be multiplied tenfold. China wants our wheat and flour; she wants our cotton goods; she wants our oil; she wants our fabrics of iron and steel; she wants our rails and locomotives and equipment for the thousands of miles of railroads she will construct within the coming period. The Southern States have a special interest in the acquisition of this market. It offers the most important outlet for their growing cotton industries. In nine months of last year China imported from the United States 182,875,000 yards of plain American cotton goods against 112,480,000 yards for the same period of 1898. The imports from England for the same time showed an actual decline. In 1898 the cotton imports into China from the United States were 37 per cent. of those from England. In 1899 they were 61 per cent. At that rate of increase how long, if we rightly use our opportunity, will it take the United States to become foremost in the Chinese market? The possibilities of that market are incalculable. In 1886 Japan purchased foreign goods to the value of only \$16,000,000. Last year her purchases rose to \$137,000,000. What boundless fields lie before us in China and all the Orient, if we are not so weak and blind as to throw them away!

A VAST TRADE IS POSSIBLE.

The open door in China is the open sesame of this vast possible trade, and the American accomplishment of the open door, with the consent and pledge of all the great nations, and without the necessity of entering into any

territorial division, is the greatest of all recent achievements of diplomacy. It secures for the United States a commercial opportunity which is immeasurable. It provides one of the great outlets which our industrial supremacy and our enormous producing capacity require. And that achievement is the great and magnificent fruit of our triumph at Manila and our possession of the Philippines. It comes because we have established our footing in the Orient, because we have planted ourselves for a thousand miles along the front of China, and because we have taken a new position as a world power. Such a demand on our part two years ago would have been impotent and fruitless. Three years ago England proposed the policy of the open door in China and failed, and was compelled in protection of her interests to declare that she would join in the scheme of division and claim her sphere of influence. But when the United States unfurled her flag in the Philippines and made the world resound with the echoes of her swift success and her brilliant triumphs on the sea, and then put forward the same demand of an open door it met with a prompt and full acceptance. Nay, more, it is not too much to say that our possession of the Philippines has stayed the threatened dismemberment of China, and has perhaps altogether averted that danger. But whether China is to be divided and parcelled among the struggling and competing nations, or whether she is to remain intact with the possibilities of a great development, the guarantee of the open door which has been given to us, secures our rights and our interests in the coming time. No fancy can overestimate the value of that achievement in its relations to our future commercial advancement. The potency of that commercial opportunity is worth immeasurably more than all the cost of the Spanish war and all the cost of the subsequent conflict in the Philippines.

I might dwell upon the value of the Philippines themselves. I might speak of the enlarged trade which is offered in their own fertility and their own richness when once brought under the peaceful sway of good government and of civilizing development. But valuable as they are, their highest significance lies in the fact that they give us a foothold in the Orient and constitute a commercial and naval base, at the very vestibule of China, for a commercial opportunity and expansion which were far beyond our wildest dreams

two years ago. If we were to falter in the policy we have undertaken, if we were to shrink from the responsibility which, without our seeking, has come upon us, we should lose all the prestige of that splendid triumph and should sacrifice all that we have gained as its precious fruit. We should find that the door which has been opened to us would soon be closed, for a nation which does not respect itself, and which does not appreciate its own destiny, will not be respected by others. We should find ourselves with the almost unbounded producing capacity which I have imperfectly described, a capacity already beyond our consuming ability and growing much faster, and at the same time cut off in large measure from the new outlets and new markets which it requires and without which it must be curtailed and crippled.

OUR FARMING INTERESTS CONCERNED.

The great farming interests of the country have a vital concern in this question. We outstrip the world in industrial equipment, but other nations have land as fertile and productive. As recently as 1885, Argentina produced only 14,000,000 bushels of wheat a year; now she grows 60,000,000. Our wheat fields find export rivals in Argentina, Russia and India. Our farmers thus have need, as well as our manufacturers, of the new outlet of China. Every bushel of wheat and every barrel of flour shipped from the Pacific coast across the western ocean relieves the competition at Liverpool, which fixes the price. Above all, the farmers are supremely interested that our industrial power shall be maintained at its highest capacity. They are prosperous when our manufactures are prosperous; they find the best demand when our mills and factories are busiest, and any failure of our industrial production to find full consumption would be a disastrous blow to their welfare. In the same way the interests of the workingmen are bound up with this great national movement to secure new outlets. Make new markets and keep your productive power fully employed, and labor gets its highest reward; but restrict your production because you will not seek or accept new channels of consumption, and labor suffers with the rest.

HIGHEST IMPORTANCE TO WAGE-EARNERS.

It is of the highest importance to the workingmen of our country that they should thoroughly understand the vital relation of this policy of com-

mercial expansion to their immediate welfare. No portion of our people are more directly interested in it than they are. What they want is the most active and constant operation of our industrial machinery. That means steady employment for labor; that means good wages; that means comfort and happiness for themselves and their families. If we can produce more than we can consume at home, if we should have a surplus that would be unsalable unless we could find markets for it abroad, then it follows that the labor which produces that surplus is deeply concerned in a national policy which opens such outlets. Capital can stand restriction; labor cannot. The manufacturer can live, with reduced product; but reduced product means idle hands for the workingman. What labor wants and must have, then, is the largest field and opportunity for American enterprise everywhere.

Our pathway is determined by our requirements. The country has grown up to this step, and its growth cannot be stopped. Commercial development is the inevitable necessity of our agricultural and manufacturing supremacy. The demands of our industrial position compel us to enter upon commercial expansion. We are the greatest producers and the greatest consumers in the world; yet, unparalleled as is our consuming ability, our wonderful and unrivaled producing capacity has outstripped and outrun even our amazing power of absorption. Do you want the proof? In the mighty business impulse of last year we employed and consumed in our own use more than ever before, yet at the same time we exported more manufactured products than ever before. We imported \$100,000,000 less of manufactured goods than in 1890, and exported nearly \$200,000,000 more. If we had not found more outlets, what would have become of our surplus? With our surpassing power of production, with our farms and forges and factories turning out more than we can consume, with our matchless inventive and mechanical genius steadily increasing our productive energy, with our wealth of yet untouched resources which must in the future put us still further in the lead of all nations, we have only one of two courses before us.

SHALL WE BANK OUR FIRES?

Either we must halt our growth, limit our production, bank our fires and stop our spindles, reduce our labor and restrict our capital, with all the hard-

ship that this involves, or else we must find broader markets and expanded consumption. Do you tell me there is cost and possible difficulty in this extension abroad? But is there not greater cost and loss in a paralyzing restriction at home with its diminished employment and wide discontent? Do you tell me there are risks and perplexities in this policy of commercial expansion? But are there not greater and graver perplexities and dangers, which may only be suggested, in a policy of industrial contraction with its direct hardships? Which is the better—to accept the expansion which has come to us as the result of the Spanish war, which is the natural continuation of our former expansions, and which is on the direct line of a new and necessary commercial development, or to reject it and to declare that we will shut ourselves up within ourselves, with all its inevitable consequences of impaired prestige, lost markets, restricted trade, reduced labor and unhappy conflict?

Let us fully realize the mighty facts of our national situation. Had there been no war with Spain, had the new and glorious May morn of American liberty never shed its luster over the Bay of Manila, had no victory of Santiago brought a brilliant triumph of peace charged with great responsibilities, we should still have been compelled to look beyond our continental bounds. It was inevitable that we should advance out of our isolation and turn our faces outward to the world. Our transcendent industrial growth and its imperative need of outlets demanded it.

MUST RULE THE RESULT OF EVENTS.

If the immortal history of the past two years were blotted out, we should make that commercial effort with no such advantage and no such resplendent possibilities as now beckon us onward. There would be no prestige and impress of an ever-floating flag in the Orient. There would be no key to Asia in our hands. There would be no open door in China. Events have ruled us, and it is for us only to rule their results.

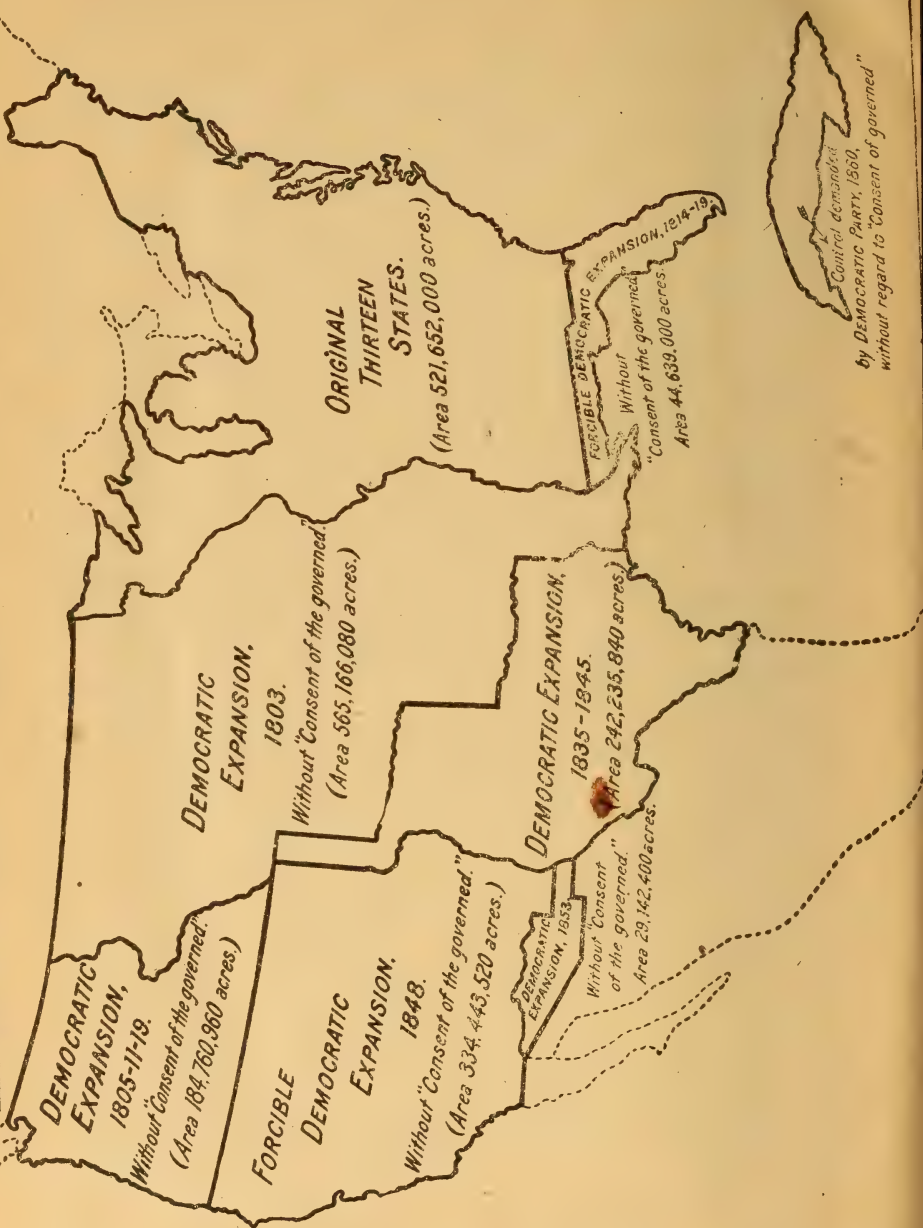
Territorial expansion has not been and is not now the object of American ambition. What we have done has been the inescapable, overmastering logic of events and not the deliberate aim of any policy. It has been enough to give us such a position and opportunity in the East as a hundred years of

ordinary history would not have brought, and there is no need of more. But even had there been no such glittering chapter, our continued material advancement would have required us to extend the arms of our commerce across the seas, and commerce means a navy and outposts and defense. It means a part in the world's affairs, and the future historian, in portraying the magnificent progress of the Republic, will dwell upon the manifest guidance of a power higher than any chance in the great and pregnant fact that just as it reached the stage of its development where its industrial upbuilding needed to be crowned with commercial extension, the unforeseen and mighty events of the Spanish war suddenly lifted the curtain and unveiled the new prospect, the wider horizon and the unexpected and immeasurable opportunity.

GREATEST MARKETS IN OUR GRASP.

With this opportunity already in our hands shall we be so blind and false to our own interests as to throw it away ? Shall we first of all prove recreant to a great national duty and responsibility which has come to us, and at the same time reject the inestimable commercial advantages which flow from our new accessions and what they open? We have the greatest new markets of the world within our grasp. If we stand fast we shall hold them. If we falter we shall sacrifice all that we have gained in the mighty movement of the past two years. Our past has been marvellous. Our future will be as wonderful if we are equal to its demands. We have never taken a backward step in the steady advance which our national destiny has brought to us. Shall we do so now for the first time? The dignity and honor of our country, our duty to mankind, our part in the march of civilization, the necessity of our development no less than the mandate of fate, all bid us accept the rich fruits of our lustrous success and go forward in the pathway before us.

EXPANSION MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.



"Our domestic trade must be won back and our idle working-people employed in gainful occupations at American wages. Our home market must be restored to its proud rank of first in the world, and our foreign trade, so precipitately cut off by adverse national legislation, reopened on fair and equitable terms for our surplus agricultural and manufacturing products."

—WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION

Importance of Manila as a market
for supplying the needs of eight
hundred millions of people in its
immediate vicinity

GROWTH OF OUR TRANS-PACIFIC TRADE.



WHAT will be the effect upon our commerce of the acquisition of the Philippines, particularly, and of the island possessions in the Pacific in general? That is a practical question which everybody is asking.

FIRST—They can supply a large proportion of the \$350,000,000 worth of tropical and sub-tropical products which this country imports annually. This sum can thus be expended under the American flag and for the benefit both of the people of the islands and those of our own citizens having investments in the islands.

AN IMMEDIATE MARKET AVAILABLE.

SECOND—They will supply an immediate market for from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000 of American products and manufactures annually, and twice this sum later. The total imports of the Philippines in 1899, according to the official reports of the War Department, were \$20,255,537, while our own exports to the Hawaiian Islands in the fiscal year just ended were \$13,509,148, indicating that the imports of the islands now exceed \$15,000,000, and thus making the present total imports of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands more than \$35,000,000. The fact that our own exports to the Hawaiian Islands have grown from \$5,907,155 in 1898 to \$13,509,148 in 1900 indicates the growth in the importations which may also be expected in the Philippines when a permanent and liberal form of government shall have been established there and the consuming power shall have increased through a development of the producing and exporting capacity of the islands. It is fair, therefore, to assume that the market, which these islands will afford, will soon reach \$50,000,000 annually.

LARGE ADJACENT POPULATION.

THIRD—By far the most important feature of these island acquisitions in the Pacific is their prospective effect upon our trade with the countries commercially adjacent to them, and especially to the Philippines. The imports of the countries commercially adjacent to the Philippines amount to about \$1,200,000,000 annually, or practically \$100,000,000 per month. Nearly all of these importations are of the classes of articles for which the people of the United States are now attempting to find a market.

Grouped around Manila as a point of distribution is the most densely populated part of the world. More than 800,000,000 people form the population of Japan, Asiatic Russia, China, French Cochin China, Siam, British India, Australasia, the Dutch East Indies, etc., all of which are nearer to Manila as a point of distribution than to any other great commercial center, while such cities as Shanghai, Canton and others are as near to Manila as Havana is to the City of New York.

WORTH TWO BILLIONS A YEAR.

The commerce of this section, of which Manila may be made the great commercial center, now amounts to more than \$2,000,000,000 per annum, and its annual purchases to about \$1,200,000,000 per annum, or, as above indicated, practically \$100,000,000 per month. Practically all of this vast sum which is sent to other parts of the world than the United States is expended for the class of goods for which the people of

this country are now seeking a market. Cotton and cotton goods, bread-stuffs, provisions, dairy products, manufactures of iron and steel and wood, the products of the farm and factory, are demanded by the people of that part of the world.

UNITED STATES TRADE INCREASING.

In most cases the apparent disposition of these countries is to purchase from the people of the United States rather than from any other section or people. China, which in 1880 took only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of her imports from the United States, in 1899 took 8.4 per cent from this country. Japan, which in 1893 took only 6.8 per cent of her imports, in 1899 took from this country 17.3 per cent. Our exports to China, which in the fiscal year 1893 were but \$3,900,457, were in 1900 \$15,625,260. Our exports to Japan, which in 1893 were \$3,195,494, were in 1900 \$29,087,642. To British Australasia our exports which in 1894 were \$8,131,939, were in 1900 \$26,725,702. To the Hawaiian Islands our exports in 1893 were \$2,827,663, while those of the fiscal year 1900 are \$13,509,148. To the Philippines our exports in 1897 were less than \$100,000, while those of the fiscal year 1900 are \$2,640,449. Taking Asia as a whole, our exports, which in 1893 were but \$16,222,354, were in 1900, \$64,913,984, or four times those of 1893; while to Oceanica our exports, which in 1893 were \$11,199,477, in 1900 were \$43,390,927.

Thus our exportations to Asia and Oceanica, which in 1893 were \$27,000,000, in 1900 were \$108,304,911, or four times as much as seven years ago.

The table which follows shows the imports and exports, at the latest available date, of the Orient, and the share of the United States therein. It was compiled by the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department from official records:

Country.	Imports.	Per cent. from United States.	Exports.	Per cent. to United States.
British East Indies	\$221,552,305	2.0	\$365,217,000	4.6
British Australasia	277,879,000	5.8	278,708,000	4.6
China	193,266,000	8.4	142,923,000	11.1
Japan	110,200,000	17.3	107,450,000	29.7
Straits Settlements	109,955,000	.....	97,822,000	.....
Dutch East Indies	66,458,000	1.7	80,081,000	9.6
Russia, Asiatic	21,579,000	.7	29,456,000	1.2
Siam	19,384,000	.....	25,280,000	.....
Philippine Islands	20,300,000	6.0	19,270,000	21.0
Hawaiian Islands	15,200,000	80.5	23,000,000	90.8
Mauritius	15,010,000	1.9	15,652,000	5.6
Persia	25,476,000	.....	15,054,000	.....
Ceylon	20,722,000	.2	14,641,000	5.7
Hongkong	20,000,000	30.0	10,000,000	9.1
French East Indies	791,000	8.7	3,088,000	.....
Korea	8,088,000	.....	2,482,000	.....
Total Asia and Oceanica.....	\$1,145,860,000	9.0	\$1,230,124,000	14.0

OUR EXPORTS TO ASIA AND OCEANICA.

That the United States is gaining rapidly in the share which she is able to supply in the enormous imports of the countries and islands in question is shown by the following table, giving the exports from the United States to each of the grand divisions of the world from 1893 to 1900. It will be seen that our exports to Asia and Oceanica have grown during that period from \$27,421,831 to \$108,304,911, an increase of 300 per cent, while our total exports were increasing but 64 per cent during the same period.

YEAR.	EXPORTS TO					
	Europe.	North America.	South America.	Asia and Oceanica.	Africa and other countries.	Total.
	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.	Dollars.
1893	661,976,710	119,788,889	32,639,077	27,421,831	5,838,687	847,665,194
1894	700,870,822	119,693,212	33,212,310	32,786,943	5,577,285	892,140,572
1895	627,927,692	108,575,594	33,525,935	30,434,288	7,074,656	807,538,165
1896	673,043,753	116,567,496	36,297,671	42,827,258	13,870,760	882,606,938
1897	813,385,644	124,958,461	33,768,646	61,927,678	16,953,127	1,050,993,556
1898	973,806,245	139,627,841	33,821,701	66,710,813	17,515,730	1,231,482,330
1899	936,602,093	157,931,707	35,659,902	78,235,176	18,594,424	1,227,023,302
1900	1,040,167,312	187,299,318	38,945,721	108,304,911	19,469,109	1,394,186,371
Per cent of increase, 1893-1900	36 3%	36%	16.2%	300%	236%	64.4%

THE GOODS THEY BUY.

The following table shows the exportation of leading articles to China, Japan, Asiatic Russia, Australasia, Hawaii and the Philippine Islands in the fiscal years 1890 and 1899, respectively:

ARTICLES	1890	1899
	DOLLARS	DOLLARS
Iron and steel and manufactures of	2,928,971	13,210,552
Cotton cloth	1,532,181	10,265,202
Mineral oils	7,246,111	7,570,868
Breadstuffs	3,521,936	7,491,021
Cotton, unmanufactured	85,211	5,909,228
Tobacco, manufactures of	2,017,503	5,688,048
Wood, and manufactures of	2,117,058	2,817,006
Chemicals	1,070,462	1,802,238
Leather, and manufactures of	732,260	1,249,660
Paper, and manufactures of	128,277	1,542,238
Provisions	518,190	966,775
Carriages and Cars	424,952	975,546
Agricultural implements	575,254	824,342
Fertilizers	114,988	736,531
Fruits and vegetables	441,430	683,759

REPUBLICANS

VS.

DEMOCRATS



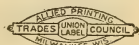
WM McKINLEY

For President.

THEO. ROOSEVELT

For Vice President.

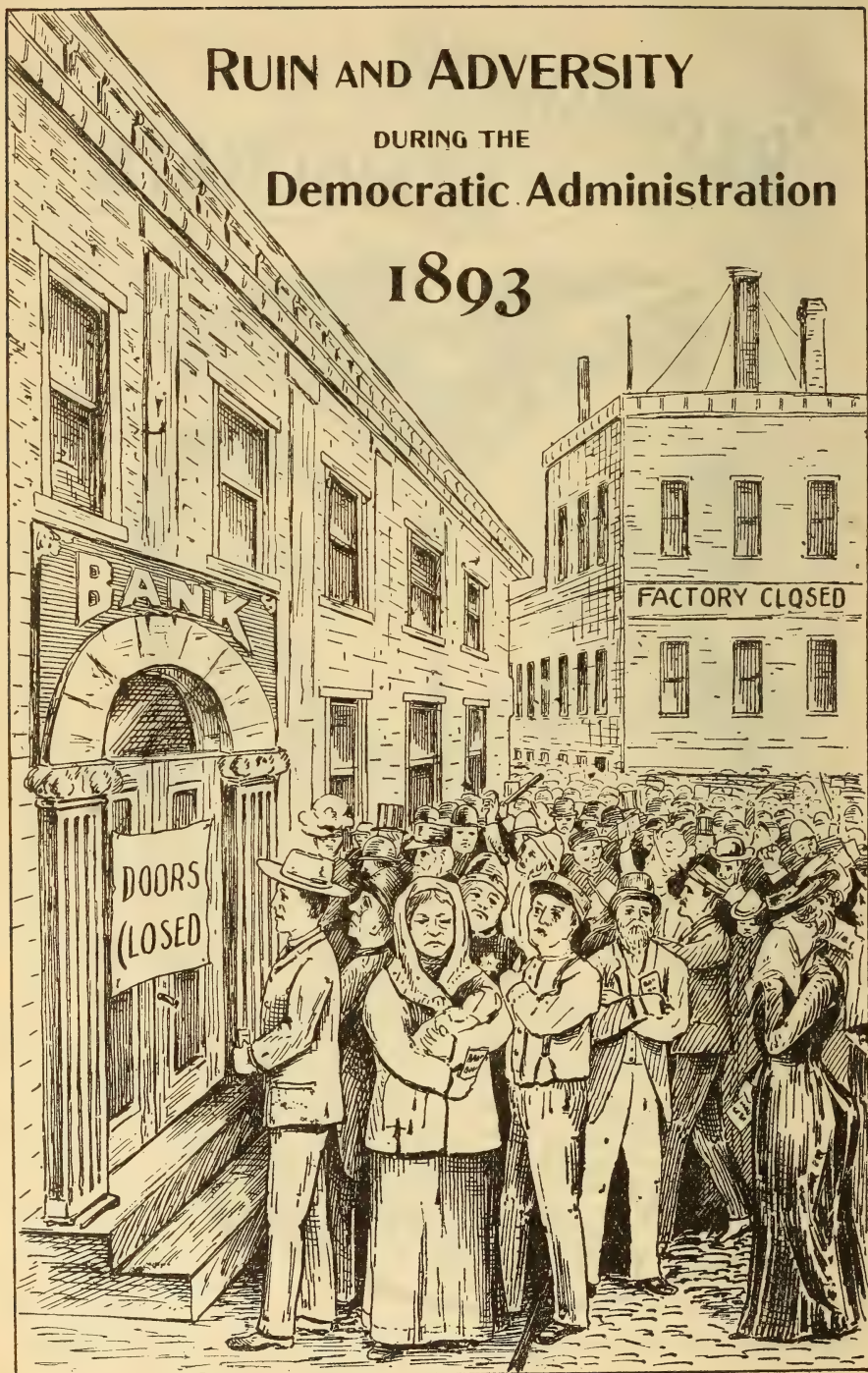
**EXPANSION
SOUND MONEY
PROSPERITY
NATIONAL HONOR
PROTECTION**



RUIN AND ADVERSITY

DURING THE
Democratic Administration

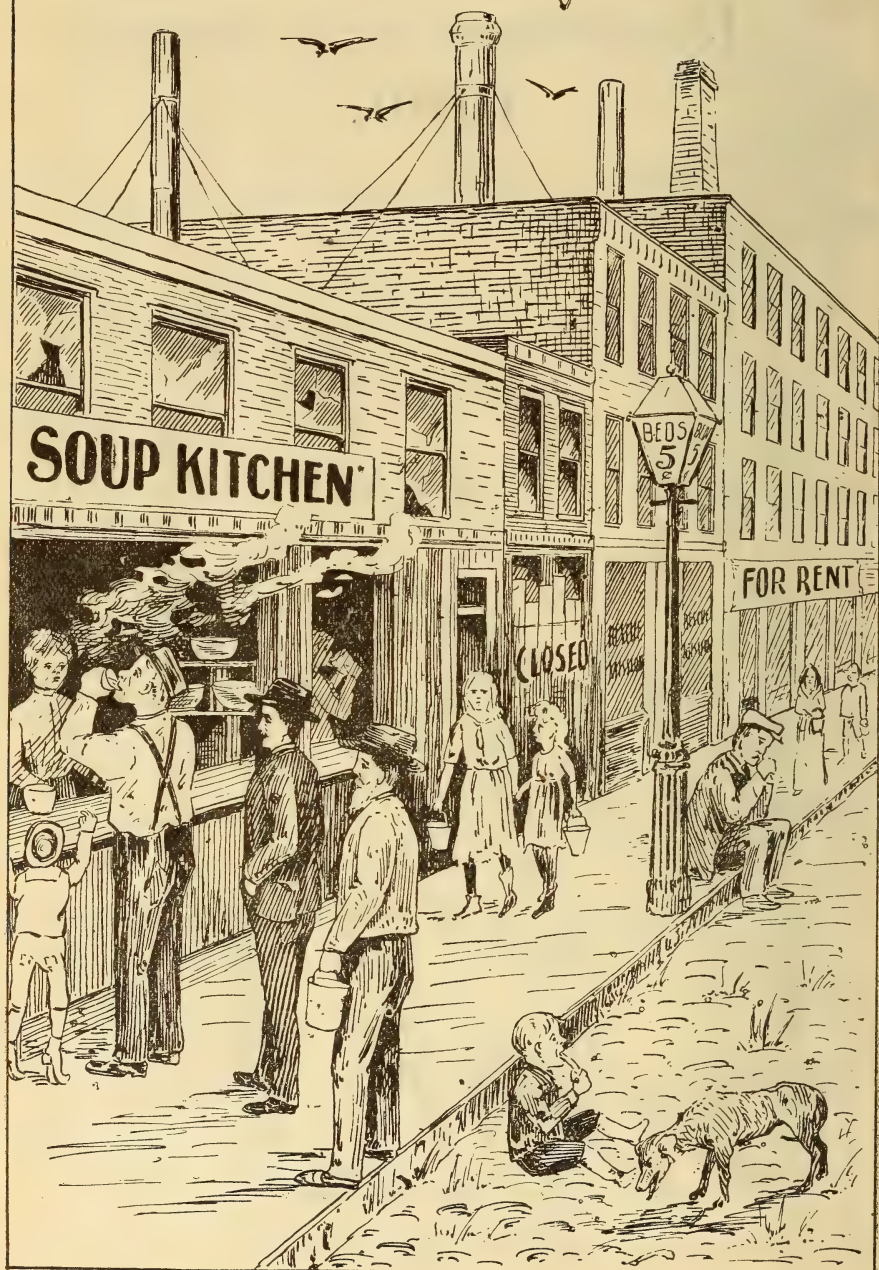
1893



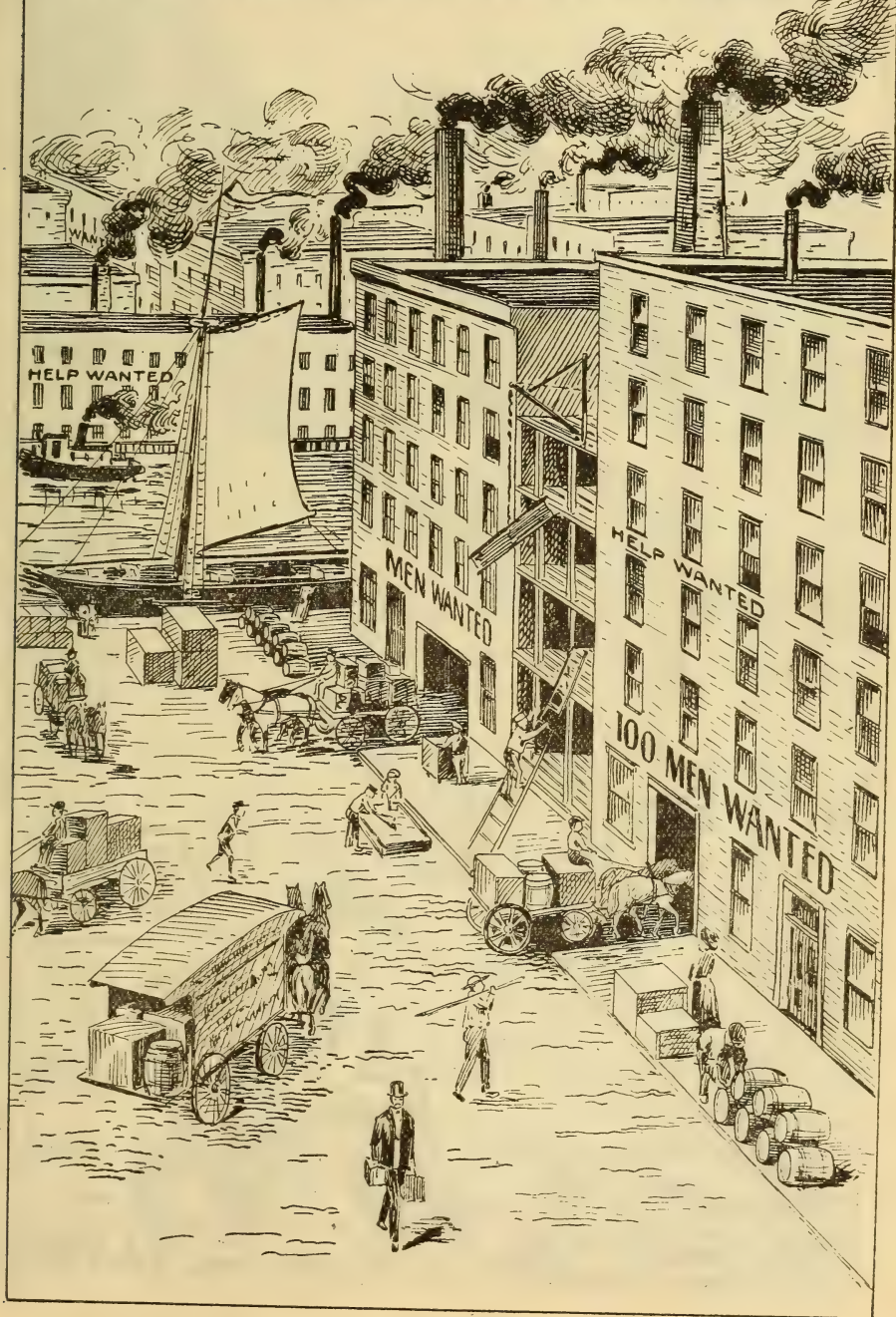
CONTENTMENT AND PROSPERITY
WHILE THE
Republicans are in Power.
1900.



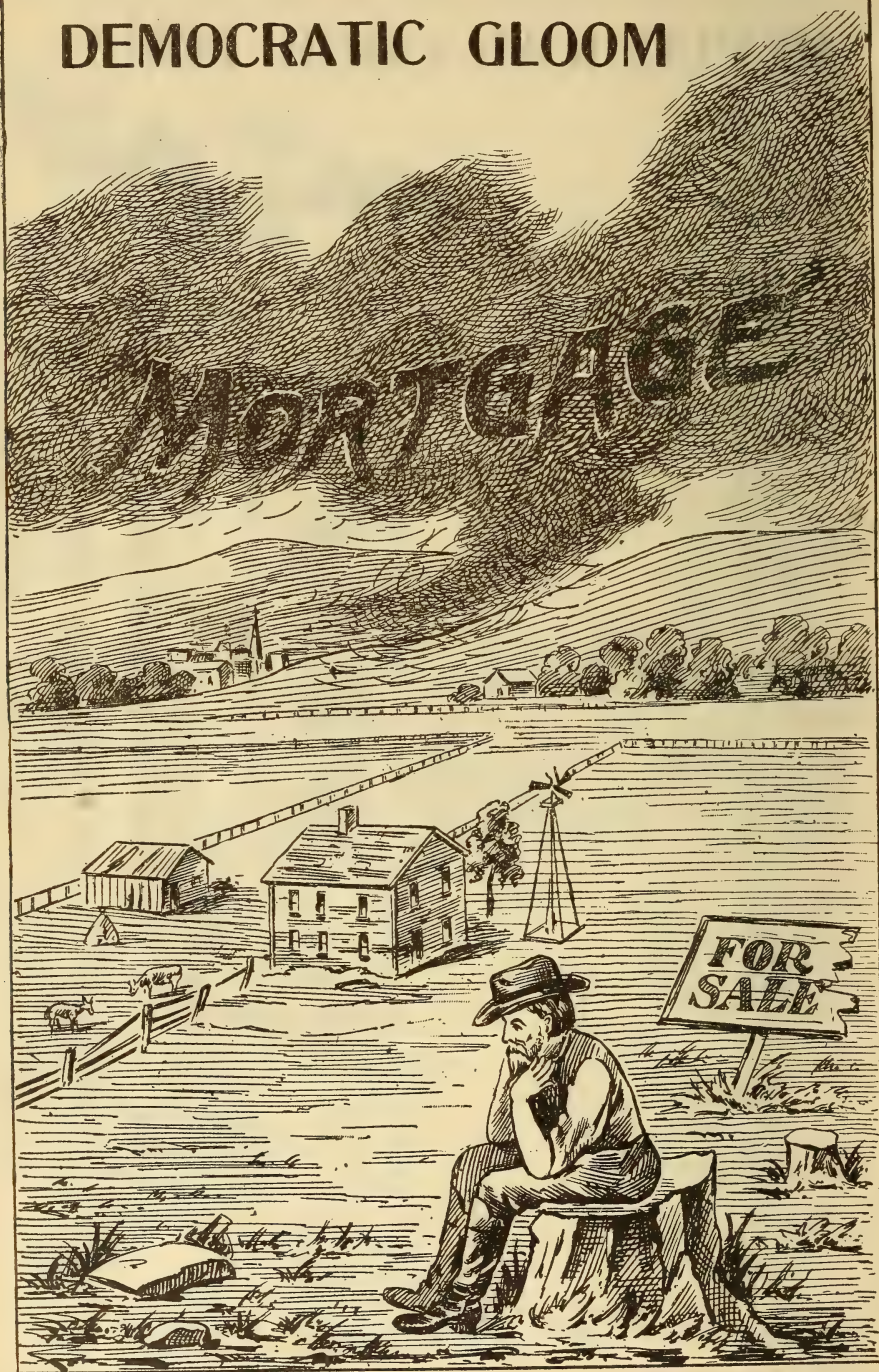
DEMOCRATIC HARD TIMES



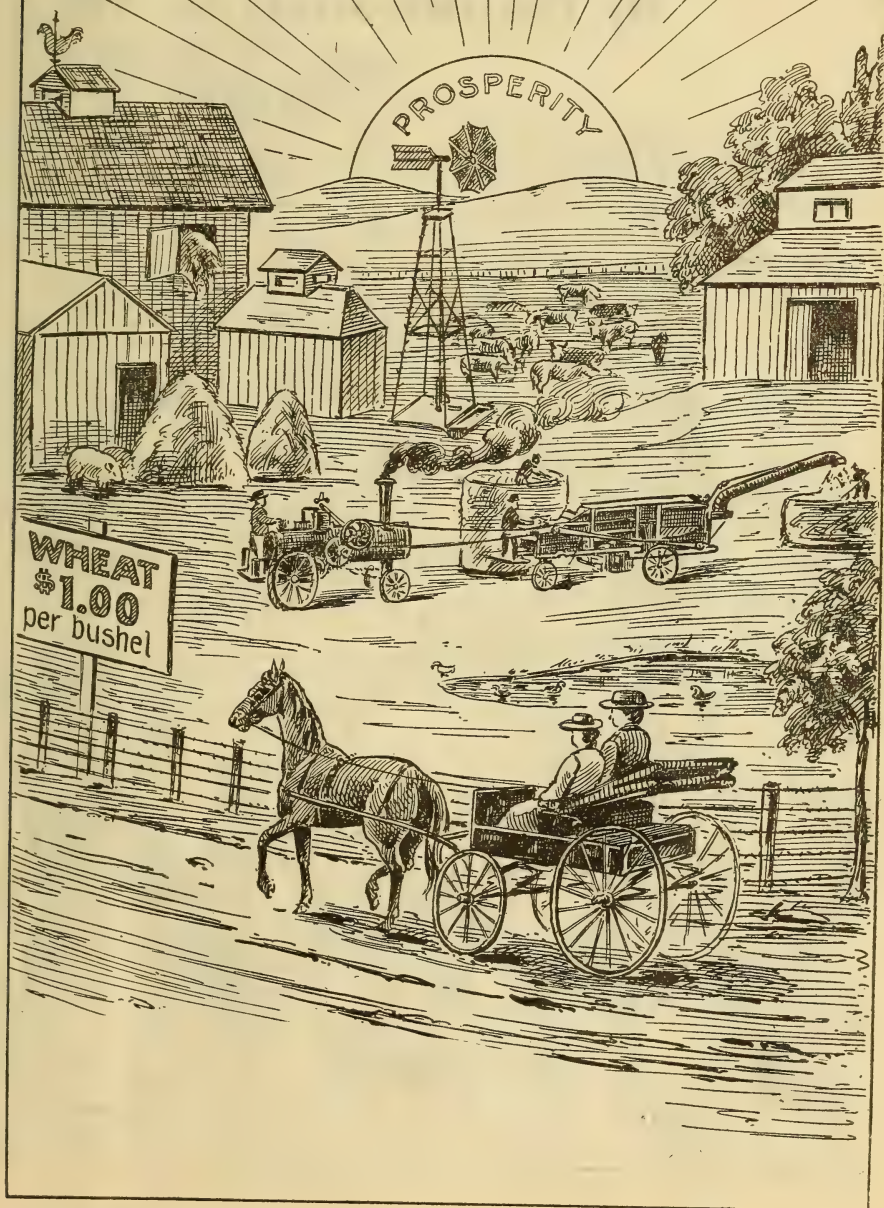
REPUBLICAN GOOD TIMES



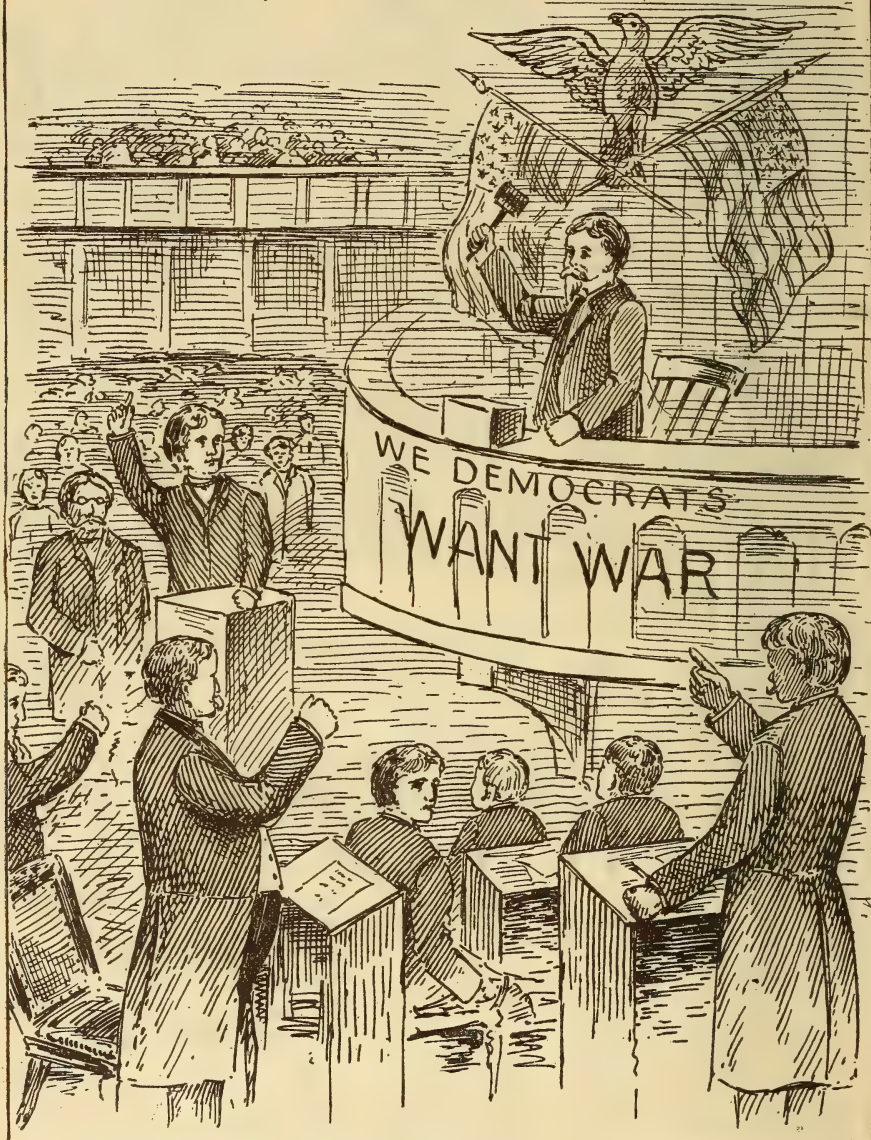
DEMOCRATIC GLOOM



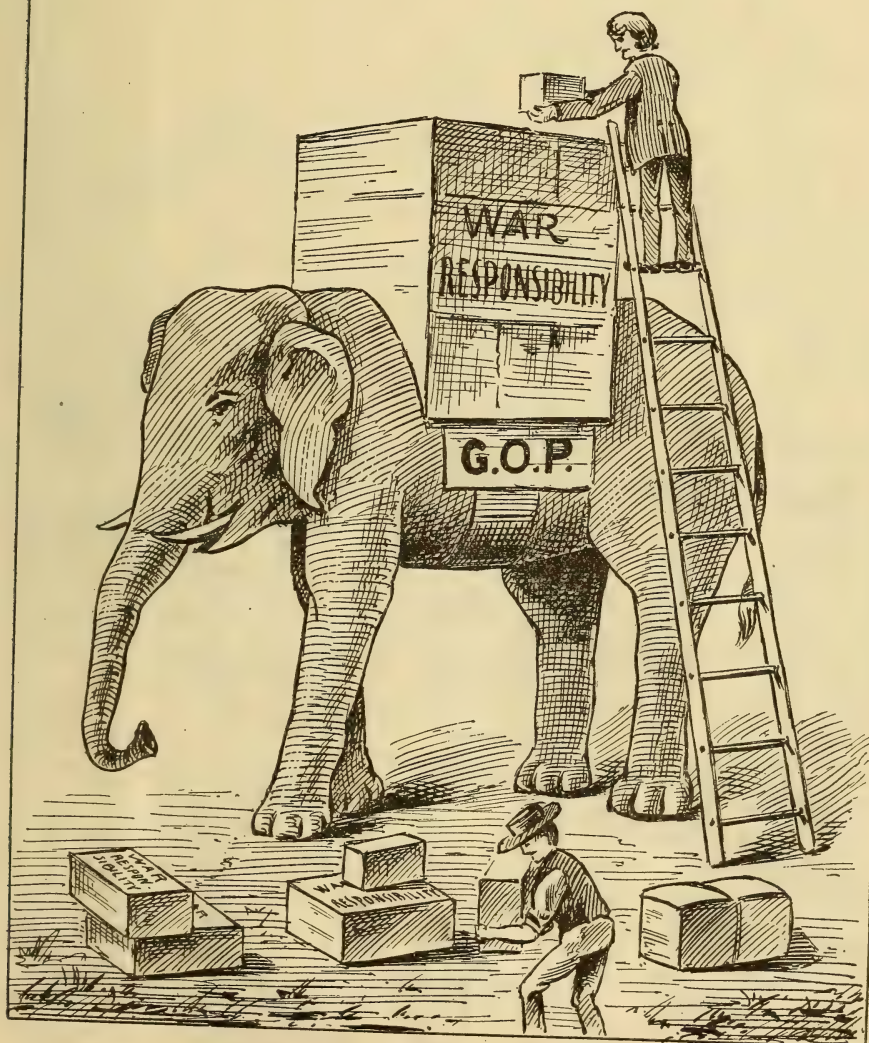
REPUBLICAN SUNSHINE



The Spanish War Forced Upon The Country By The Democrats in 1898



**But They Put The Responsibility
On The Republican Party
In 1900.**



Cuban Desolation

Before The War.

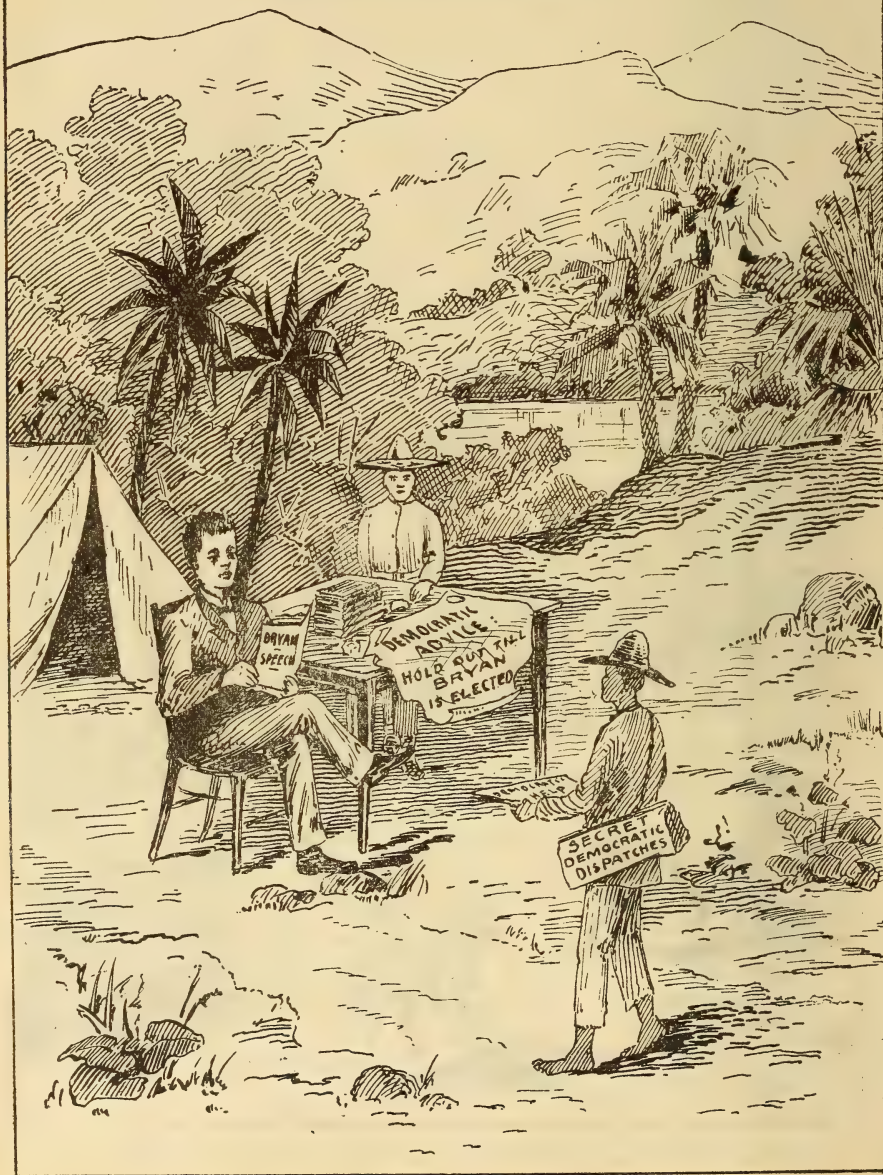


Cuban Prosperity

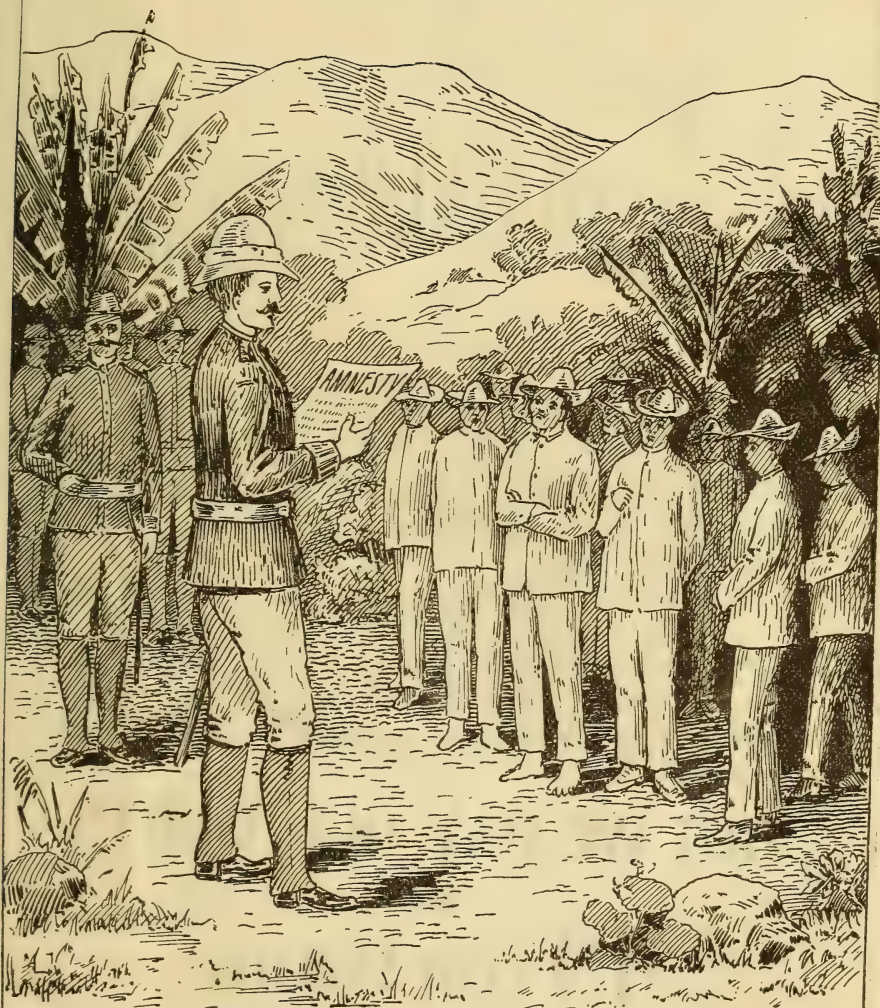
After The War.



Democrats aid the Filipino Rebels



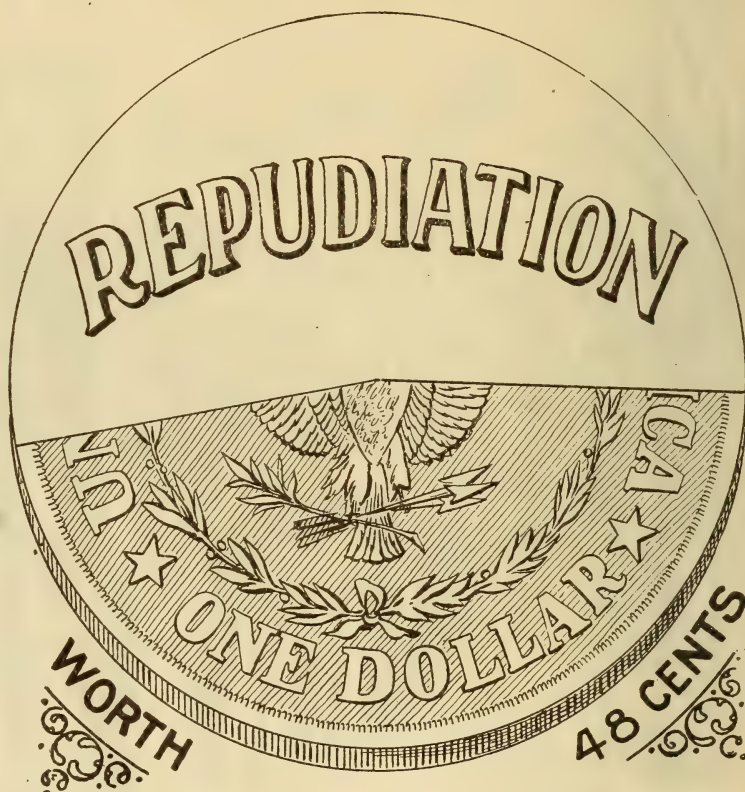
Republicans Aim At Pacification.



Reading the President's Proclamation of Amnesty.

The Democratic Maxim:

WE TAKE FULL VALUE
FOR OUR BULLION



BUT WE PAY OUR DEBTS

WITH

48 Cent Dollars.

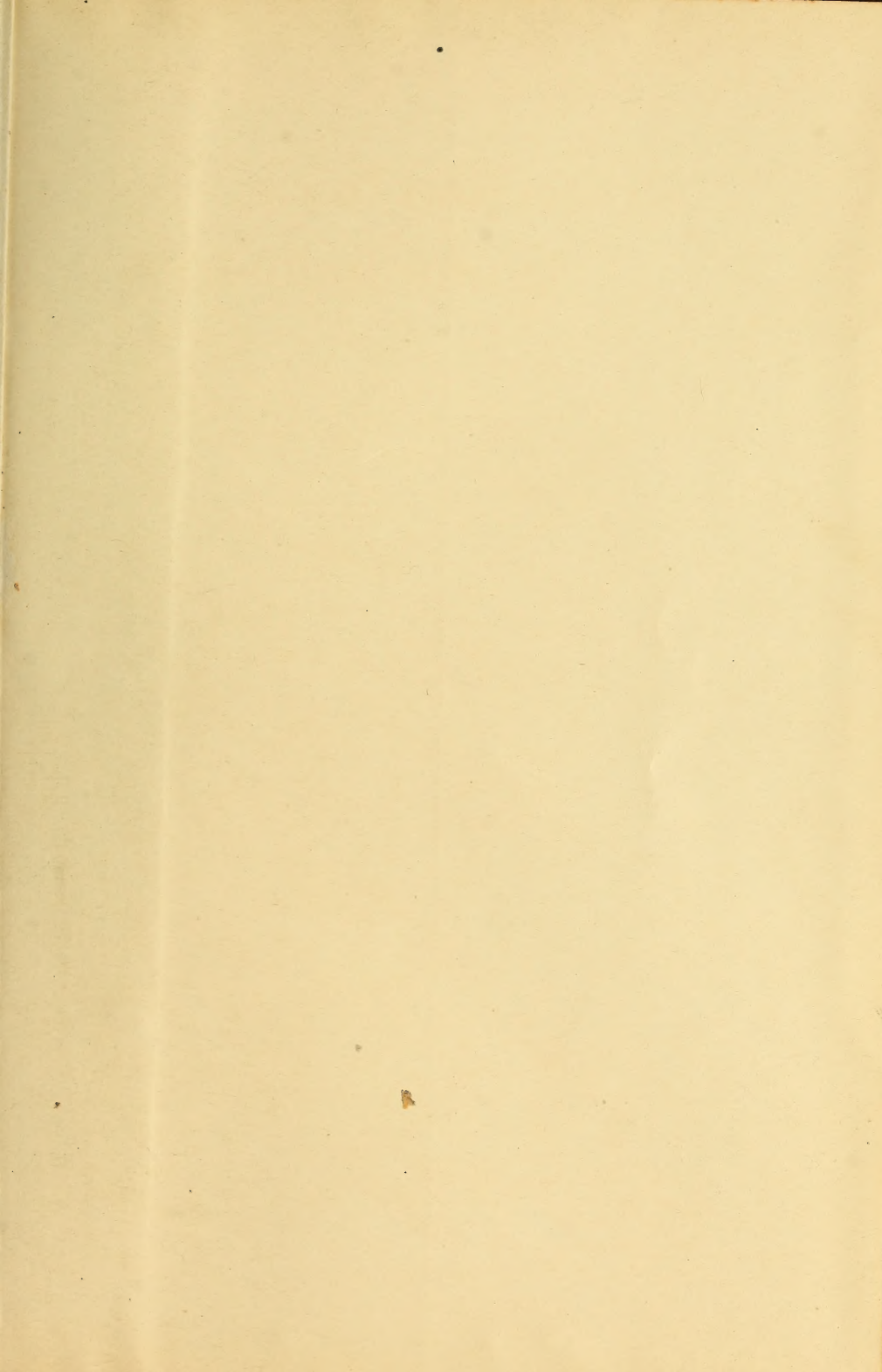
REPUBLICAN SOUND MONEY

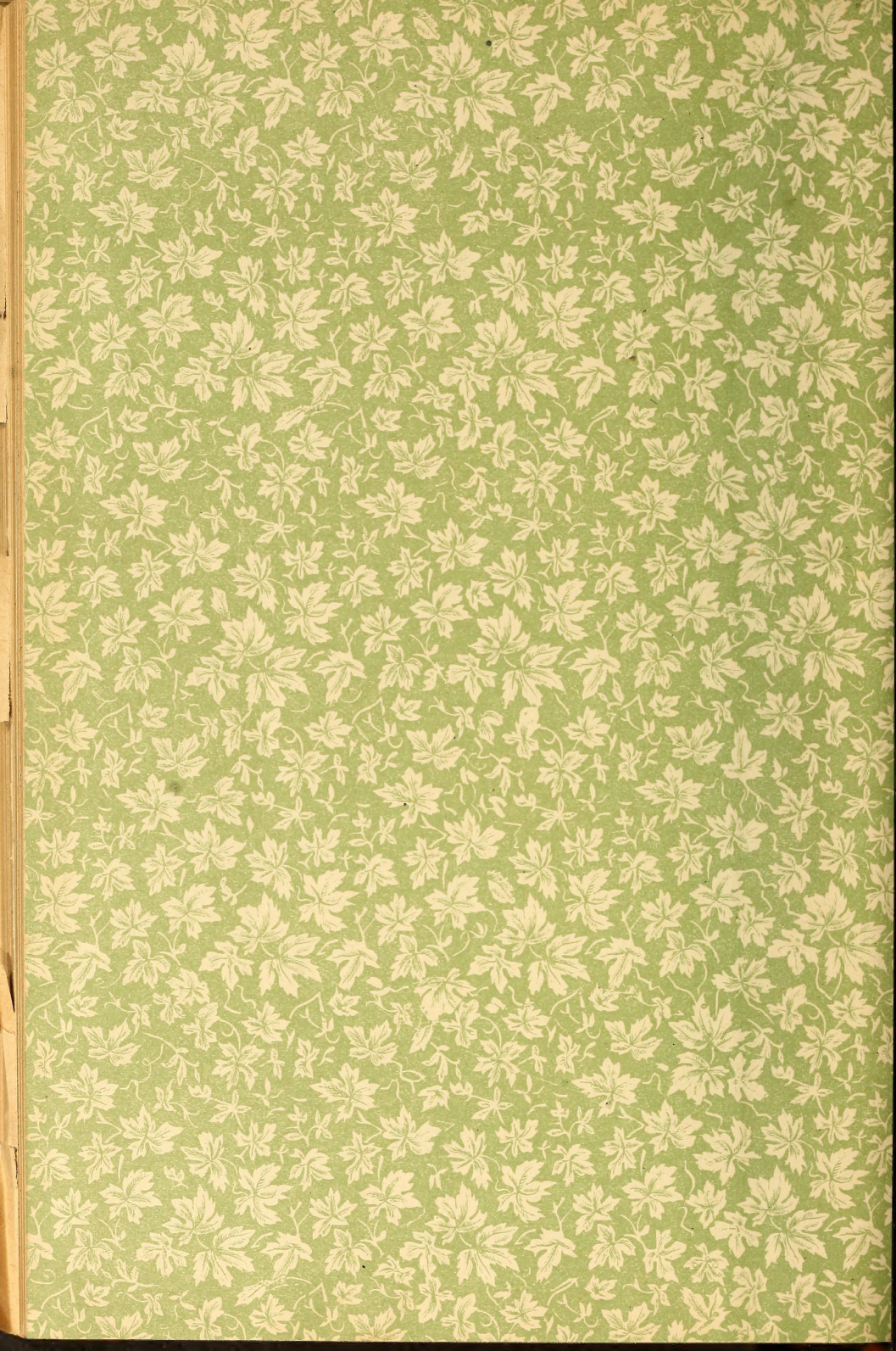


We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day. We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.—*Republican Platform of 1900.*

Protection to Home Industries









LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 021 051 335 8